

EDITED BY
MONA BAKER AND
GABRIELA SALDANHA

ROUTLEDGE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TRANSLATION STUDIES

Third Edition



ROUTLEDGE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF TRANSLATION STUDIES

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Notes on referencing conventions

Different editions of the same work

Where there are two or more different editions from which different authors have quoted stretches of text, these are listed separately in the bibliography to ensure reliability of citations; for example:

Berman, A. (1985/2000) 'Translation and the Trials of the Foreign', translated by L. Venuti, in L. Venuti (ed.) *The Translation Studies Reader*, first edition, London: Routledge, 284–297.

Berman, A. (1985/2012) 'Translation and the Trials of the Foreign', translated by L. Venuti, in L. Venuti (ed.) *The Translation Studies Reader*, third edition, London & New York: Routledge, 240–253.

Particles in European names

Common particles in Dutch and Flemish names — such as *van*, *de* and *der* — are ignored for the purposes of ordering authors alphabetically in the bibliography, but are otherwise included in in-text references. Hence, van Hoof is listed under *H* in the bibliography but referenced as (*van Hoof 2001*) or as *van Hoof* argues, in the body of the text.

The same applies to other European names beginning with *de*; hence, Paul de Man is listed under *M* in the bibliography but referenced as *de Man* in the text, Oswald de Andrade under

A in the bibliography and as *de Andrade* in the text, and Boaventura de Sousa Santos appears as *Santos*, *B. de Sousa* in the bibliography and as *de Sousa Santos* within the relevant entries.

The particle *von* in German names (as in *von Flotow*) is ignored for the purposes of ordering authors alphabetically in the bibliography and is also not included as part of the name in the main text; hence, Luise von Flotow appears as *Flotow*, *L. von* in the bibliography and is cited as *Flotow* (not *von Flotow*) in the main text.

For further information on relevant referencing conventions, see: http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/11930/2/Referencing_Dutch_Flemish_names.pdf.

Note: Italian names beginning with particles such as *di*, *dal*, or *della* appear in alphabetical order under the relevant particle in the bibliography; for example, Dal Fovo is listed under *d* rather than *f*.

Referencing multiple authors with the same surname

Common surnames such as *Lee* in Chinese and Korean and *Jones* in English are disambiguated where necessary in the main text by the inclusion of initials: *H. Jones*, *F. Jones*, etc. To avoid cluttering the text unnecessarily, where an author is cited very frequently compared to another author with the same surname, initials are included only with the less commonly cited author; hence, unless otherwise indicated, *Baker* refers to *M. Baker*, *Benjamin* to *W. Benjamin* and *Cheung* to *M.P.Y. Cheung*.

Introduction to the first edition

In May 1991, I received a phone call from Simon Bell, former Language Reference Editor at Routledge, who wanted to know if I had any suggestions for a reference work on translation studies, possibly a dictionary. Simon, among many others, had begun to see translation studies as an exciting new discipline, perhaps *the* discipline of the 1990s. And indeed translation studies has not only fulfilled our expectations but greatly exceeded them. We need only think of one area in which translation studies has flourished beyond anyone's expectations, namely the academization of translator and interpreter training, to appreciate the phenomenal speed with which the discipline as a whole has established itself in the 1990s. The entry on Translator-training institutions by Caminade and Pym (this volume) documents the dramatic rise in the number of university-level institutions which offer degrees in translation and/or interpreting: "From 49 in 1960 then 108 in 1980, the global number had risen to at least 250 in 1994".

New disciplines, disciplines 'in the making' as it were, are particularly exciting for the rich research potential they hold and the sheer intellectual energy they are capable of generating. This intellectual energy can attract – as it has done in the case of translation studies – the interest of scholars working within more traditional disciplines, because it can revitalize a staid framework with new challenges, new avenues of enquiry and new perspectives on pursuing such enquiry. Hence the current interest in translation across a variety of disciplines, from linguistics to ethnography and from cultural studies to psychology, to name only a few.

The vivacity and diversity that we find so attractive in new disciplines are a consequence of the fact that their potential is as yet unrealized, or is in the process of being realized. And this is precisely why the 'state of the art' of an emerging discipline such as translation studies

is notoriously difficult to capture in a work of reference. All encyclopedias, this one included, are inevitably out of date before they hit the press – such is the nature and speed of intellectual progress in any field of study. A pioneering work of reference which sets out to chart a territory that has hitherto not been charted, to capture the core concerns of a discipline in a state of flux, cannot hope to be totally comprehensive. But it can and should aim to offer a balanced, non-partisan view of the discipline.

Translation studies is at a stage of its development when the plurality of approaches that inform it or are capable of informing it can be overwhelming, and the temptation for many has been to promote one approach with which they feel particularly comfortable and dismiss the rest. Throughout the editing of this *Encyclopedia*, I have tried to keep an open mind on what constitutes a viable perspective on the study of translation and what might legitimately be seen as a relevant area of concern or method of research in translation studies. An encyclopedia of a scholarly subject has a duty to open up rather than unduly restrict the scope of the discipline it sets out to describe. Thus, in addition to traditional issues such as EQUIVALENCE, SHIFTS OF TRANSLATION and TRANSLATABILITY, the reader will also find substantial entries which discuss less traditional but increasingly popular issues, including translation as a metaphor for relations which exist between objects outside language (METAPHOR OF TRANSLATION), the metaphors of gender and sexuality in discussions of translation (GENDER METAPHORICS IN TRANSLATION), the application of model theory to the study of translation (MODELS OF TRANSLATION), the process by which books are chosen to be translated and published in other languages (PUBLISHING STRATEGIES) and the use of computerized corpora in studying universals of translation (CORPORA IN TRANSLATION STUDIES).

So much for Part I. Part II of this *Encyclopedia* offers a very brief overview of national histories of translation and interpreting in some 30 linguistic and cultural communities. These entries are inevitably restricted in terms of space and can only offer a glimpse of what a full-scale history of each tradition might have to offer. When the plan for the *Encyclopedia* was first drawn in 1991, no significant initiatives had been announced in terms of a general history of translation; nothing had then appeared on the FIT History of Translation (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995) nor on the forthcoming de Gruyter Encyclopedia, and I was not aware at that stage that these projects were being planned. The rationale for including a historical section and for covering as many traditions as possible, albeit very briefly, was to stimulate interest in what I then felt was a seriously neglected area of translation studies. Inevitably for a relatively short section of this type, not all traditions could be represented, and the divisions in terms of linguistic and/or geographical communities are inherently arbitrary to a large extent. Irrespective of possible methodological weaknesses and unavoidable brevity of treatment, a reading of these histories can lead to interesting insights on such issues as the overall profile of translators and interpreters during different historical periods, the role of the translator and/or interpreter as it has been conceived by different communities, the range of incentives that have led to periods of intensive translation activity across the ages, the amazing variety of activities that have been subsumed at different times under the general heading of 'translation', and the kinds of contexts in which translators and interpreters have sometimes had to operate. These 'global' insights would be difficult if not impossible to draw from a small number of more detailed histories. A brief outline of a number of these global patterns may be useful at this point.

Profile of translators and interpreters

One of the most interesting and potentially productive areas of research to emerge from the historical section of this encyclopedia concerns the kind of social or ethnic groups that transla-

tors and interpreters have typically belonged to during various periods.

Translators and interpreters, on the whole, seem to have historically belonged to minority groups of one type or another. For example, many interpreters in the New World, during the early expeditions, were native Indians, often servants and the like: a minority group not in terms of numbers at this stage, but in terms of political and economic power. In fact, the first generation of interpreters in the New World were largely natives who were captured and trained as interpreters by explorers such as Jacques Cartier in Canada and Christopher Columbus in Latin America. In the United States, Squanto – a prominent Indian interpreter – was initially captured by an English captain and taken to England. A similar pattern exists outside the New World, in both European and non-European countries. In Turkey during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, translators and interpreters were chosen from Greek, Italian, German, Hungarian and Polish converts to Islam. In Egypt in the early nineteenth century, the best-known literary translators were Christians, of one denomination or another (Protestant, Orthodox, Maronite), and often of Lebanese or Syrian origin. In the 1940s and 1950s in Czechoslovakia, simultaneous interpreting was provided by wartime émigrés (in the case of English), by Jewish survivors of concentration camps (in the case of German), and by second-generation Russian émigrés (in the case of Russian). These are all minority groups and migrants. It is quite possible that a similar profile exists for community and court interpreters today in countries such as Britain, Sweden, the US and Australia: the majority may well prove to be second-generation immigrants belonging to ethnic minority groups.

The pattern is not totally consistent of course, but then patterns never are. In Africa, for instance, in very early times, interpreting was a hereditary and highly revered profession, performed by 'wise men' born to other 'wise men'. In China, the most active and prominent translators in early times were mainly Buddhist monks. These groups cannot be thought of as minorities in the political or economic sense, nor in terms of power. And of course being members of minority groups does not necessarily mean that translators and interpreters did not achieve

a high status. In Turkey, for instance, 'dragomans' were held in high esteem and earned very high incomes between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries; there was even a Translators' Mosque built in Istanbul in the sixteenth century, which is surely a sign of respect for the profession. Also, translators and interpreters who belonged to religious minorities enjoyed great privileges: they were exempt from the capitation tax levied on non-Muslims in the Islamic world in general and were allowed a wide range of privileges that could normally only be enjoyed by Muslims; for example a non-Muslim translator was allowed to grow a beard and ride a horse.

There are also patterns within patterns. As far as interpreters in the colonial context are concerned for instance, the profile is mixed: there are essentially two groups. One group consists of native interpreters and another consists of members of the colonial culture – in Latin America, Canada and the United States, both are prominent. The role of native interpreters is of course socially and psychologically more complex and many were often branded as traitors by their people. *Malinchista* is a term of abuse in Mexico and among the Chicano community in America: it is used to refer to someone who sells out or betrays a cause, because Malinche (Doña Marina), who interpreted for Hernán Cortés in the early sixteenth century, was heavily implicated in his colonial schemes, acting as his informant and warning him of ambushes by her people. The status of native interpreters in these contexts was not particularly high, unlike their colonial counterparts, and we see in Africa for instance a distinct deterioration in status with the arrival of colonialism.

Women, an important minority group, were often not allowed to work as translators; for example, the profession of sworn translator in Brazil was regulated by Royal Decree in 1851, and women were explicitly barred from the profession.

Role and status of translators and interpreters

In the colonial context, we find translators and interpreters, but particularly interpreters, taking on an amazing range of responsibilities which go far beyond linguistic mediation. Interpreters in the colonial context acted as guides, explorers,

brokers, diplomats, ambassadors and advisers on Indian or local affairs; that is why they were sometimes branded as traitors, because they were indispensable to the colonial authorities. In other contexts, too, translators and interpreters were expected to perform a wide variety of tasks. Translators, or more specifically interpreters, in oral traditions such as the African tradition were expected to act as spokesmen for their communities, not just as linguistic mediators. In the eighteenth century in Turkey, the duty of the Naval Dragoman included the supervision of the collection of taxes from non-Muslim subjects, though later on the 1839 Tanzimat limited his responsibility to interpreting again, i.e. strictly linguistic mediation.

In terms of status, the highest status attained by translators and interpreters seems to have been linked to the profession being hereditary, as in the case of the 'wise men' in the oral tradition of Africa, who passed on their skills to their sons. Other examples include the *tsujii*s in Japan, who exercised family monopolies on interpreting in this area from the seventeenth century until the end of Japan's isolation in the second half of the nineteenth century. There are also the Greek Phanariots in Turkey in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who similarly had sole control of the profession. All these groups were highly regarded by their communities and earned a very respectable living.

Working contexts

Another interesting area worth investigating concerns the use of interpreters in contexts where we very rarely see them used today. The role of interpreters in educational contexts is of particular interest here. This seems to have been fairly common at various periods, though it is hardly ever discussed in the literature, except perhaps with reference to sign language interpreting for deaf children.

In the early Byzantine period the Greek *antikinsores* (professors of law) used to make Latin texts accessible to their students in class by first providing a detailed introduction in Greek to the particular Latin section of a given law. This was not a word-for-word translation but a general explanation of the law. Often the students would be asked to attempt a translation of the Latin text, and if they ran into difficulty the

antikinsores would provide them with the translations of particular terms. This was known as interpreting *kata poda* (lit. 'on foot').

In China in the early centuries AD, interpreters played an important role in Buddhist translation forums, which were both intensive seminars on Buddhist sutras and also meant to produce Buddhist texts in Chinese translation. Interpreters acted as intermediaries between a 'Chief Translator', who often knew no Chinese but who was a Buddhist monk and provided explanations of the Buddhist texts, and a Chinese 'Recorder', who was the person responsible for producing a translation on the basis of the monk's explanation.

In Turkey, dragomans were used in institutions such as the School of Military Engineering in the eighteenth century to interpret for foreign instructors who did not speak Turkish. And the same happened in Egypt around the mid-nineteenth century, when the various schools set up by Muhammed Ali relied on foreign instructors who had to have interpreters in the classroom to communicate with their students.

Incentives for translation activity

The incentives which gave rise to periods of intensive translation activity in different parts of the world have varied a great deal over the centuries. One such incentive was the spread of Buddhism in China; the need to translate Buddhist sutras into Chinese, starting around the mid-second century, supported a massive translation movement, often sponsored by the government, lasting for some nine centuries. Other incentives include the massive campaigns to translate the Bible in most of Europe, as well as Greek classics and learning in general in the Islamic World and later in Europe. The Qur'an, unlike the Bible, has never supported a serious translation movement anywhere in the world, because of the belief in its untranslatability (QUR'AN [KORAN] TRANSLATION), but it has supported a tradition of commentary, which very often included long stretches of word-for-word translation.

Most of us tend to take such incentives for granted, because they are often too close to home for us to realize that they are culture- and period-specific. So we might not think that there is anything special about saying that the Bible has provided the main impetus for translation

activity in much of Europe since the birth of Christianity. It is only by comparison with what was happening in other parts of the world, and at different periods of time, that we can see what is specific about this pattern. For instance, when we come to look at the history of translation in Greece, we find that there is an almost total lack of interest in translation from the early days until fairly recent times, and this is precisely because the two main incentives to early thinking about translation in other countries – namely, the translation of ancient Greek texts and of the New Testament – were not present in Greece, since the original texts remained relatively accessible to Greek readers for a long time.

Another major incentive for massive translation activity, more typical of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is the establishment of official bilingualism in countries such as Canada, Finland and Belgium, which tends to support large-scale programmes of administrative and legal translation (rather than translation of religious or academic texts), and of course simultaneous interpreting in such contexts as parliamentary sessions. And linked to this type of incentive is the official recognition of the rights of linguistic and ethnic minorities to be provided with interpreters in courts and similar situations, as well as official documents in their own languages. Today, it would seem, the main impetus for translation is no longer specific religious movements or interest in the classics but rather official policies which recognize and support linguistic heterogeneity, including official bilingualism, recognition of minority rights, the establishment of political and economic unions (such as the EU), and so on. Again, this kind of statement seems rather banal until one places it against the backdrop of other incentives during different historical periods.

Types of translation/interpreting

One of the most fascinating things about exploring the history of translation is that it reveals how narrow and restrictive we have been in defining our object of study, even with the most flexible of definitions. When we read about how African interpreters regularly translated African drum language into actual words, for instance, we begin to realize that the current literature on

translation has hardly started to scratch the surface of this multifaceted and all-pervasive phenomenon. Similarly, intralingual translation is not such a minor issue as the existing literature on translation might suggest. Intralingual translation figures far more prominently in the Greek tradition than interlingual translation: the major preoccupation in Greece has been with translating ancient Greek texts into the modern idiom. I know of no research that looks specifically at the phenomena of intralingual or inter-semiotic translation. We do have classifications such as Jakobson's, which alert us to the possibility of such things as inter-semiotic and intralingual translation, but we do not make any genuine use of such classifications in our research.

An ingenious annotation system was used in Japan around the ninth century; this was known as *kambun kundoku*, or interpretive reading of Chinese. The system was used to enable the Japanese to read Chinese texts without 'translation'. Special marks were placed alongside the characters of Chinese texts to indicate how they can be read in accordance with Japanese word order, and a system of grammatical indicators was used to show inflections. This directly converted the Chinese texts into understandable, if unnatural, Japanese. But was it translation? It seems to be something in between intralingual and interlingual translation, and I do not believe we have any theories that can account for this type of practice either.

What the historical research done for the *Encyclopedia* seems to suggest is that we still know very little about the history of our own profession, that what we know of it indicates that its profile has varied tremendously from one era to another, and – equally important – that the activities of translation and interpreting have taken such a wide variety of forms and have occurred in such a multitude of contexts over the years that we are obliged to look at the historical facts before we can even begin to develop theoretical accounts for this complex phenomenon.

Acknowledgements

This *Encyclopedia* has been six years in the making, during which time a great many people have worked hard to ensure that the end result is as

representative of the discipline and as error-free as is humanly possible. In addition to the 94 contributors who made it possible to put this substantial volume together in the first place and the seven consultant editors who patiently checked every entry after I edited it to weed out some of the remaining errors and infelicities, I must thank the staff at Routledge for their support over an extended period of time. Simon Bell and Louisa Semlyen in particular have been exceptionally patient and supportive. Helen Coward, Alison Foyle, Helen McCurdy, Claire Trocmé, Sarah Foulkes and Sarah Hall all helped at various stages of the project and have been a pleasure to work with.

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Kinga Klaudy revised the final section of the entry on the Hungarian tradition to bring it up to date, following the unfortunate death of Dr György Radó in 1994. Sara Laviosa-Braithwaite provided invaluable support as my Research Assistant for practically the whole of 1995. Juan Sager helped me edit a number of entries when I started to run out of energy in the summer of 1996, and Kirsten Malmkjær stepped in later that summer to give the editing a final push.

Even with so much good will and generous assistance from a large number of people, there are bound to be some errors and infelicities left in this volume, given the scope of the enterprise. For these I have to take full responsibility.

MONA BAKER
APRIL 1997

Introduction to the second edition

The *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* has been the standard and most authoritative reference in the field since it first appeared in 1998. Much has changed since then, however, and the first edition was certainly beginning to 'show its age'. By 2005 it was necessary to begin planning for a new, extensively revised and extended edition to reflect the concerns and priorities of a much enlarged and better established community of scholars.

The growth of translation studies as a discipline is well charted in many recent publications (Kuhiwczak and Littau 2007, Trivedi 2007, Tymoczko 2007, among others), all of which have commented extensively on such developments as the increase in the number of journals dedicated to translation and/or interpreting, the increase in the number of institutions offering degree courses in translation and interpreting, the number of publishers now launching series dedicated to the subject, the availability of dedicated abstracting services (from St. Jerome and John Benjamins), and the stream of encyclopedias (beginning with the first edition of this volume), dictionaries, readers and other anthologies of primary material which have steadily appeared since 1997, with various large projects still under preparation. Trivedi refers to these developments as "the new embarrassment of riches available in the field" (2007:279), no doubt to stress the meteoric speed with which the discipline has taken off in recent years, moving from a position of extreme obscurity and poverty of resources to one in which it is at least as visible and as well endowed with resources as any of the newly established disciplines in the humanities.

Translation studies has traditionally been strongly Eurocentric in orientation, and in some parts of the world continues to be dominated by theoretical paradigms that originated in the West and that are oblivious to the rich and sub-

stantially different experiences of translation outside Europe and North America. However, as translation studies continues to gain a strong foothold in the academy and establish itself as a fully edged discipline, one important and welcome trend at the turn of the century has been a sustained growth of interest in non-western perspectives. Titles which focus heavily on non-western experiences and theorizing of translation include Fenton (2003), Kothari (2003), Chan (2004), Hung and Wakabayashi (2005b), Cockerill (2006), Hermans (2006), Lindsay (2006), Kenny and Ryou (2007), Bandia (2008), Gentzler (2008) and Tahir Gürçağlar (2008), among others. These and similar titles invite us to reconsider the scope and central pre-occupations of the discipline. Cheung's (2006) *Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation*, for instance, introduces us to the monumental project of Buddhist sutra translation which lasted for nearly ten centuries, drawing our attention to the work of central figures such as Kumarajiva and Xuan Zang (as important in the Chinese tradition as St Jerome and Luther in the West, but hitherto largely ignored in our theorizing on translation), and to very different ways of thinking about familiar topics such as translatability and translation criticism.

Engagement with non-western perspectives at the turn of the century did not simply emerge accidentally or spontaneously. It is a deliberate act of intervention undertaken by a number of leading scholars in the field in order to effect a radical and long overdue repositioning of translation studies internationally. Cheung, for example, declares in her introduction to the *Anthology* that she set out

to make available for study a major non-western perspective from which to look at general, technical or theoretical issues relating to translation, and thereby

to promote an international translation studies, one that is less limited by the Eurocentric mode that dominates the present scene.

(2006:2)

Hung and Wakabayashi deplore “the bias in the contemporary field of Translation Studies, which remains highly Eurocentric both in its theoretical explorations and its historical grounding” and declare their aim as “demonstrating that Asian voices on translation are not merely an echo of the Western voice” (2005b:1). Hermans’s two-volume collection of studies focusing on Asia, Africa and the Middle East explicitly sets out to “put translation studies on a global map” and to bring to the fore those “countless others who translate, in their own way, for their own reasons, in their own world”, others that “the traditional discipline of translation studies never even saw” (2006:9). This commitment to opening up translation studies to the world outside the West is also evident in the establishment of the International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies in 2004.

Another interesting phenomenon to emerge at the turn of the century has been a sustained growth of interest in translation and interpreting outside translation studies, a remarkable development given the traditional marginalization of translation studies in the academy. One facet of this interest has involved ‘appropriating’ the concept of translation itself as a trope through which the local concerns of the appropriating discipline may be addressed. Examples include the now popular concept of cultural translation as elaborated in the work of Homi Bhabha. Trivedi (2007:285) sees this particular development as somewhat threatening to translation studies, arguing that

given the usurpation that has taken place, it may be time for all good men and true, and of course women, who have ever practised literary translation, or even read a translation with any awareness of it being translation, to unite and take out a patent on the word ‘translation’, if it is not already too late to do so.

But much of the more recent engagement with translation and interpreting outside the disci-

pline proper has been more focused on these activities as understood in mainstream translation studies. The prevalence and pervasiveness of translation, in all its guises, together with the increased blurring of boundaries between translation and other types of linguistic mediation, have both enticed a variety of disciplines to engage with these phenomena directly. For one thing, leading scholars in other disciplines have increasingly been writing on translation on an individual basis; examples include historians (Dodson 2005), critical discourse analysts (Leeuwen 2006), philosophers (Sampson 2006), literary theorists (Bal 2007) and scholars of journalism (Palmer and Fontan 2007), among others. Some are actively introducing translation studies to their colleagues and encouraging them to engage with it (Miguélez-Carballeira 2007). But even more interestingly, a wide range of international scholarly journals have started to publish entire special issues dedicated to translation and/or interpreting in recent years. These include the following, by no means exhaustive list:

- *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law: Forensic Linguistics*, Volume 6, Number 1 (1999). Special issue on ‘Legal Interpreting’, guest-edited by Diana Eades, Sandra Hale and Michael Cooke.
- *Public Culture*, Volume 13, Number 1 (2001). Special issue on ‘Translation in a Global Market’, guest-edited by Emily Apter.
- *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, Volume 16, Number 2 (2003). Special issue ‘On Translation’, guest-edited by Jessica Brantley and Joseph Luzzi.
- *Wasafiri*, Number 40 (2003). Special issue on ‘Translation’, guest-edited by Theo Hermans and Harish Trivedi.
- *Language and Literature*, Volume 13, Number 1 (2004). Special issue on ‘Translation and Style’, guest-edited by Jean Boase-Beier.
- *Journal of Pragmatics*, Volume 38, Number 3 (2006). Special issue on ‘Translation and Context’, guest-edited by Mona Baker.
- *TRANSIT* (published by the Department of German at the University of California Berkeley, and dedicated to the critical enquiry of travel, migration and multiculturalism in the German-speaking world). Special Topic (2006): Translation and Mobility.

- ♦ *Journal of Visual Culture*, Volume 6, Number 1 (2007). Special issue on 'Acts of Translation', guest-edited by Mieke Bal and Joanne Morra.
- ♦ *Social Semiotics*, Volume 17, Number 2 (2007). Special issue on 'Translation and Conflict', guest-edited by Myriam Salama-Carr.
- ♦ *Theatre Journal*, Volume 59, Number 3 (2007). Special issue on 'Theatre and Translation', guest-edited by Jean Graham-Jones.

The second edition of the *Encyclopedia*

Against this rich and stimulating backdrop, the second edition of the *Encyclopedia* set out to reflect new concerns in the discipline, its growing multidisciplinary and its commitment to break away from its exclusively Eurocentric origins, while holding on to the achievements of the past decades. This has not always proved doable. Thus, for example, in trying to expand the historical part to include more non-western traditions (within the restrictions on space imposed by the publisher), we have either been unable to identify suitable contributors with the relevant expertise, or were promised entries that never materialized. We ended up with only one new entry, on Southeast Asian traditions, and a revised and slightly expanded entry on the Arabic tradition. Our only consolation here is that the first edition had already incorporated many non-western traditions: indeed, commitment to challenging the Eurocentric focus in the discipline was one of the main motivations for undertaking that project in the early 1990s. At the same time, more entries in Part I now actively incorporate non-western perspectives than in the first edition; see, for example, the entries on Classical texts, History of translation, Institutional translation, Machine translation, Postcolonial approaches, Relay, and Retranslation, all of which are written from and devote considerable space to non-western perspectives.

New and developing themes in the discipline are also reflected in a wide range of new entries; these include Censorship, Cultural translation, Deconstruction, Ethics, Fictional representations,

Gender and sexuality, Globalization, Hermeneutics, Minority, Mobility (which covers travel and diasporic contexts), Postcolonial approaches, Rewriting, and Sociological approaches. The range of genres and contexts of translation has also been expanded considerably. In addition to various entries on literary and religious translation, as in the first edition, this edition also includes entries on Advertising, Children's literature, Classical texts, Comics, Commercial translation, Institutional translation, Localization, News gathering and dissemination, and Scientific and technical translation. The growth of interest in interpreting is similarly reflected in additional entries: Asylum, Dialogue interpreting, and Conference interpreting (sociocultural perspectives). Several entries that appeared in the first edition have been amalgamated to avoid fragmentation, and some have been recommissioned (for example, Audiovisual translation, Machine translation, Strategies, Terminology). The remaining entries in Part I have all been revised and updated. The bibliographical references at the end of each entry are now ordered chronologically rather than alphabetically, to give a sense of the evolution of concepts and perspectives.

It remains for us to thank the contributors to this second edition for their professionalism and the quality of their contributions, and to acknowledge our gratitude to numerous colleagues who gave us advice and contributed to this volume in various capacities. In particular, we thank Theo Hermans, Moira Inghilleri, Francis Jones, Dorothy Kenny and Carol Maier for stepping in to write excellent entries at rather short notice when initially commissioned contributions failed to materialize. Martha Mute-sayire provided valuable administrative support. Our consultant editors – Annie Brisset, Martha Cheung, Hoda Elsadda, Theo Hermans, Jeremy Munday, Mahasweta Sengupta, Elżbieta Tabakowska and Kumiko Torikai – offered sound advice throughout. We are also grateful to the staff at Routledge, in particular Andrea Hartill, Ursula Mallows, Andrew Watts and Samantha Vale Noya, who helped at various stages and whose support has been invaluable, and to Mariam Alfarrar for preparing the index.

MONA BAKER AND GABRIELA
SALDANHA

Introduction to the third edition

Since the publication of the first edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* in 1998, the scholarly landscape it aims to represent has gone through a number of dramatic changes. Some of these were taken into consideration in the second edition, which appeared in 2009, but when we started preparing for the third edition in late 2016 it became evident that we were now looking at a drastically different discipline, one that had branched out in several different directions and could no longer be reduced to a set of distinct approaches, or ‘turns’ as some would have it. It was time to revisit our priorities and reflect on what we wish to achieve by publishing another edition of what has become a key work of reference in the discipline. How can the new edition support and extend the many exciting developments that continue to take shape, sometimes in unanticipated directions, even as we write? Importantly, too, how can it bring together the disparate strands now covered by numerous individual works of reference and offer a sense of what continues to allow scholars to refer to a single discipline called translation studies?

The challenge of the first edition, which took some six years to complete, was to chart a territory that had hitherto not been charted. In planning it, Baker chose to open up rather than unduly restrict the scope of the discipline, and acknowledging that comprehensive coverage is impossible to achieve, settled for a “balanced, non-partisan view” (1998:xii) of how this discipline appeared to her at the time. More than two decades later, translation studies has expanded to the point of ‘splintering’ into what some might call subdisciplines, each focusing on a specific mode of translation such as interpreting or audiovisual translation, a research method as in the case of corpus-based studies and descriptive translation studies, or a theoretical perspective such as feminist translation studies, cognitive

translation studies or critical translation studies. We embrace such diversity in the third edition while recognizing the many overlaps and shared concerns that still allow us to talk of translation studies as a discipline, and hence made sure that the three main modes of translation – written, oral and audiovisual – are addressed in all entries where relevant and feasible. For instance, the entry on corpora discusses not only written translation but also corpora of interpreting and of audiovisual translation; similar attention to interpreting and audiovisual translation is evident in the entries on multimodality, critical discourse analysis, symbolic interactionism and sociolinguistics, among others. Where research has been particularly abundant and practices sufficiently differentiated, we chose to dedicate separate entries to each mode of translation; thus there are three entries on technology (for written translation, interpreting and audiovisual translation), and two each on competence, quality, lingua franca and research methodologies (each pair covering written translation and interpreting, respectively). For the sake of convenience, we continue to use *translation* as the umbrella term for a wide range of practices, including spoken, written and signed translation, undertaken by humans or machines, in any historical period and across and between all languages.

In terms of practices, the current edition contains new entries on topics such as audio description, crowdsourced translation, fan translation, healthcare interpreting, legal interpreting, legal translation, media interpreting, mock-translation, non-professional interpreting and subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing, along with revised and expanded entries on topics that were already covered in previous editions, such as literary translation, machine translation, conference interpreting, sign language interpreting and dialogue interpreting. In addition, we have attempted to

reflect two important new trends that continue to shape the development of the discipline. The first is interdisciplinarity, which involves working across disciplines; the second is transdisciplinarity, which involves engaging directly with users and producers of knowledge outside academia. Examples of entries that respond to the first trend include cognition, historiography, intersectionality, sacred texts and world literature; examples of those that respond to the second trend include activism, asylum, conquest, crowdsourced translation, fan translation and non-professional interpreting. Of course, these trends often work together; the entry on publishing landscapes, for example, brings insights from history of the book and applies them to publishing and marketing strategies.

A particularly difficult decision was to discontinue the historical section entitled Traditions. When the first edition of this *Encyclopedia* was planned, historical research on translation was a rather neglected area of scholarship. Through collecting and disseminating what research had been carried out until then, the first and second editions of the *Encyclopedia* gave impetus to the study of national translation histories and encouraged a comparative approach that attempted to reflect the specificities of the contexts in which translation was developing as a practice and discipline. Today, research on the history of translation, in its various modalities, is vibrant and represents a major area of scholarship worthy of several multivolume works of reference in its own right. We therefore decided to focus on contemporary theories, concepts, models and methods. However, the entries included in the Traditions section of the first two editions, as well as entries on topics either no longer covered in the third edition (such as explication, Shakespeare and universals) or covered by new contributors from very different perspectives (such as localization and quality) will be available as free access material through the *Encyclopedia's* legacy website, on the Routledge Translation Studies Portal.

Despite dispensing with the section on Traditions, the challenges of representing the state of the art of a discipline in a state of flux remain significant. Adopting Ingold's (2007) perspective on ways of travelling and ways of acquiring knowledge, applied by Zanettin et al. (2015) in their discussion of conceptual maps and bibli-

ographical research in translation studies, we view the table of contents for the third edition of the *Encyclopedia* as a sketch map that offers a contemporary vista of the current landscape, rather than a cartographic map that attempts an accurate and definitive representation of it. The entries represent areas "where the traffic along different lines of enquiry has gathered enough momentum to become a discernible node" (Zanettin et al. 2015:180), rather than self-contained and established areas of knowledge. While some entries on core traditional topics such as translatability and hermeneutics have been retained, others, such as equivalence, shifts and unit of translation, which seem to have attracted limited scholarly attention in recent years, had to be sacrificed to make space for topics that had gained increased currency in the literature, such as narrative, memory, cosmopolitanism and positioning.

As a discipline becomes established, and some approaches become more entrenched than others, there is an increased risk of dogmatism. In the spirit of encouraging open-mindedness, our approach was to prioritize critical perspectives and quality scholarship that is self-reflective and demonstrates awareness of the rapidly changing world in which it is conducted. We have also tried to offer more differentiated and nuanced accounts of areas of scholarship that were collapsed under broad headings in earlier editions. Thus, for example, the entry on sociological approaches that appeared in the second edition has been replaced by five more specific entries: actor-network theory, field theory, social systems, structuration theory and symbolic interactionism. These better reflect the specificities of each theory and its application to the study of translation. Likewise, the development and diversification of research methodologies called not only for new entries devoted to methods that are now more widely employed, such as ethnography, genetic criticism and conversation analysis, but also for overviews of how that procedural aspect of the discipline has evolved.

To the extent that our main focus in this edition is on core issues shared across different areas of the discipline, and considering how the field has expanded, many of the entries cover abstract concepts, and even those that address concrete areas of practice such as audiovisual translation and conference interpreting focus more on

strands of research than on issues of practice and training. Our decision to give priority to research should not be seen as reflecting a bias in favour of high theory rather than real-world concerns. Quality research, we believe, furthers the development of knowledge but also pays close attention to the impact of such knowledge on the world outside academia, and addresses urgent societal concerns relating to equality, justice and sustainability. Thus, our inclusion of entries on war, politics, sexuality, activism and conquest is intended to demonstrate some of the ways in which translation theories engage with immediate, real-world concerns. Within each entry, moreover, attention is paid to the lived experience of translators and users of translation, as well as the material conditions in which translation takes place.

We share the widely held belief across many disciplines today that language not only reflects but constructs reality, and that we are therefore accountable for the realities our words help to shape. We have tried to implement an editorial policy that favours precise terminology and is critical of the impact of such terminology on the development of different versions of what may appear as the same, objective reality. Thus, for example, we have been wary of propagating the uncritical distinction between East and West as real-world entities. Terms such as 'the West' and 'Western' have been critiqued by scholars such as Saliba (2011) and Appiah (2016). Saliba considers the use of the adjective *western* in relation to the noun *science*, and Appiah considers it in relation to *culture*; both conclude that the main function of the term is oppositional, because it refers to something that has no substance outside the distinction created by the use of the term itself. Both also point to the belief that there exists something such as 'culture' or 'civilization' that constitutes a coherent whole with distinctive characteristics as the underlying problem. Appiah shows how 'Christendom' was replaced with 'Europe' and then with 'the West', and how 'Western' came to be associated with people and then formed a basis of an identity that could claim inheritance to Classical knowledge and art. Ironically, while the label deliberately excludes Islamic culture, the heritage it

claims was largely co-constructed in Arabic as well as Latin and Greek, by both Christian and Muslim scholars, often through translation. We have therefore discouraged the casual employment of terms such as 'Western' and facile distinctions such as 'West vs East', in recognition of our role in the perpetuation of narratives about the nature of the relationships between languages, nations, traditions, religions and anything that could be described as 'cultural', the latter in the adjectival sense privileged not only by Saliba and Appiah but also by Appadurai (1996:13), who describes it as a contrastive property that mobilizes group difference.

This new way of thinking about culture, which is woven into many of the entries in this edition, suggests that the cultural turn that gave so much impetus to translation studies in the second half of the twentieth century is now as much part of the history of translation studies as the linguistic turn it sought to replace. Without our editorial intervention, dozens of new turns would have been announced by the contributors to the present edition, each convinced that the perspective from which he or she approaches their subject is taking the discipline in radically new directions. While not wanting to downplay the dynamism of the discipline or the significance of new developments, we believe it is too early and too ambitious to speak of new turns, if we are to understand by 'turn' the kind of para-digm shift that the cultural turn introduced across the field of humanities. Indeed, while the discipline has arguably reached a new level of maturity, it has not yet generated sufficient historical research on its own development for us to consider whether it does follow the pattern of periods governed by tradition and punctuated by periods of rapid and complete change, or 'turns', as Kuhn claimed about scientific knowledge. If the sketch maps provided by reference works such as the present one, and the views of its editors, are to be trusted, it would appear that, at the moment, the forces of change are gathering around the recognition of translation as an activity that demands ethical accountability, but such forces have not yet managed to overthrow the vision of translation as a benign bridge between languages and cultures. Whether the moment is ripe for a turn in that or any other

direction, or whether we are still learning to manage the weight of our newly acquired tradition as a discipline, remains to be seen.

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Activism

In the wake of neoliberal, corporate-led globalization and at a time when the social, economic, ecological and human situation in many regions of the world has been worsening at an unprecedented rate, activists have increasingly resorted to translation in their attempt to connect across the globe and to bring about social and political change. Scholars have not remained indifferent to these developments on the ground. In line with postcolonial, feminist and sociological approaches that had come to the fore in the field since the 1990s, translation scholars have explored some of the ways in which practitioners and academics might actively address power asymmetries in discourse and in practice. This strand of research was heralded by the publication of three volumes that first addressed activism in the field: a special issue of the journal *TTR on Translation and Social Activism* (Simon 2005), the collected volume *Translation, Resistance, Activism: Essays on the Role of Translators as Agents of Change* (Tymoczko 2010d) and a Spanish-English bilingual volume published in the same year, *Compromiso social y Traducción/ Interpretación – Translation/Interpreting and Social Activism* (Boéri and Maier 2010). Articles appearing in these three publications engage with a wide range of topics, including translation strategies aimed at resisting cultural domination (Bandia 2010; Bastin et al. 2010; Cheung 2010; Leclerc 2005; Tymoczko 2010a), dictatorship (Dimitriu 2010; Milton 2010) and censorship (Merkle 2010; Ortega Sáez 2010), and the desirability of translators' and interpreters' intervention in favour of minority groups, be they women (Castro 2010) or migrants (López Ponz 2010) in order to redress power imbalances in their access to basic rights (Barsky 2005; Clifford 2005; Klimkiewicz 2005).

Research trajectories and themes

As attested by the contributions to these three volumes, research on activism in translation builds on broader interest in issues of ideology, power and agency evident since the 1990s and the subsequent questioning of the traditional paradigm of neutrality and invisibility (Angelilli 2004b; Baker 2005a; Tymoczko 2003/2014; Venuti 1995b/2008). However, it differs from this tradition in a number of important ways, as identified in Boéri (2008/2009); these differences mark the boundaries of this new strand of activist scholarship and scholarship on activism.

Unlike traditional research on resistance and visibility (Levine 1983/1992; Venuti 1993/2010, 1995b/2008, 1998a), research on activism eschews the emphasis on generalized strategies such as foreignization and domestication and on subtle stylistic interventions. Scholars such as Tymoczko (2000a) and Boéri (2008/2010) have gone further in questioning the postmodern and postcolonial rhetoric of translation as a tool of resistance in these terms, arguing that it outstrips the actual power of social change that individual translators have at their disposal. Research on activism further focuses on practices beyond the translation and interpreting industry, looking in particular at the context of civil society (Susam Sarajeva 2010; Boéri and de Manuel Jerez 2011), social movements (Boéri and Hodgkinson 2005; Boéri 2008/2009, 2012b, 2013; Baker 2013a, 2016a; Mortada 2016; Selim 2016; Doerr 2012, 2018) and digital culture (Pérez-González 2010, 2014c, 2016). This focus has served to highlight the powerlessness of translators in the market sector, especially when they are faced with situations of injustice, and the agency exercised by activist volunteer translators. Research on activism has drawn attention to the fact that the injustices suffered

by many communities are systemic rather than merely linguistic in nature, and that there is little that translators and interpreters can do within the confines of the communication encounter alone, despite their awareness of such injustices. A case in point, examined by Jacquemond (2010), is that of the instrumentalization of translation and interpreting in European translation policies towards the Arab world in the mass media and the book industry since World War II, and especially in the aftermath of 9/11. Jacquemond observes that “the Arabic translator experiences what Bourdieu refers to as a *souffrance de position* (positional suffering) as a result of the unequal relationship that prevails between Arab societies and the main Western powers” (ibid:41). By contrast, the involvement of translators and interpreters in radical grassroots activism in unconventional settings such as uprisings (Baker 2016a; Mortada 2016; Selim 2016) and refugee camps (Celik and Cheesman 2018) has contributed to closing the gap between the postcolonial discourse of resistance and actual practices on the ground.

Research on activism foregrounds the collective dimension of both translation and activism, which tends to be downplayed in the type of scholarship focused on the translator as the sole motor of change, particularly in the field of literary translation. A number of studies have examined activist communities of translators and interpreters, whose attempt to contribute to concrete political agendas through volunteer work has gained increased visibility outside the translation industry. These communities include ECOS, the association of volunteer translators and interpreters based at the University of Granada (de Manuel Jerez et al. 2004; Sánchez Balsalobre et al. 2010; Baker 2009); Babels, the international network of volunteer translators and interpreters working with the Social Forum (Boéri 2008/2009, 2010, 2012b, 2014a, 2014b, 2015a; Baker 2006d/2010, 2009, 2013a; Lampropoulou 2010); and Tlaxcala, the international network of translators for linguistic diversity (Baker 2006d/2010, 2009, 2013a; Talens 2010).

The borderline between what may be considered a collective or an individual activist endeavour, however, has become increasingly blurred, especially in the wake of the unprecedented technologization of social action – for example, through social media – that has defined

activist practices since the second decade of the twenty-first century. Individuals now come together for a short period to use collaborative platforms that allow them to produce, translate, subtitle and dub a wide range of disruptive discourses across different media, and then disperse; Pérez-González (2010, 2014c) refers to these formations as ad-hocracies, in his case of subtitling amateurs. The increased fluidity of communities means that the individual translator involved in such initiatives increasingly loses visibility, a pattern which, according to Tymoczko (2007), may prove an obstacle to political effectiveness. At the same time, the invisibility of the individual translator does not prevent a translation collective such as Babels or Tlaxcala – and its capacity to circulate disruptive, sensitive and at times high-risk messages – from being highly visible, indeed just as visible as fansubbing communities and activist collectives of non-professional translators such as the Cuaderno del Campo bloggers discussed in Pérez-González (2014c) and Mosireen and Words of Women in the Egyptian Revolution examined by Baker (2016a). Individual translators’ invisibility seems to have more to do with factors such as high-risk activism in situations of strong repression (Baker 2016a, 2018a), the reluctance within contemporary activist culture to credit individuals, including those who have shot or edited an activist video, and, more problematically “entrenched attitudes to translation . . . as a secondary and derivative activity” (Baker 2018a:457), even among the activist translators themselves (Baker 2016a).

An important defining feature of research on activism is that it acknowledges the risks of co-optation and the reproduction of power inherent in any initiative aspiring to effect social change, including activist research. Baker (2018a) argues that activism is fashionable, easily claimed by many parties and can be made to serve contradictory goals. For example, the special issue of *TTR* on translation and activism is explicitly framed by Sherry Simon as a reaction against Mona Baker’s decision to boycott Israeli institutions in support of the Palestinian cause. Simon’s restrictive definition of activism as a category of “intervention [that] takes the form both of theoretical interventions and textual practice” is thus meant to preclude this type of action by translation scholars. Simon’s restrictive definition of intervention, which she rightly or wrongly associates with Lawrence Venuti’s work, has the

effect of subordinating activism to the interests of the translation studies community. “There is a desirable collusion”, she states, “between translation studies as a discipline and progressive social and political agendas. But this collusion must be based on principles of scholarly solidarity” (Simon 2005:9). Solidarity among translation scholars is presented within this restricted stance as overriding social and political causes or issues of injustice. Katan similarly confuses the definition of activism when he associates it with research on quality (Katan 2008:9; Baker 2018a) as a means of reconciling the pressure to be partisan with the traditional view of translation as neutral. This is particularly problematic given that quality is also prone to instrumentalization by corporate agendas, particularly in the case of the conference interpreting establishment (Boéri 2008/2009, 2016). Perhaps as a result of their “hybrid interpreter-activist profile” (Boéri 2008/2009:31), activist communities like Babels and ECOS experience the double challenge of providing quality interpreting at the same time as implementing their activist principles (Boéri 2012b). These principles encourage activists to seek innovative forms of addressing issues of quality while staying true to their activist principles, which may include arranging for professionals and novices to team up in the booth or organizing ad hoc training sessions (Boéri 2010, 2012a, 2014a; Lampropoulou 2010; Sánchez Balsalobre et al. 2010; Boéri and de Manuel Jerez 2011).

Being mostly undertaken on a volunteer basis, activist practices of translation can be easily co-opted. To address this risk, scholar-activists from ECOS (de Manuel Jerez et al. 2004) draw a line between the political act of volunteering for civil society and social movements on the one hand, and volunteering at public services settings on the other; in the latter, volunteering may constitute a negative sign of misrecognition of interpreting as a civic right and thus contribute to unfair structures of employment. Focusing on Translators without Borders as a case in point, Baker (2006d/2010) and Piróth and Baker (forthcoming) alert us to the risk of volunteer activist translators serving commercial agendas even within civil society organizations which are promoted as not-for-profit entities. Supposedly set up to provide free translations to humanitarian organizations, especially Doctors without Bor-

ders, Translators without Borders initially functioned, in the 1990s, as an offshoot and a selling point of Eurotexte, a Paris-based commercial translation agency, “thus arguably commodifying the very idea of establishing political communities of action within the professional world of translation” (Baker 2006d/2010:24). Since then, Piróth and Baker point out,

some of the largest translation companies (including Lionbridge, Moravia, Textminded and Elanex), as well as agenda-setters of the bulk translation market (such as ProZ.com, TAUS, Common Sense Advisory, Localization World and Multilingual Magazine) have all been represented on TWB’s board of directors or advisory board, making TWB look like the philanthropic arm of a massive business consortium.

These shifts in activist agendas and the risk of co-optation explain why activist communities of translators and interpreters spend a considerable amount of time and energy debating and reflecting on the legitimacy of volunteering for any given project. Boéri (2014b) discusses how Babels delimits its scope of involvement, and Sánchez Balsalobre et al. (2010) discuss similar issues in relation to ECOS.

Awareness of the risks, tensions and contradictions involved in activism means that civil society is not considered as a normative ideal space where being involved as a volunteer and being politically engaged is inherently good. Instead, civil society is critically examined as a space fraught with contradictions (Boéri 2012b). Activist communities of translators and interpreters operating within this dynamic occupy “a ‘liminal’ space between the world of activism and the service economy” (Baker 2013a:23), between professional dominance and resistance, between constraints and emancipation.

Spaces and sites of intervention

Research on activism has so far focused less on textual intervention and more on the broader role of the translator as a social and political actor. Paradoxically, it is in the field of conference interpreting – which has traditionally serviced

the most powerful players in society (Cronin 2002; de Manuel Jerez 2010; Bahadır 2010; Boéri 2015a, 2015b) and promoted the strongest rhetoric of non-intervention (Angelelli 2004) – that activist practices have led to a significant shift in perspective (Boéri 2008/2009, 2016; Baker 2018b). Volunteer (mainly simultaneous) interpreting carried out in social movement events has profoundly disrupted the ethos of the interpreting establishment (Boéri 2015b, 2016). In this strand of research, however, intervention in the organizational and interpreting policy of the event (Boéri 2012b) has taken precedence over textual intervention in the booth (Boéri 2008/2009; Baker 2018a). As noted by Tymoczko (2007), translators' and interpreters' concern for textual integrity generally tends to override their ideological positioning. This may be due to perception of their status as secondary and to the restrictive codes of practice they have to abide by within the communication encounter. It is by way of stepping out of the subservient role they are assigned within the communication encounter itself that they might find some leeway to adopt a political stance.

Scholars and practitioners thus tend to draw a line between the realm of the text, where non-intervention is expected, and the larger societal space outside the communication encounter, where intervention is more likely to occur and be accepted. A case in point is Camayd-Freixas, who, in his capacity as a certified interpreter for US Federal Courts, witnessed the flaws of a mass processing of illegal immigrants working in a meat plant in Postville, Iowa. Camayd-Freixas did not intervene to stop the injustices he was witnessing while he was interpreting, but he later alerted the appropriate jurisdictional services and the US public of the collusion between the prosecutor and the judge and the consequent violation of the presumption of innocence (Camayd-Freixas 2008; Morris 2010; Boéri 2015b; Baker 1992/2018). This strategy has now been enshrined in the 'Ethics and Standards for the Community Interpreter', a training tool established by a group of scholars and practitioners; it states that "the community interpreter, while avoiding taking sides during the interpreted session, may consider reporting a service provider who is breaking the law or violating his or her professional ethics to an appropriate supervisor or an institution of justice" (García-Beyaert et al. 2015:17).

Audiovisual translation, Pérez-González argues, constitutes a particularly interesting "site of interventionist practice", especially within the space of subtitles (2014b:255–56). Both Pérez-González (*ibid.*) and Baker (2014) observe a wide array of textual strategies such as the use of sarcasm and the subversion of conventions. Unlike broad categories such as foreignization and domestication, and as pointed out by Baker (2016a, 2018a), the extent to which the strategies adopted by activists may serve activist goals will depend on the context, on translators' or subtitlers' political goals and on whether they see themselves as activists who happen to translate or as activist translators (Guo 2008; Baker 2013a). Activist subtitlers who view themselves primarily as translators and have been socialized into a particular view of the translator's role may be more likely to adopt a rather passive attitude in terms of textual intervention, despite their active involvement in political events, whereas fansubbers have long adopted a wide range of interventionist strategies (Baker 2018a).

Research on contemporary social movements suggests that activists must strive to close the gap between principles and (textual) practices and to embody the change they call for by adopting prefigurative strategies (Maeckelbergh 2007, 2009, 2011). Boéri, in her case study of Babels' interpreting policy (Boéri 2012b), and Baker, in her review of activism in the audiovisual sphere (2016a, 2018a), both call for adopting prefigurative translation in all its possible modalities, so that activist translation can come to actualize the commitment to solidarity, diversity, horizontality and non-representational modes of practice. In this view, prefigurative politics can blur the distinction between textual and non-textual intervention, as evidenced in the activist translations of the voices of the Zapatistas (Zaslavsky 2006). Nevertheless, prefiguration, as discussed in Boéri's and Baker's work, is hindered by a series of factors. These include time pressure given the urgent need to get the message across, the need for efficiency and the difficulty of achieving it given massive participation that requires some level of planning and some form of organizational formalization, an uncritical resort to technologies and the reliance on dominant languages to spread activist messages across the globe, and ultimately, the uncritical acceptance of a rather passive attitude

to textual intervention by activist translators and interpreters.

Activist practices extend well beyond a mere linguistic diversity agenda (Gambier 2007:659) and beyond “theoretical interventions and textual practice” (Simon 2005:10). The political, aesthetic, cultural and technological implications of the full range of activist translation practices must be investigated, taught and debated both within and outside the discipline, and beyond the prescriptive bounds of dominant views of translation and dominant prisms of analysis. If scholars and activists are to address the challenge of understanding and adopting prefigurative strategies of translation, the discipline will need to engage not only with translation policies but also with the actual performance of translators and interpreters in all possible modalities.

See also:

AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION; CONFERENCE AND SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING; CROWDSOURCED TRANSLATION; FAN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; GLOBALIZATION; MOCK-TRANSLATION; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS; POLITICS

Further reading

Baker, M. (ed.) (2016) *Translating Dissent: Voices from and with the Egyptian Revolution*, London & New York: Routledge.

Focuses on the movement that emerged out of the Egyptian experience since 2011, and features contributions on a wide range of text genres, including webcomics, political cartoons, graffiti, archives and the subtitling of activist videos. The volume won the *Inttranews* 2016 Linguists of the Year Award.

Boéri, J. and C. Maier (eds) (2010) *Compromiso social y traducción/interpretación – Translation/Interpreting and Social Activism*, Granada: ECOS.

Features contributions by translation scholars as well as professional translators and activists, all translated from Spanish into English and vice versa by volunteers. Includes a “Manifesto in favour of translation and interpreting at the service of society as a whole and of all societies” (the *Granada Declaration*). Essays are registered under a copyleft licence.

Tymoczko, M. (ed.) (2010) *Translation, Resistance, Activism: Essays on the role of translators as agents of change*, Cambridge, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

A collection of papers which examine key translations and translation movements and place the focus on actual change effected by activist translation across time and space. The volume enriches the theorization of translation and empowers translators and translation scholars to critically engage with activist translation.

JULIE BOÉRI

Actor-network theory (ANT)

Actor-network theory (ANT) was first developed in the 1980s at the Centre for the Sociology of Innovation (Centre de Sociologie de l’Innovation, CSI) in France to respond to the need for a new social theory that could engage with science and technology studies (Latour 2005). The key figures associated with this approach are Bruno Latour and Michel Callon, both CSI scholars, as well as John Law, who was a visiting scholar at the Centre when the approach was initially formulated. The founding statements of ANT are generally considered to be a number of pioneer studies published in the 1980s: Callon (1986), Latour (1988) and Law (1986).

Conceived as an attempt to understand the genesis of scientific (arte)facts and processes of innovation, ANT is predicated on the claim that “it is utterly impossible to understand what holds society together without reinjecting in its fabric the facts manufactured by the natural and social sciences, as well as the artefacts designed by engineers” (Latour 1996:3). Social and natural entities also need to be factored in when “reassembling the social” (Latour 2005:8), and they need to be accorded similar attention. The social is not there to explain the natural: the social itself needs to be explained. As such, accounts of processes of innovation in ANT draw connections (or networks) between entities (or actors), instead of employing a string of social explanations as other competing

theories do. For instance, rather than seeing Pasteur's bacteriology as the product of a single genius, ANT describes it as a network effect (Latour 2005:107). It is Pasteur's own bacteria that seem to largely explain what it meant to be "socially connected" (ibid.) during the Second Empire in France. Being contagious or uncontaminated appears as the new social divide. As Latour puts it, "the direction of causality between what is to be explained and what provides an explanation is not simply reversed, but thoroughly subverted: the contagion redraws the social maps" (ibid.:108), rather than the other way round.

In order to avoid excessive investment in the idea of social causation, ANT proposes to think "in terms of nodes that have as many dimensions as they have connections" (Latour 1996:3). Universal laws, whether social or natural, are not the point of departure for any ANT-inspired enquiry; instead, the point of departure is "irreducible, incommensurable, unconnected localities, which then, at a great price, sometimes end into provisionally commensurable connections" (ibid.). In other words, ANT proposes a change of topology; it has no predetermined order relation,

it is not tied to the axiological myth of a top and of a bottom of society; it makes absolutely no assumption whether a specific locus is macro- or micro- and does not modify the tools to study the element 'a' or the element 'b'.

(ibid.:5)

There exist only movements that may generate traceable associations, and looking at those associations is what ANT scholars are interested in. This also explains why ANT has been called a "sociology of associations" (Latour 2005:9).

Latour warns, however, that networks are not "out there", but rather emerge as the study progresses: while a "network in mathematics or in engineering is something that is traced or inscribed by some other entity – the mathematician, the engineer. . . –, an actor-network is an entity that does the tracing and the inscribing" (Latour 1996:7). It is in order to bring out this essential feature of networks that the word *actor* was added as a descriptor of *network* (Latour 1996). An actor is therefore "a semiotic

definition", Latour explains, "an *actant*" (the influence of Greimas's actantial model, one of the two main sources of inspiration for ANT, the other being Garfinkel's ethnomethodology, can be clearly seen here); it is "something that acts or to which activity is granted by others" (ibid.). Actors, subsequently, do not necessarily have to be humans. An actant may be any entity that is "granted to be the source of an action" (ibid.). It can be people, crowds, microbes, machines, ideas, technologies, even fate (Latour 1988:252). In other words, the strings of all these heterogeneous actors involved in creating meaning are both semiotic and material (Latour 2005). The concept of translation in ANT accounts for the process by which these heterogeneous actors are recruited by what the theory refers to as spokesmen in the process of building stable networks.

The process of building stable networks is illustrated in Callon's famous 1986 study of how three marine biologists try to develop a conservation strategy in St Brieuc Bay in order to produce more scallops. According to Callon, the process of translation consists of four stages which build and change the network: problematization, interessement, enrolment and mobilization. Problematization is the stage in which the problem is defined by the spokespersons, that is, the actors who speak on behalf of other network actors (agents) and attempt to mobilize them. This stage involves presenting the nature of the problem, identifying all the (human and non-human) intermediary actors involved, and formulating an idea of how the problem can be solved if the actors agree to cooperate. In the case described by Callon, for instance, the problem is a decline in the population of scallops in St Brieuc Bay; the actors identified by the researchers are the three researchers themselves, the fishermen, the scallops and the scientific community (all treated at the same level); and the solution is initiating the research programme to restock the St Brieuc Bay in order to produce more scallops. Interessement is a process by which the spokespersons seek to get the other actors to do something (a role that is assigned to them in the research programme) by showing them how the programme can work to their benefit. Enrolment is a set of "multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks" (Callon 1986:211) which lead the actors to accept the

roles they have been assigned. Finally, mobilization refers to the moment in which the spokespersons of the enrolled communities can speak and act on behalf of others as allies, without disagreement. In Callon's account, the scallops, fishermen and specialists are initially dispersed and not easily accessible to one another; by the end we see them reassembled around a common goal, and see that this mobilization or concentration has a physical reality that is materialized through a series of traceable displacements (Law 1987).

In this respect, ANT is not only an ontological proposition, but also a methodology, a vehicle through which the actors may be 'followed' – that is, through which their displacements may be traced in order to see how the network emerges, consolidates and grows. In order to trace these displacements without "imposing a pre-established grid of analysis" (Callon 1986:201), it is necessary to conduct ethnographic fieldwork. Researchers can assemble exhaustive accounts of how scientific (arte)facts and processes of innovation emerge through participant observation of science in the making, in laboratories, complemented with interviews and the analysis of textual accounts; these accounts are not restricted to published articles, but also include other material such as drafts of scientific articles, grant applications and correspondence (Latour 1988, 2005). The connection with Garfinkel's ethnomethodology, the second main source of inspiration for ANT (Latour 2005), can clearly be seen here.

ANT theorists suggest that provided we can develop adequate descriptions of the displacement of actors – that is the way they are transformed, or translated, in order to become part of an actant network – there is no need for other categories to explain the social. This one-level ontology has been found by most disciplines, including translation and interpreting studies, to be the most original but also the most controversial claim of ANT.

ANT and translation studies

From the 1990s onward, ANT became increasingly popular and was applied – not without misunderstandings and "much abuse" (Latour 1996:2) – to fields beyond science and

technology studies, including organizational analysis, computer science, health studies, geography, sociology, anthropology, environmental studies and economics, among other fields. This can partly be explained by the fact that, as the Polish philosopher Ewa Binczyk argued, ANT is a useful tool for diagnosing "the global, uncertain, changeable, contemporary conditions of reality and society" (2008:205).

While Pym (1998) had already drawn on the notion of network in his work on the history of translation, it was Buzelin (2005) who more explicitly introduced ANT to translation scholars, in an article published in a special issue of *The Translator* on Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting. She outlined the theory's main concepts, claims and methodology but also explored the potential complementarity between ANT, which was then largely unknown in the discipline, and Bourdieu's social theory, the most popular sociologically oriented approach to studying translation and interpreting at the time. Unlike other contributors to the special issue, such as Inghilleri (2005b), who argued that all sociological-oriented approaches to translation should always take Bourdieu as a starting point, Buzelin claimed that Latour's network theory can not only complement but also bypass some of the blind spots and pitfalls of Bourdieu's social theory. "ANT-inspired research", she suggested,

can more efficiently reveal the existence of translation networks which are not clearly visible at the field or polysystem level, while Bourdieu's approach may direct our attention to institutional factors that still inform, to varying degrees depending on the context, the translation process.

(2005:210)

This complementary use of ANT and Bourdieu, moreover, would allow scholars of translation and interpreting "to move further . . . in the development of a more agent- and process-oriented type of research" (ibid.:195).

What scholars of translation and interpreting found useful following this intervention was mostly the methodological dimension of ANT, specifically its ethnomethodologically informed use of ethnography and semiotics, rather than its full-fledged ontology – the idea that all social

life can be accounted for on one level, namely that of networks. As Buzelin explains,

the observation, recording, and analyses of translational practices locally . . . combined with the study of the various drafts of a translation, will generate data that should enable us to get a better idea of who participates in the production of a translation, how they negotiate their position, and of how much and where translators . . . comply with or contest norms. (2005:205)

This methodology, in turn, provides the necessary empirical means to test the assumption that translation is a locus of tension and contestation, which has been repeatedly advanced by postcolonial and cultural studies theorists of translation without empirical evidence (Buzelin 2005, 2012). Buzelin (2005) and Pym (2010) have thus suggested that scholars of translation might reflect on the connections between ANT's concept of translation and the concept of cultural translation as used in postcolonial and cultural theories, where cultural translation serves as an explanatory metaphor to account for the displacement, hybridity and tension involved in crossing cultural borders. These connections remain unexplored, and as a primarily empirical approach to the study of social life, ANT's attraction continues to be strongest among empirically oriented scholars of translation.

ANT lends itself to being applied to a wide range of translation settings and workplaces (Risku et al. 2016b), including publishing houses, translation and localization agencies, hospitals, courts, schools and refugee camps, and to the work of freelance as well as in-house translators, and professional as well as amateur translators and interpreters. And yet, to date studies that draw on ANT have largely been confined to literary translation (Buzelin 2006, 2007a, 2007b; Bogic 2010; Córdoba Serrano 2007, 2013; Haddadian Moghaddam 2012; Hekkanen 2009; F. Jones 2009; Kung 2009; Tahir Gürçağlar 2007). These studies adopt a range of methodologies and differ in the way they apply ANT, but they all draw on ANT in describing the complexity of the interactions of various actors involved in the production of literary translations. They focus not only on what happens after a book is selected

for translation and the translation rights are acquired, but also on all the processes and events that precede the selection of a book for translation (Córdoba Serrano 2013): the strategies deployed, the negotiations and sometimes pure happenstance that lead some actors to select one book for translation instead of another. In these types of ANT-inspired studies, authors examine how the multiple actors involved in completing a literary translation project – publishers, translators, revisers, but also scouts, literary agents, readers, subsidizing agencies, cultural attachés and critics – negotiate their different viewpoints, interests and power positions, in order to bring a translation project to life. Interviews, participant observation, but also close examination of translation contracts, correspondence between different actors, translation drafts and article reviews are used to trace the emergence and completion of a translation project. In some case studies, such as Buzelin (2006, 2007b) and Kung (2009), the findings demonstrate how the interaction between these actors can affect not only editorial but also textual choices, thus bypassing the text-context divide accentuated in the study of translation and interpreting by sociological approaches, which are mostly focused on external factors. ANT-inspired case studies also offer insights into the role of previously overlooked agents, such as the literary agent, and publishing practices, for example copublishing of translations.

ANT has also informed some research that deals with themes other than the manufacture of literary texts. Abdallah (2012), for example, draws on ANT to examine how translation production networks – that is, relationships among firms of different sizes, from multinational companies to small businesses – are organized. Risku and Windhager (2013) deploy ANT to explain some of the ways in which translation project managers' work has changed over a period of six years in a translation services company in Vienna. Devaux (2016) offers a rare application of ANT to interpreting, specifically court interpreting. He analyzes the interaction between interpreters and videoconference systems in legal settings in order to establish whether the nature of this interaction affects how interpreters perceive their role.

Because an ANT-informed methodology discourages researchers from imposing

preestablished and homogeneous categories on the object of study, it offers more scope for examining individual agency and interpersonal dynamics (Tahir Gürçağlar 2007:728). It is also more tolerant of unpredictability and coincidence, especially in relation to understanding processes of importation of foreign literary texts. This level of flexibility and ability to engage with complex social phenomena reveals the limitations of functionalist and polysystemic approaches, according to which translation always fills a void or specific function(s) in the target culture. In addition, the fact that ANT factors humans and non-humans in its accounts allows for a better description and understanding of socio-technical systems. In relation to translation production processes, this requires examining not only the translators (or interpreters) but also other actors such as clients, subject-matter experts, colleagues, revisers and project managers, as well as the many tools that they use, including text processors, online research tools, translation memories, management tools and interpreting equipment. This hybrid approach renders ANT applicable to different genres and contexts of translation, including literary and non-literary translation, thus narrowing the gap between research and practice, and between the various subdisciplines. By empirically documenting the rapid changes that the translation industry is currently experiencing and the new practices that are emerging in globalized production networks, which can be relevant for translators and interpreters' daily life, but also for those entering the profession (and their trainers), ANT can also offer a valuable contribution to the sociology of the profession.

Future directions

While scholars of translation and interpreting have acknowledged the potential of ANT, they have also expressed a certain discomfort with some of its assumptions, particularly with regards to the claim that there is no more to social life than networks. Even Pym (2007b), who has been very critical of other social theories that impose fixed social categories on the study of translation, has expressed a sense of dissatisfaction also with ANT's ontology, arguing that "[we] cannot accept that there is

nothing but network, that there is a single-level ontology to social life" and that we must be able to "follow the cultural networks that crossed the national border, without annulling the power of that border" (ibid.:746–747). This objection to ANT's one-level ontology may explain why the approach has seldom been used in its entirety or on its own in translation and interpreting studies, but mainly as a complement to other social theories, primarily Bourdieu's (Bogic 2010; Córdoba Serrano 2007; Haddadian Moghaddam 2012; Hekkanen 2009; Kung 2009; Abdallah 2014), but also activity theory and Goffman's social game theory (F. Jones 2009), Barabási's general network theory (Abdallah 2012), and situated cognition and activity theory (Risku and Windhager 2013).

There is scope for more collaboration between ANT and cognitive studies. 'Reinjecting' the social in cognitive-oriented approaches could allow researchers to develop a more robust strand of process-oriented translation research and bridge the gap between the two prevailing orientations: process- and product-oriented studies. Indeed, some research has already started to move in that direction. For instance, Risku and Windhager, making use of ANT in combination with situated cognition and activity theory, have argued for a "situated, embodied cognition view of translation" which would enable the researcher to do "justice to the fact that cognitive translation processes also develop within specific cultures and are dependent on the place and time of this development" (2013:34). Much also remains to be explored in terms of applying ANT in the fields of audiovisual translation and interpreting.

In terms of methodological tenets, ANT can be credited with encouraging ethnographic field studies, which have proliferated in translation studies since the introduction of the theory in 2005. But its main contribution to the field, and an important strength of the theory, remains its questioning of the stability and relevance of traditional dichotomies and persistent divides: social vs natural, agent vs structure, human vs non-human, text vs context, literary vs non-literary, research vs practice, and social vs cognitive.

See also:

ETHNOGRAPHY; FIELD THEORY; GENDER; PROCESS RESEARCH; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES,

INTERPRETING; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, TRANSLATION; SOCIAL SYSTEMS; STRUCTURATION; SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM; TECHNOLOGY, INTERPRETING; TECHNOLOGY, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Buzelin, H. (2005) 'Unexpected Allies: How Latour's network theory could complement Bourdieusian analyses in translation studies', *The Translator* 11(2): 193–218.

An overview of ANT's main concepts, merits and limitations, its relevance to translation and interpreting studies and how it could be combined with Bourdieu's social theory to bypass some of its pitfalls.

Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social: An introduction to actor-network theory*, Oxford: Clarendon.

Explains ANT's main concepts and assumptions, and offers clarifications based on misunderstandings and abuses that ANT has experienced since the 1980s.

MARÍA SIERRA CÓRDOBA SERRANO

Adaptation

The notion of adaptation has often been discussed, supported or severely criticized in the field of translation studies. But despite being frequently dismissed as an abusive form of translation, or not translation at all, adaptation is frequently listed among the possible valid solutions to various translational difficulties. Moreover, the idea that all translators engage in adaptation, consciously or otherwise, is implicit in the recognition that translations always undergo what Venuti calls a process of domestication.

Adaptation may be understood as a set of translative interventions which result in a text that is not generally accepted as a translation but is nevertheless recognized as representing a source text. As such, the term may embrace numerous other notions such as appropriation, domestication, imitation and rewriting. Strictly speaking, the concept of adaptation requires recognition of translation as non-adaptation; for this reason, the history of adaptation is parasitic on historical concepts of translation.

The initial divide between adaptation and translation dates back to Cicero and Horace, both of whom referred to the *interpres* (translator) as working word for word and distinguished this method from what they saw as freer but entirely legitimate alternatives. The different interpretations given to the Horatian verse *Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus interpres* (and you will not render word for word [like a] faithful translator) – irrespective of whether they were for or against the word-for-word precept – effectively reveal the logic by which adaptations could be recognized.

The golden age of adaptation was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the epoch of the *Belles infidèles*, which started in France and then spread to the rest of the world. The very free translations carried out during this period were justified in terms of the need for foreign texts to be adapted to the tastes and habits of the target culture since those tastes and habits were considered superior. The nineteenth century witnessed a reaction to a freedom that was seen as infidelity, but adaptation continued to predominate in the theatre. In the twentieth century, the proliferation of technical, scientific and commercial documents has given rise to a preference for transparency in translation, with an emphasis on efficient communication; this could be seen as licencing a form of adaptation which involves rewriting a text for a new readership while maintaining some form of equivalence between source and target texts.

Many historians and scholars of translation continue to take a negative view of adaptation, dismissing the phenomenon as a distortion, falsification or censorship, but it is rare to find clear definitions of the terminology used in discussing this and other related controversial concepts.

Main definitions

Bastin (1998) offers a comprehensive definition of adaptation applied to texts used for teaching purposes and in handbooks, but the concept continues to be part of a fuzzy meta-language used by translation studies scholars. Today, adaptation is considered only one type of intervention on the part of translators, with a distinction being drawn between deliberate

interventions (Bastin 2007) and deviations from literalness.

As one of a number of translation strategies, adaptation can be defined in a technical sense. The best-known definition is that of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), who list adaptation as their seventh translation procedure. This definition views adaptation as a local rather than global strategy, employed to achieve an equivalence of situations wherever cultural mismatches are encountered.

Adaptation is sometimes regarded as a form of translation which is characteristic of particular genres, most notably drama. Indeed, it is in relation to drama translation that adaptation has been most frequently studied. Brisset (1986:10) views adaptation as a reterritorialization of the original work and an “annexation” in the name of the audience of the new version. Santoyo (1989:104) similarly defines adaptation as a means of naturalizing the play for a new milieu, the aim being to achieve the same effect that the work originally exercised, but with an audience from a different cultural background (Merino Álvarez 1992, 1994). Adaptation is also associated with advertising, audiovisual and inter-semiotic translation, and localization. The emphasis here is on preserving the character and function of the original text, in preference to preserving the form or even the semantic meaning, especially where acoustic and/or visual factors have to be taken into account. Other genres, such as children’s literature, also require the re-creation of the message according to the sociolinguistic needs of a different readership (Puurtinen 1995, Oittinen 2000; O’Sullivan 2005; Alvstad 2008a; Lathey 2015). The main features of this type of adaptation are the use of summarizing techniques, paraphrase and omission.

Adaptation is, perhaps, most easily justified when the original text is of a metalinguistic nature, that is, when the subject matter of the text is language itself. This is especially so with didactic works on language in general, or on specific languages. Newmark (1981) points out that in these cases the adaptation has to be based on the translator’s judgement about his or her readers’ knowledge. Coseriu (1977) argues that this kind of adaptation gives precedence to the function over the form, with a view to producing the same effect as the original text. However,

while such writers start from the principle that nothing is untranslatable, others like Berman (1984) claim that the adaptation of metalanguage is an unnecessary form of exoticism.

Definitions of adaptation reflect widely varying views vis-à-vis the issue of remaining ‘faithful’ to the original text. Some argue that adaptation is necessary precisely in order to keep the message intact (at least on the global level), while others see it as a betrayal of the original author’s expression. For the former, the refusal to adapt confines the reader to an artificial world of foreignness; for the latter, adaptation is tantamount to the destruction and violation of the original text. Even those who recognize the need for adaptation in certain circumstances are obliged to admit that, if remaining faithful to the text is a *sine qua non* of translation, then there is a point at which adaptation ceases to be translation at all.

Another author who questions the systematic differentiation of adaptation and translation is Gambier (1992), who points out that there is an evident gap in defining the notion of adaptation, and in clarifying which line a translation has to cross to become an adaptation. Gambier notes that many translation procedures suggested by Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), other than adaptation (such as omission and condensation), are adaptations nonetheless. He examines classic examples of translations that are commonly regarded as adaptations and concludes that the labelling of any text produced by a translator as an adaptation is often a hasty personal judgement that has little to do with reasoned analysis. Asking a translator to produce a text that favours the target audience at the same time as avoiding any kind of linguistic, semiotic or cultural adaptation is untenable. This is precisely the ambiguity of adaptation Gambier refers to in the title of his paper: ‘Adaptation: une ambiguïté à interroger’.

Modes, conditions and restrictions

By comparing adaptations with the texts on which they are based (Bastin 1993), it is possible to elaborate a selective list of the ways (or modes) in which adaptations are carried out, the motivations (or conditions) for the decision to

adapt, and the limitations (or restrictions) on the work of the adapter.

In terms of mode of adaptation, the procedures used by the adapter can be classified as follows: (a) transcription of the original: word-for-word reproduction of part of the text in the original language, usually accompanied by a literal translation; (b) omission: the elimination or implicitation of part of the text; (c) expansion: the addition or explicitation of source information, either in the main body or in a foreword, footnotes or a glossary; (d) exoticism: the substitution of stretches of slang, dialect, nonsense words, etc. in the original text by rough equivalents in the target language (sometimes marked by italics or underlining); (e) updating: the replacement of outdated or obscure information by modern equivalents; (f) situational or cultural adequacy: the re-creation of a context that is more familiar or culturally appropriate from the target reader's perspective than the one used in the original; and (g) creation: a more global replacement of the original text with a text that preserves only the essential message/ideas/functions of the original.

The most common factors or conditions which cause translators to resort to adaptation are: (a) cross-code breakdown: where there are simply no lexical equivalents in the target language (especially common in the case of translating metalanguage); (b) situational or cultural inadequacy: where the context or views referred to in the original text do not exist or do not apply in the target culture; (c) genre switching: a change from one discourse type to another – for example, from adult to children's literature – often entails a global re-creation of the original text; (d) disruption of the communication process: the emergence of a new epoch or approach or the need to address a different type of readership often requires modifications in style, content and/or presentation.

These conditions, which in practice may exist simultaneously, can lead to two major types of adaptation: local adaptation, motivated by problems arising from the original text itself and limited to certain parts of it (as in the first two conditions), and global adaptation, which is determined by factors outside the original text and involves a more wide-ranging revision. As a local procedure, adaptation may be applied to isolated parts of the text in order to deal with

specific differences between the language or culture of the source text and that of the target text. In this case, the use of adaptation as a technique will have a limited effect on the text as a whole, provided the overall coherence of the source text is preserved. This type of adaptation is temporary and localized; it does not represent an all-embracing approach to the translation task. Local, or as Farghal (1993:257) calls it, "intrinsic" adaptation is essentially a translation procedure which is guided by principles of effectiveness and efficiency and seeks to achieve a balance between what is to be transformed and highlighted and what is to be left unchanged. Except in the case of local replacement of metalanguage, local adaptation is generally not mentioned in the target text in a foreword or translator's note. As a global procedure, on the other hand, adaptation is applied to the text as a whole. The decision to carry out global adaptation may be taken by the translator or by external agents such as a publisher, as part of an editorial policy. In either case, global adaptation constitutes a general strategy which aims to reconstruct the purpose, function or impact of the source text. The intervention of the translator is systematic, and formal elements and even semantic meaning may be sacrificed in order to reproduce the function of the original.

As in the case of translation, adaptation is carried out under certain restrictions. These include the knowledge and expectations of the target reader: the adapter has to evaluate the extent to which the content of the source text constitutes new or shared information for the potential audience; the target language: the adapter must find an appropriate match in the target language for the discourse type of the source text and look for coherence of adapting modes; and the meaning and purpose(s) of the source and target texts.

Theoretical boundaries between adaptation and translation

Some scholars prefer not to use the term adaptation at all, believing that the concept of translation as such can be stretched to cover all types of transformation or intervention as long as "the target effect corresponds to the intended target text functions" (Nord 1997:93), whether or

not these functions are the same as those of the source text. Others view the two concepts as representing essentially different practices. Michel Garneau, Quebec poet and translator, coined the term *tradaptation* to express the close relationship between the two activities (Delisle 1986). The few scholars who have attempted a serious analysis of the phenomenon of adaptation and its relation to translation insist on the tenuous nature of the borderline which separates the two concepts.

The study of adaptation encourages the theorist to look beyond purely linguistic issues and helps shed light on the role of the translator as mediator, as a creative participant in a process of verbal communication. Relevance, rather than accuracy, becomes the key word, and this entails a careful analysis of the meaning and purpose of the text. Translation – or what is traditionally understood by the term translation – prioritizes the transmission of meaning, whereas adaptation seeks to fulfil the purpose of the source text, and exegesis attempts to spell out the intentions of the author. Adaptation may constitute deliberate intervention on the part of the translator, but for functional purposes. Most deliberate interventions like appropriation, imitation and manipulation imply a shift in authorship (Vandal-Sirois and Bastin 2012). This kind of analysis will inevitably lead translation studies to consider the inferential communication pattern (Sperber and Wilson 1986), rather than the traditional code model, as the most appropriate frame of reference for the discipline.

It is imperative to acknowledge adaptation as a type of creative process which seeks to restore the balance of communication that is often disrupted by traditional forms of translation. Only by treating it as a legitimate strategy can we begin to understand the motivation for using it and to appreciate the relationship between it and other forms of conventional translation.

Translation studies and adaptation studies

Since adaptation studies is currently thriving as a discipline in its own right (Raw 2012 2013; Cattryse 2014), it is important to explore the main points of contact with translation studies, especially since practices such as the novelization

of a movie, and the rendering of a poem into a song or the toning down of a certain narrative for younger readers are of interest to both disciplines and resonate with some of the debates in translation studies (Milton 2009).

Sanders's *Adaptation and Appropriation* (2006) may be considered a classic in the young discipline of adaptation studies, alongside the breakthrough works of Stam and Raengo (2007), Leitch (2007), Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2006), Cattryse (2014), Raw (2012) and Cartmell (2012). While Sanders seldom talks of translation as such, her definition of adaptation as an "attempt to make text 'relevant' or easily comprehensible to new audiences and readerships via the processes of proximation and updating" (2006:19) can be easily applied to translation as commonly understood. In the glossary of the same book, she defines adaptation as "an updating or the cultural relocation of a text to bring it into greater proximity to the cultural and temporal context of readers or audiences" (ibid.:163), a definition which rehearses the motivation for translators to abandon a more literal approach in order to preserve the meaning, effect or purpose of the original text while ensuring the best reception possible amongst the target audience.

For Hutcheon and O'Flynn (2006), the term adaptation simultaneously refers to (a) the entity or product which results from transposing a particular source, (b) the process through which the entity or product was created (including reinterpretation and re-creation of the source), and (c) the process of reception, through which "we experience adaptations as palimpsests through our memory of other works that resonate through repetition and variation" (Hutcheon and O'Flynn 2006:8–9). The goal of adaptation is not simply one of replication; other motivations include interrogation, reinvention and exploration. Intertextuality is a central element of adaptation theory, as developed by Hutcheon and O'Flynn and others, given that the reader is assumed to compare the adapted text not only with the original but also with other adaptations and similar texts in an ongoing dialogical process (Hutcheon and O'Flynn 2006:21). Adaptations, according to Hutcheon and O'Flynn, are not of inferior status compared to the original; indeed, they guarantee its durability and survival.

For Cattryse, the basic similarities between translation and adaptation include the fact that both offer artefacts, both are irreversible and teleological and both draw upon the notion of equivalence (2014:47–49). Cattryse rejects the faithful/unfaithful opposition which merely reflects the tastes and power dynamics in a given period of time and a given system (ibid.:244–245). He adopts a multilateral and intertextual approach to the issue of faithfulness, taking into account a “constellation” of adaptable factors (ibid.:306–307).

Translators who oppose the domesticating approach do not necessarily adopt word-for-word translations, but can still consider adaptation key to a successful translation. This view is compatible with the clear distinction that Sanders draws between adaptation and appropriation: “Adaptation signals a relationship with an informing source text or original. . . . Appropriation frequently affects a more decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain” (2006:26).

See also:

ADVERTISING; CHILDREN’S LITERATURE; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS; LITERARY TRANSLATION; LOCALIZATION; REWRITING; STRATEGIES; THEATRE

Further reading

Cattryse, P. (2014) *Descriptive Adaptation Studies: Epistemological and methodological issues*, Antwerp & Apeldoorn: Garant.

Advocates for a new discipline drawing on Toury’s descriptive translation studies and Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory.

Doorslaer, L. van and L. Raw (2016) ‘Adaptation Studies and Translation Studies: Very interactive yet distinct’, in Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer (eds) *Border Crossings: Translation studies and other disciplines*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 189–204.

Reflects on the question of the parallels, common grounds, differences and boundaries between the disciplines, and discusses issues of originality and transmediality, the problematic relationship between source and target, as well as conservation and gradual change.

Hutcheon, L. and S. O’Flynn (2006) *A Theory of Adaptation*, London & New York: Routledge.

Defines adaptation as a product and a process that aims to achieve intertextual coherence between the target audience and the source text, and demonstrates that the act of adaptation always involves both (re)interpretation and (re)creation.

Sanders, J. (2006) *Adaptation and Appropriation*, London: Routledge.

Explores multiple definitions and practices of adaptation and appropriation and the impact of various theoretical movements, including structuralism, post-structuralism, postcolonialism, postmodernism, feminism and gender studies.

GEORGES L. BASTIN

Advertising

Advertising texts have been widely studied from the linguistic and sociological points of view, and are among the favoured objects of semiotic analysis, from Barthes and Eco to later developments in visual and social semiotics. In translation studies, however, advertising translation has only attracted systematic attention since the turn of the century (Guidère 2000a; Bueno García 2000; Adab and Valdés 2004; Torresi 2010). Until then, promotional materials – including subgenres such as advertising, publicity and tourist brochures – were mainly used in general translation handbooks as examples or special cases of commercial translation (Olohan 2009, 2010) or consumer-oriented translation (Washbourne 2010; Hervey et al. 1995/2006) that are best approached from a functionalist perspective.

A possible reason for the reticence of early translation scholars to address the question of translating advertising material may lie in the verbal (written and oral) connotations traditionally attached to the term translation, which may explain why the crosslinguistic and cross-cultural transfer of multimodal promotional texts is often termed localization (Declercq 2011), adaptation or – less frequently – transcreation or rewriting. The latter set of terms suggest a type of transfer which is less concerned with issues of faithfulness and more with functional equivalence and adequacy. In this context, non-translation becomes acceptable as a delib-

erate globalizing translation choice (Prieto del Pozo 2009; Nemčoková 2011; Páez Rodríguez 2013; Comitre Narváez 2015). Another factor which makes it conceptually difficult for translation scholars to engage in a systematic analysis of advertising material is the practice, adopted by several multinational companies, of developing local campaigns simultaneously from a brief that avoids culture-specificity as much as possible. In this glocalization process (Adab 2000:224), there is no source text as such but – at best – only an Ur-text or multi-text (Guidère 2009, 2011). Thus, the very translatability of advertising texts can only be accepted if the term translation is understood in its etymological meaning of transfer – across languages, cultures and geographical space.

Research themes

Early research on advertising translation, carried out during a period when multimodality had not yet gained prominence in translation studies, tended to focus on the linguistic analysis of the verbal copy. While these studies did invoke a functional perspective, their scope was limited to identifying the function of single pay-offs (taglines, slogans) or sentences in the copy, not the function of the advertisement as a whole. For instance, Tatilon, who advocates “*traduire non la lettre mais l’esprit, non les mots mais les fonctions*” (translating the spirit not the letter, the functions not the words, 1990:245; original emphasis), offers as good examples a few English and French slogans where assonance and puns are re-created in the target language. Similarly, when Quillard (1998) focuses on the rendering of humour in French translations of English ads, she does mention the role of pictures in activating puns but does not include them in her article. In this type of research, function is taken to be the ability of a pun to amuse readers or attract their attention. The assumption is that for the target text to constitute a good translation, this ability or potential must be re-created in the verbal text – which then justifies the extraction of selected fragments of the copy from the rest of the advertisement.

A different type of linguistic analysis restricted to the verbal level attempts a broader understanding of advertising translation by

providing verbal-based evidence for the study of cultural adaptation. For example, Quillard (1999, 2010) investigates differences between the Canadian English, Canadian French and French versions of the same advertisements to demonstrate the importance of the localization of cultural values across two communities, French and French Canadians, that share (almost) the same language but not the same geographical and cultural space, as well as across two communities that share (almost) the same geographical space but not the same language (English- and French-speaking Canadians).

Even in later research, where a growing number of studies seem to favour multimodal, intercultural or interdisciplinary analysis, this verbal-centred strand of research into advertising and promotional translation continues to feature prominently. But it is now one of several possible approaches rather than the only viable method of investigation, and tends to be informed by a broader interdisciplinary perspective. For instance, Aiwei (2010) draws up a rather traditional list of verbal features of advertising style and suggests translation strategies for addressing them, but is aware that “conclusions cannot be easily drawn only by counting certain linguistic elements” and that “style is a multi-level concept”. In her more in-depth empirical analysis of four textual strategies employed to enhance readers’ memory, Ying (2015) focuses only on the written texts of her corpus of ads, even when they make explicit reference to the accompanying visuals, as when they describe the pattern and colour of a shirt being advertised. Nevertheless, she does so in the framework of consumer motivation research as well as psycholinguistics. Ying and Jing (2010), who analyze strategies for rendering verbal humour from English into Chinese in advertising texts, carefully warn readers that their conclusions are based only on the linguistic encoding of humour, leaving aside the fundamental aspect of audience reception. In a later work, Ying and Yanli (2016) analyze the extensive corpus of bilingual ads collected by K. Li (2010) to discuss ‘poeticizing’ as a method of adjusting advertising texts to Chinese aesthetics. Similarly, in her analysis of a small corpus of Spanish and German advertisements for cosmetic products, Montes Fernández (2003) explores the way in which different conventions of the (verbal)

language of advertising may reflect different cultural conventions. Calzada Pérez (2011) draws on a corpus of 120 English ads and their Spanish counterparts to investigate the translation of rhetorical figures, and Dávila-Montes (2008) similarly examines the translation of the rhetorical structures of English advertising into Spanish. A final strand of scholarly work that excludes all non-verbal aspects of the advertising language involves the creation (rather than analysis) of terminological databanks; these may include images, but only by way of illustration of certain terms. In automatically searchable corpora (Moreira 2014), likewise, the inclusion of images is technically feasible, but it raises a number of tagging issues that require the adoption of a semiotic perspective which is lacking among corpus linguists (Guidère 2011). As these examples suggest, studying the verbal aspects of texts is fully compatible with studying cultural aspects of advertising in translation; it also does not necessarily exclude the analysis of other semiotic dimensions in the translation of promotional material.

Another trend in the study of advertising translation attempts to take into account the range of constraints imposed upon and opportunities offered to the translator of advertising material by virtue of the modes of expression involved in each advertising text. Baldry (2000) argues that no text is strictly monomodal. For instance, a novel or textbook without illustrations may appear to have only a verbal dimension, but typographical choices (Schopp 2002, 2005) and the physical qualities of the paper it is printed on give the words a particular rendering or inscription (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:230–232) that contributes to the construction of textual meaning. At the same time, advertising texts on the whole display a high level of multimodality compared to other genres, because of their simultaneous reliance on different types of stimuli. Print advertisements feature both verbal and visual components, radio commercials rely on verbal and aural (sound/music) effects and street advertising makes use of verbal and/or visual signs combined with geosemiotic cues such as position relative to the viewer, proximity with other texts and spatial context (Scolton and Scollon 2003).

Scholars adopting a multimodal approach to the translation of advertisements and promotional

material advocate training translators of advertising material and translation students to analyze relationships among the different semiotic (rather than merely linguistic) elements of the text (Laviosa 2007; Torresi 2007a, 2008). Theoretically, they encourage a “move beyond the written word” to incorporate “the visual, and multimodal in general” in research (Munday 2004:216). This proposed move is supported by methodological proposals that involve building extensive multimodal corpora of ads collected across languages and cultures (Guidère 2011; Santafé Aso 2012). In practice, inter-semiotic translation is advocated as a means of effectively localizing the advertising message by working on the text as a whole – for instance replacing a visual element in the source text with a new one which can compensate for an unavoidable loss of meaning in the verbal component of the text, or building an entirely new verbal text around the visual one to accommodate market differences (Torresi 2007b). Examples of multimodal, inter-semiotic approaches to the study of advertising in translation include Chiaro’s (2004b) contrastive analysis of intra-semiotic and inter-semiotic strategies in international websites and print advertisements for Italian food products, Simões Lucas Freitas’s (2004) study of the way in which meaning is conveyed across different modes of expression in multimedia campaigns, and Smith’s (2008) study on the relevance of the visual for the reception of advertising across cultures. A more subtle kind of analysis is provided by Valdés (2000), who reveals the importance of seemingly slight typographical changes and adjustments of visuals to accommodate national stereotypes, Valdés and Fuentes Luque (2008), who discuss verbal/visual coherence in the audiovisual translation of TV commercials, and Fuentes Luque (2010), who investigates the verbal-visual co-construction of humour in dubbed audiovisual commercials.

Some scholars who have studied the translation of advertising do not explicitly use the term inter-semiotic translation, but nevertheless implicitly draw on the concept. This group includes Millán-Varela (2004), who contrasts a corpus of European, Asian and South American TV commercials of Cornetto ice cream, drawing on Kress and Van Leeuwen’s (1996) visual grammar. Bueno García (2000) and Santa María (2012) highlight the importance of elements such as sound and image in the translation of

advertising, while Guidère (2000b:28) argues that “les signes linguistiques du texte publicitaire sont en relation d'étroite dépendance avec les signes iconiques de l'image” (in an advertising text, linguistic signs are directly dependent on iconic signs). Nomura (2000) and Nogueira da Silva (2011) similarly emphasize the importance of the visual in constructing and translating advertising or tourist promotion texts. P. Li (2015) argues that the spatial and cultural context in which a bilingual billboard is intended to appear is a key factor influencing translation choices. As early as 1996, de Pedro proposed a scale for describing the transnational adaptation of TV advertisements based on the degree to which both the verbal and the visual are changed, including those cases where an entirely new campaign is created. Many of these studies also engage with cultural issues, often identifying them as a strong argument for inter-semiotic translation.

Ensuring that an advertising text is as persuasive as possible involves adopting strategies that are largely culture specific. In their study of multinational organizations, Hofstede (2001, 1991) and Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) found that different national populations show different orientations towards what the authors call dimensions of culture. De Mooij (1998/2005, 2003, 2004) applies Hofstede's model to advertising, mapping these dimensions onto different consumer behaviours and advertising styles. Rentel (2012) compares French and German ads to highlight how cultural values and emotional leverage travel across different national argumentative styles. In their diachronic investigations, conversely, Ločmele (2016) and Smith (2010) highlight the role played by translated ads in shaping the Latvian and Russian language and culture at key points in the two respective countries' history. But it is not only the form, or style, of advertising campaigns that change across cultures and languages. In order to fulfil their persuasive purpose, publicity material and advertisements have to motivate the target group to change their consumer or public behaviour by appealing either to their aspirations or fears. Such aspirations or fears, however, are often culture specific and have to be taken into account in the translation of advertising material; research suggests this is true even in the case of values such as cleanliness,

which may be assumed to be universal (Torres 2004). The power of cultural values and stereotypes also has important implications for professional practice and training. Fuentes Luque and Kelly (2000:241) argue that “the role of the translator in international advertising . . . can in no way be limited to ‘purely linguistic’ issues”, and suggest that training courses should help would-be translators of advertising material to become “intercultural experts”. Guidère (2001) agrees that “to accomplish his mission successfully, the translator is required to think and to integrate a certain amount of data, not only about marketing and basic communication, but also about geopolitics and ethnology”. Adab (2000, 2001) similarly stresses the importance of cultural values, placing them in a broader functionalist view that takes into account situational factors as well as linguistic ones in the context of advertising.

The discussion of cultural issues in the translation of advertising material particularly benefits from insights on the cultural adaptation of European or American advertising campaigns and messages for non-western audiences. Important research has been carried out in this area by scholars such as Guidère (2000a), who highlights the difficulties of translating advertisements into Arabic and the many cultures covered by that language. Z. Liu (2003) traces some of the terminological choices made in the translation of a beauty spa advertisement from English into Chinese to differences in religious traditions, and Ying and Yanli (2014) analyze the changes made to cultural images in translating advertisements into Chinese. Agreeing with Sumberg's (2004) conclusions about the need to adjust tourist brochure translation to target readership expectations, Ho (2004) discusses the cultural adaptations he introduced when he translated tourist promotional material about Singapore into Chinese. The didactic applications of these culture-driven approaches are outlined by Kong (2012), who describes how bilingual Chinese/English ads can be used in the advertising translation classroom to make students aware of the impact of cultural diversity on verbal translation. Cultural issues are also prominent in brand-name translation, a subtype of advertising translation that is particularly relevant when brands are translated into ideograms and into cultures with a strong tradition

of semantic naming (Chuansheng and Yunnan 2003).

Future directions

Research on advertising translation appears to be increasingly more open to the influence of social semiotics and intercultural studies. However, key marketing concepts such as country-of-origin effects (Maher and Carter 2011; Oberecker and Diamantopoulos 2011; Klein et al. 1998; Johnson 2009) and consumer ethnocentrism (Usunier and Lee 2013:18–19) still enjoy more currency in the fields of business and international marketing studies than in translation studies. These fields seem to seldom cross-pollinate with the study of advertising in translation studies, with the welcome exception of the prolific Asian production in this research area. Research on the translation of advertising carried out by Asian scholars is typically published in Asian (mainly Chinese) marketing-centred journals and edited books, pioneering a multidisciplinary trend that is not equally popular outside Asia. Asian research on the translation of promotional texts seems more open to incorporating concerns and concepts from marketing, as in G. Ho's (2008) call for a (monetary) value-driven theory of translation that might help commercial translators to attach the appropriate price tag to their work in relation to the additional profits it brings to the client. Research on advertising translation at large – within and outside Asia – would benefit from a more systematic and explicit use of concepts from the area of international marketing.

Similarly, relatively few studies offer post-colonial, feminist or critical readings of advertising translation and the stereotyping it may promote (Calzada Pérez 2005; Sihui 2009; del Saz-Rubio and Pennock-Speck 2009; Torresi 2012; Vid and Kučič 2014; Lotfollahi et al. 2015; Corrius Gimbert et al. 2016). Some make reference to cultural stereotyping without signalling an overtly critical stance (Chiaro 2004b, 2009b; Di Giovanni 2008b:38–40; Chiaro and Rossato 2015). Others adopt a comparative perspective rather than engaging explicitly with translation (del Saz-Rubio and Pennock-Speck 2008, 2009). The culture- and identity-bound nature of

advertising translation calls for more in-depth critical explorations of the stereotyping it invariably involves, which in turn can shed more light on the mechanisms for achieving effectiveness in advertising translation in terms of emotional leverage.

See also:

ADAPTATION; GLOBALIZATION; LOCALIZATION; MULTIMODALITY; SEMIOTICS

Further reading

Ho, G. (2008) *Globalization and Translation: Towards a paradigm shift in translation studies*, Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller.

Subsumes advertising translation under professional translation types that mediate between the value of a product/service on the domestic market and its value on the global market, and calls for a shift towards a value-driven theory of translation, backing this call with practical advice for translators and several case studies.

Tomei, R. (ed.) (2017) *Advertising Culture and Translation: From colonial to global*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

A collection of essays that investigates the cultural and postcolonial implications of advertising translation; brings together diachronic and synchronic accounts of advertising translation and investigates issues of migration, diaspora and ethnic prejudice.

Torresi, I. (2010) *Translating Promotional and Advertising Texts*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Covers the translation of promotional material in its various forms, from CVs and personal websites to institutional and tourist texts, down to business-to-business and business-to-consumer promotional and advertising material. The proposed theoretical framework is supported by practical examples in different languages.

Valdés, C. (2013) 'Advertising translation', in C. Millán and F. Bartrina (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, London & New York: Routledge, 303–316.

A detailed account of the history of the study of advertising translation, with sections on interdisciplinarity, future challenges and developments in the field.

IRA TORRESI

Anthropophagy

Anthropophagy, understood as cultural cannibalism, is a multifaceted concept that was very popular in the arts, literature, philosophy, ethnology, history and anthropology in Europe from the late nineteenth century and well into the first half of the twentieth century, when it was adopted by Brazilian artists as one of their leitmotifs, leaving a permanent imprint on the discussion of translation in the country in the second half of the twentieth century.

The now widespread motif of anthropophagy emerged in Europe in the late nineteenth century as an expression of the will to look back into the continent's own artistic origins and simultaneously to turn to more so-called primitive nations. Works that illustrate this trend include the paintings of Pablo Picasso, Constantin Brâncuși and Paul Gauguin; the poems of Guillaume Apollinaire, Tristan Tzara, Jean Cocteau and Max Jacob; and the rereading as well as the production of different texts of Michel de Montaigne, Friedrich Nietzsche, James G. Frazer, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, Meyer Kayserling, Sigmund Freud and Blaise Cendrars (Netto 2004:19–28). Cultural anthropophagy, as the devouring of other cultures to give rise to something new, had its roots in actual cannibalism, as some of these authors remind us in their writings on visits to lands then considered primitive: Cendrars in Brazil and Gauguin on the Marquesas Islands both report on their encounters with anthropophagi with great enthusiasm and admiration (Leal 2010:4). In this context, the sixteenth-century accounts of the cannibalistic practices of various peoples of the newfound lands, such as Léry's and Montaigne's, were reread in a new light. Both relativize and even exalt these peoples' seemingly savage practices by recasting them as "naturelles vertus" (natural virtues; Montaigne 1580:206) and by considering Europeans' behaviour to be "monstrueux[x]" (ruthless; Léry 1580/1994:375).

The manifestos published in the early twentieth century in Europe confirm this will to deconstruct mainstream views by seeking inspiration elsewhere. Francis Picabia's 1920 *Manifeste Cannibale Dada* granted the Dadaists the epithet *anthropophagi* because of their fierce criticism of the status quo. Indeed, the Dadaists took Valéry's

anthropophagic metaphor of intertextuality – through which he advocates anthropophagy as an original way of devouring others, digesting them and giving rise to something new (Valéry 1943/1996:17) – to its extreme by actually cannibalizing newspapers, pictures and objects (Netto 2004:28). Tzara's 1918 *Manifeste Dada* also presented anthropophagy as an enriching form of absorption, as did Marinetti in his 1909 *Manifesto del Futurismo*. Anthropophagy was therefore not deprived of its savage connotations; it was rather exalted for being savage, very much in line with Rousseau's well-known image of the 'noble savage'. Only through this overvaluing of the 'primitive' would European art finally deconstruct its own premises and once again reach originality. In effect, this view goes hand in hand with Nietzsche's concept of nutriment developed in his *Ecce Homo* (1888/1992:21–22), as a way to nourish oneself in order to attain maximum strength. Brazilian painter Tarsila do Amaral, for example, wrote to her family from Paris in 1923 that Paris was fed up with Parisian art, and that contributions from abroad had taken the spotlight (Netto 2004:61; Leal 2010:3).

In the 1920s, starting with the pivotal *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Week of Modern Art), Brazilian artists also turned to the primitivism of their own nation, but not with the same purpose as in Europe. Antonio Candido (2000:111) argues that in Brazil primitive cultures are part of everyday life, and hence the bold deeds of a Picasso, a Brâncuși, a Max Jacob or a Tristan Tzara made more sense in the Brazilian context. Or, as Oswald de Andrade put it, "[o] primitivismo que na França aparecia como exotismo era para nós, no Brasil, primitivismo mesmo" ([t]he primitivism that emerged in France was an exoticism, whereas for us as Brazilians, it was actual primitivism; O. de Andrade, in H. de Campos 1992:31). Brazilian Modernism was hence a twofold and contradictory movement: on the one hand, it was the outcome of the Brazilian reception of the European avant-gardes, and in this sense it was similar to the European movements; on the other hand, it was the first overt attempt in the history of Brazil to produce truly Brazilian art, one that departed from European standards (A. de Campos 1978).

Therefore, unlike the image of the 'noble savage' depicted with great fascination by European artists, and by Brazilian Romantic writers, the

'savages' portrayed by the Brazilian modernists were indeed ruthless, in the negative sense of the term. The idea was thus to rebel against what was perceived as the European sugar-coated version of primitive peoples in order to invert, for the first time, the logic between colonizer and colonized. The 'evil savage' became the symbol of a nation that no longer wished to be raw material for the creation of European art. The motto of these young Brazilian artists was to devour and no longer be devoured. In Haroldo de Campos's words, "[a]nthropophagy . . . is the critical devouring of universal cultural heritage, formulated not from the submissive and reconciled perspective of the 'noble savage', but from the disabused point of the view of the 'bad savage', devourer of whites, the cannibal" (H. de Campos 2007:159). As Netto (2004:125) argues, the process of restructuring national identity took place in two different – or anthropophagic – phases: making foreign trends familiar in the national context, followed by the actual construction of national identity through the critical digestion of these foreign references in the national literature. This twofold process is easy to recognize, for example, in some of the most celebrated works of Brazilian Modernism, including Oswald de Andrade's 1924 *Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil*, the 1925 collection of poems *Pau-Brasil*, and in his 1928 *Manifesto Antropófago* (O. de Andrade 1974), as well as Mário de Andrade's 1928 novel *Macunaíma* (M. de Andrade 1998). In the earlier manifesto, Oswald de Andrade sets out to turn Brazilian poetry into export poetry – hence *pau-brasil* or 'brazilwood', wood being the country's key export product. In the later manifesto, he advocates anthropophagy as the chief strategy for the country to free itself from postcolonial domination. The manifesto's celebrated line, 'Tupi or not Tupi, that is the question', demonstrates his anthropophagic approach in practice (Vieira 1999). In his 1925 anthology of poems, this approach reveals itself mainly through the parody and collage of texts that evoked or represented the European tradition – from the first chronicles on Brazil, written by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, to Roman Catholic prayers and Brazilian Romantic poems. However, it was Mário de Andrade's rhapsody *Macunaíma*, translated by E.A. Goodland and published by Random House in 1984, that introduced the most important literary hero

(or antihero) of those times, possibly of all times (Ribeiro 1999:1). *Macunaíma* is the evil savage par excellence – he is hedonistic, blatantly immoral, self-obsessed and, most importantly, lazy. He is the epitome of the notion of evil savage so dear to the cultural revolution that swept across the country.

Transcreating cannibals: anthropophagy and translation

Following the premature death of the modernist anthropophagic movement in 1929, Oswald de Andrade revisited anthropophagy in the 1950s, this time from a theoretical perspective, linking it with his ideas of a social utopia (O. de Andrade 1974). At the same time, the concrete poetry movement that emerged around the Campos brothers, Augusto and Haroldo, as well as Décio Pignatari, referred back to the modernist ideas of the 1920s. In the late 1960s, anthropophagy experienced a vibrant renaissance within *Tropicália*, a Brazilian artistic movement that encompassed plastic arts, music, cinema, theatre and literature. Against the backdrop of an increasingly oppressive military regime, the critical discourse of *Tropicália* seemed to grow out of the spirit of Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago*, making use of the aesthetic concept of critically devouring other cultural forms. Anthropophagy served as a means of resistance, manifesting itself at all levels of Brazilian cultural production; it put forth the ideas of matriarchy, happiness, sensuality and overt cultural appropriation against political repression and censorship. In *Tropicália*, anthropophagy served to stimulate Brazilian artistic production, which gave rise to critical forms of hybridity against the dangerous implications of nationalism. In the 1960s and 1970s, anthropophagy sparked considerable debate as a metaphor of culture, becoming part of the cultural and literary post-modern and postcolonial discourse, and later found its way into the theoretical discourse on translation (Vieira 1994). It gained widespread recognition as a paradigm of creative "transculturation, or, even better: 'transvalorization'" (H. de Campos 2007:160), mainly through the literary and theoretical works of the Campos brothers.

Haroldo de Campos (2007) argues that the metaphor of anthropophagy as an act of devouring the other, digesting it and turning it into something new, dialectically mediating between what is one's own and what is not, describes the process of translation brilliantly. Indeed, thanks to its potential for "dehierarchization, of deconstruction" (ibid.:160) of the traditional metaphysical dichotomies of civilization-barbarism, colonizer-colonized, culture-nature and, ultimately, original-translation, the cannibalistic metaphor can be seen as an effective means of reflecting on crucial notions such as identity, alterity and difference. In this sense, translation can be perceived as a form of criticism (H. de Campos 1992). Based on the ideas of modernist anthropophagy and influenced by Ezra Pound's dictum 'Make it new!', the Campos brothers developed a concept of translation as radical transformation, as a process of devouring, digesting and then transplanting the original text into one's own cultural context. Translation, analogously to the act of cannibalism, is here no longer a submissive practice that is subject to the original's and the author's demands, but a creative, if not itself original, way of processing, of reading the Other.

The Campos brothers were prolific translators: of Dante (H. de Campos 1976; A. de Campos and H. de Campos 1968), Brecht (H. de Campos 1997a), Mallarmé (A. de Campos, H. de Campos and Pignatari 1991), Octavio Paz (H. de Campos 1994), Maiakóvski (A. de Campos, H. de Campos and Schnaiderman 1967), Ezra Pound (A. de Campos, H. de Campos and Pignatari 1960), Rilke (A. de Campos 2001) and Joyce (A. de Campos and H. de Campos 1962), amongst others, along with Chinese and Japanese poetry (H. de Campos 1967, 2009). Being celebrated translators themselves, their translations lay bare their understanding of translation: "[m]y way of loving them is translating them. Or devouring them, in accordance with Oswald de Andrade's Cannibalistic Law: I am only interested in what is not mine" (A. de Campos, cited in Arrojo 2014:39).

Anthropophagy represents a breach of taboo by simultaneously entailing love and hate towards its object, death and rebirth. It therefore requires us to rethink the relationship between original and translation. Anthropophagic translation subverts the traditional hierarchy: the original is not

beyond reach, but it is devoured; its survival is bound to a completely different form. Cannibalistic translation is a radical rereading of the past; the original serves as a vessel to be enriched, filled up with the translator's own cultural tradition, thus creating a vast network of intertextual and intercultural relations. For example, Haroldo de Campos's translation of Konstantinos Kavafis's poem 'Waiting for the Barbarians' clearly echoes famous lines of the Brazilian poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade (H. de Campos 1984b:120). "Through deconstruction and reconstruction of history", the translation thus "translates tradition and reinvents it" (H. de Campos 1984a:241, original emphasis; authors' translation).

The Campos brothers coined a series of neologisms to conceptualize translation as an act that does not hide behind the original but rather reveals its afterlife, in Walter Benjamin's sense of the term: 'transcreation', 'intranslation', 'transluciferation' (for the translation of Goethe's *Faust*), 'translumination' (for translating Dante) and 'plagiotropy'. All these terms and metaphors are intended to question originality and authorship; they underpin a concept of translation as an active reinterpretation, reinvention and re-formation, and hence as an act of creation, a playful bricolage of our own and the other's cultural and literary tradition. The Camposes' approach elaborates a translation theory and practice that radically destabilize the original text, revealing that there is no untouchable significance hidden within it to be discovered, no transcendental signified in Derrida's terms. However, their radical discourse on translation, permeated by anthropophagy, is not accompanied by an equally radical practice. Indeed, many of the translations by the Campos brothers are far from radical. This discrepancy between their theory and their practice is useful in translation studies, because it helps scholars to deconstruct the traditional notion of theory as a set of rules governing a certain practice and instead understand theory as a source of awareness with no direct practical applications (Leal 2014).

Alternative metaphors discussed by the Campos brothers to describe the process of translation similarly reflect a certain departure from the cannibalistic metaphor, conceiving translation as an interminable journey (H. de Campos 1997b) rather than as an act of triumphant

usurpation and parricide; and as a constant dislocation, deferral, differing, a constant risk of wrecking, a journey to Ithaca, the u-topos, the unreachable origin(al).

See also:

ADAPTATION; CONQUEST; HYBRIDITY; LITERARY TRANSLATION; METAPHORICS; POETRY; PURE LANGUAGE

Further reading

Andrade, O. de (1991) 'Cannibalist Manifesto', translated by Leslie Bary, *Latin American Literary Review* 19(38): 38–47.

Originally published in 1928, this is the founding text of the Brazilian modernist movement of *Antropofagia* and a key reference on anthropophagy as a means of cannibalizing other cultures.

Campos, H. de (2007) 'Anthropophagous Reason: Dialogue and Difference in Brazilian Culture', in S. Bessa and O. Cisneros (eds) *Novas. Selected Writings*, translated by Odile Cisneros, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 157–177.

One of Haroldo de Campos's most famous essays on the principles of anthropophagy, in which he reflects on Brazilian cultural specificity and defends a non-ontological, open and critical form of nationalism through a dialogical relationship and an anthropophagic dialectics with world literature.

Vieira, E.R.P. (1999) 'Liberating Calibans: Readings of *Antropofagia* and Haroldo de Campos' poetics of transcreation', in S. Bassnett and H. Trivedi (eds) *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, 96–113.

Offers a summary of the main ideas of the anthropophagic movement in Brazil, and following on from Haroldo de Campos's concept of transcreation, links the metaphor of digestion with translation.

ALICE LEAL AND MELANIE STRASSER

Asylum

Translators and interpreters play a pivotal role in global processes of communication. Some of the key issues raised in the context of glo-

balization are enacted in the political asylum context; these include national sovereignty, the construction of individual and collective identities and rights, and the question of territorial borders. The right to asylum is simultaneously a national and an international issue. The granting of political asylum, which guarantees the applicant temporary or permanent residence in the country of application, involves an array of contexts in which interpreters and translators are involved. Although the contexts and accompanying bureaucratic procedures will vary from one country to another, all countries are obliged to follow certain basic procedures as signatories to the 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention and 1967 Protocol.

Asylum seekers are increasingly being viewed and treated in the same way as undocumented migrants, i.e. as a category of uncontrolled immigration. Upon making a claim, many are held, sometimes for months or even years, in makeshift detention centres under dehumanizing conditions while awaiting a decision on their case. This is largely due to the persistence of the separation of the economic and political motivations of migration in many governments' immigration policies. The distinction drawn between the two types of motivation is highly problematic given the increasing reliance of nations throughout the global economy on the managed recruitment of highly skilled and unskilled workers beyond their borders, and the fact that many asylum seekers and refugees fall under the category of highly skilled and unskilled workers themselves.

Unlike refugees, asylum seekers must apply for protection from within a country, either immediately upon arrival or after they have entered and resided in the country, with or without legal documentation, for a period of time. Asylum seekers who are not granted preauthorized recognition of their refugee status must demonstrate their fear of persecution based on an individual claim and provide ample supporting documentary evidence. Thus the bar for asylum seekers is often set higher, particularly for those whose claims are dismissed beforehand as bogus based on their region or country of origin. For example, when immigration officials hear the same accounts of persecution from individuals from the same area there is a tendency to assume they are all lying and that

their motivations for leaving are economic rather than political. Revoicing an asylum seeker's motivation to flee famine, war or persecution therefore requires more than linguistic or cultural skills, as deliberations regarding whether universal hospitality should be denied or granted are intrinsically tied to the social, political and discursive instruments of power operating within the relevant institutions (Ing-hillieri 2007, 2012:72–98).

Instances of interpreted oral exchanges take place at the initial port of entry interview, through the development of narratives elaborated in solicitors' offices or – more spontaneously, and often without the benefit of any professional legal advice – in the substantive interview with immigration officials. Interpreting ultimately also takes place in the appeals courts. Written documents in the form of identity cards or certificates, newspaper clippings or affidavits of support, where available, must be translated in order to be included as verification evidence of an individual claim. The purpose of both oral and written forms of communication is to determine the credibility of an asylum applicant's claim of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. In addition to the legal-administrative context of the asylum application procedure, interpreters and translators are also involved in urgent medical and mental healthcare for asylum seekers and refugees. A majority of those seeking refuge through the asylum system suffer from the effects of physical and mental torture, the loss of family members through separation or war, and the difficulty of adjusting to major disruptions and distortions of their life prior to displacement. Many of those who seek or find help through some form of counselling rely on interpreters to communicate in psychotherapeutic sessions. The quality and choice of interpreter will support or obstruct the adequate reporting of symptoms, psychological assessment and diagnosis, and the overall progress of treatment.

Research contexts

Most empirical research on asylum interpreting and translation has been conducted in legal

and medical settings. Analyses of micro-interactional interpreter-mediated exchanges in the asylum procedure, audiotaped and transcribed for close textual analysis, have focused on asylum interviews (Pöllabauer 2004; Maryns 2005; Mason 2006; Keselman et al. 2010; Jacquemet 2005/2010), asylum appeal hearings (Maryns 2006; Kolb and Pöchlhammer 2009; Gómez Díez 2010; J. Lee 2013b) and legal counselling (Merlini 2009). These studies detail cross-cultural misunderstandings and mistranslations in interpreted communication involving asylum seekers and point to the consequences of such misunderstandings in view of the institutionally expected degrees of accuracy and factual detail in establishing the motivation of asylum claims. Research in these domains draws on a range of methodological and theoretical approaches, including linguistic ethnography, interactional sociolinguistics, conversational analysis and critical discourse theory and considers such factors as the interactionally derived coordination and control of utterances, participant alignment, face-saving strategies and identity. Particular attention is given to the role of discourse and power in constructing and communicating identities across languages and cultures.

In the context of mental healthcare, several studies have shown that while an interpreter's presence can be a positive force, serving to reassure different parties and providing an invaluable source of information about an asylum seeker's culture and language to the therapist, the interpreter can also become a source of additional fear if perceived or known to be on an opposing side of the political conflict that triggered the patient's trauma (Nicholson 1994; Tribe 1999; Tribe and Raval 2003). Raval (2003) discusses conflicting role expectations of health professionals working with interpreters, addressing the need to educate all participants in the interpreting process. Bot's (2005) conversation analysis of interpreter-mediated psychotherapeutic sessions explores the question of how the therapist-patient relationship is affected by the set of potential roles adopted by the interpreter and which of the different communicative models available in interpreter training and research may be most effective in psychotherapeutic treatment of refugees and asylum seekers. Later studies of immigrant patient care, including refugees and asylum seekers who have undergone physical or psychological

trauma, indicate that medical staff often do not make use of professional interpreting services due to perceived time, availability and financial constraints (Sandín-Vázquez et al. 2014). In order to facilitate communication with patients with whom they do not share a language, healthcare professionals tend to rely on a set of more readily and freely available solutions, such as *lingua franca* mediation, medical translation software, non-verbal communication and ad hoc language assistance through companions or multilingual hospital staff. In their discourse analytical study of ad hoc interpreting for immigrant patients in emergency departments in Brussels and Madrid, Cox and Gutiérrez (2016) argue that due to a lack of prior information on patients' language repertoire and a misjudgement of their language needs, miscommunication, often passing by unnoticed, may increase the risk of wrong or inaccurate diagnosis and treatment. Additional training in multilingual communication for healthcare professionals and on-the-job immersion in medical departments for interpreters are thus needed to mitigate existing inequalities in healthcare provision for immigrant patients.

Research themes

Research on interpreting and translating for asylum seekers in both legal and medical settings has encompassed five overlapping areas of practical and theoretical concern, evident in studies that engage in micro-interactional as well as macro-contextual analysis. These are: role conflict and the tension between interpreter deontology and practice; the active role of interpreters in credibility assessments; theorizations of translation and interpreting as *entextualization* practices; implications of increasingly flexible multilingual practices in interactions with asylum seekers and refugees; and the macro-social position and positioning of interpreters in the asylum system.

The problematic relationship between interpreter practice and existing codes of ethics that purport to define this practice has been and remains an issue of concern in research on asylum interpreting (Wadensjö 1998b; Pöllabauer 2004; Inghilleri 2007, 2012; Tipton 2008; Bahadır 2010; Gibb and Good 2014; Smith-Khan 2017; Tryuk 2017; Jiménez-Ivars and Leon-Pinilla

2018). Interpreters in this context are continually faced with competing expectations regarding their position and responsibilities in the encounters they mediate. Although the professional norm that informs their practice is that of the interpreter as a neutral and invisible spokesperson, the reality is that some degree of active involvement in rendering the voice of the asylum seeker has often proved necessary. In his pioneering discourse analytical work on Convention refugee hearings in Canada, based on a survey of written records of asylum determination interviews, Barksy (1994, 1996) examined the ways in which institutional and discursive constraints impacted applicants' and immigration officials' ability to attain more culturally nuanced understandings. He argued that asylum claimants were overburdened with the task of projecting a self through their narrative accounts that coincided with the expectations of the interviewing officers, and suggested that interpreters should be encouraged to act as active intermediaries between asylum applicants and the immigration service in order to compensate for both cultural and linguistic gaps in understanding. One of the major challenges for interpreters in this situation is navigating between the deeply contextualized experiential perspective of the asylum seeker and the more abstract bureaucratic perspective of the asylum agencies. The implications of these ambivalences are felt particularly in interactions involving vulnerable groups like children (Keselman et al. 2010) and rape victims (Bögner et al. 2010; Maryns 2013b). Interpreters bear a heavy responsibility as what Bahadır (2010) calls experts of the in-between in a space where ontological and public narratives meet (Inghilleri 2007), and as they attempt to achieve the best possible outcome despite the conflicting concerns of those involved.

The profession's ethical code of impartiality notwithstanding, research in asylum adjudication and related mental health settings has found a tendency for interpreters to align themselves with the institutions that employ them, either as agents of institutional efficiency who are focused on eliciting more institutionally appropriate answers (Kolb and Pöchlacker 2009), or, more controversially, by assuming the role of auxiliary police officers (Pöllabauer 2004). Several studies have shown that by agreeing to assess the linguistic performance of asylum

applicants' speech for the benefit of institutional agents, interpreters become actively engaged in the determination of the national origin of these applicants. Jacquemet's (2005/2010) account of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees' (UNHCR) registration interviews of Kosovars and Albanians during the Balkan conflict shows how interpreters, as Kosovar refugees themselves, were given the task of assessing the credibility of an applicant's claim by distinguishing speakers of the Gheg variety of Albanian spoken in Kosovo from refugees using the variety spoken in Northern Albania. This highly unethical and unreliable use of interpreters to conduct linguistic assessment with a view to determining the nationality of asylum applicants has become an officially sanctioned practice in many countries (Eades et al. 2003; Maryns 2004; Blommaert 2009; Zwaan et al. 2010; McNamara et al. 2016).

As products of inherently transformative and reflexive processes of replication (Bauman 2004), interpreters' renditions by necessity are entextualized versions of individual asylum accounts that are constantly being mobilized, shaped and appropriated as they travel through the legal-administrative process (Silverstein and Urban 1996; Wadensjö 2004). Blommaert's (2001, 2010) and Maryns's (2006, 2013a) studies of asylum seekers' narratives in the Belgian asylum system explore in detail what happens when sociolinguistic repertoires and resources are transferred, forcibly or otherwise, across cultural and linguistic boundaries. They explore the impact of applicants' cultural and physical dislocation from their countries and communities of origin on narrative production and interpretation in eligibility determination interviews. Their work highlights the bureaucratic processing of individual narratives which collapses the idiosyncratic and culturally bound experiences of an applicant into a generalizable institutional frame and denies applicants their right to locally derived, experiential, personalized accounts. The transfer of interpreted interviews from spoken to written accounts is also explored. In certain cases, for example, interpreters will create a written translation for the interviewing officers from an initial oral exchange. This form of entextualization of the applicant's narrative is a further instantiation of the institutional framing of discourse; as a record of the encoun-

ter, it represents yet another move away from the original account, contributing to the process of localization, delocalization and relocalization of the applicant's original text. Interpreters are shown in these studies to play a key role in the institutionalization of culturally specific, locally derived narratives insofar as they contribute to the construction of versions of applicants' narratives that correspond to the needs and expectations of the bureaucracies in which they are situated and evaluated. And while significant dimensions of individual accounts tend to be filtered in the process of interpreting and report writing, the effects of these filtering processes are largely invisible in the eventual evaluation of the case.

A number of studies of interpreting for asylum seekers and refugees focus on the implications of the increasingly flexible multilingual practices encountered in these settings. Maryns and Blommaert (2001, 2002) theorize the inequality of linguistic resources in asylum interaction, focusing on the ways in which the rather static linguistic categories postulated by institutional regulations fail to address the communicative needs of asylum seekers and refugees, whose individual accounts of displacement reflect their flexible, multilingual repertoires of (socio)linguistic resources that have been accumulated through their often forced mobility. Insufficient appreciation of the variability of individual sociolinguistic repertoires and resources also has consequences for the organization of linguistic support. Ongoing research on language shifting in interpreted asylum interaction (Maryns 2005; Hlavac 2010) shows how issues of movement and displacement complicate the process of determining which multilingual strategy works best in a given situation. The multiplicity of sociolinguistic parameters at play in asylum settings confirms the need for incorporating more flexible language strategies, including the use of digital tools, the input of multilingual professionals and standby interpreting (Cooke 1996; Angermeyer 2013).

Another area of research engages with the nature and impact of the macro-social and ideological spaces in which the micro-settings of interpreter-mediated interaction with asylum seekers and refugees are situated (Inghilleri 2003, 2005a, 2007, 2012). These studies theorize

the social position and positioning of interpreters in the asylum system using Toury's concept of norms and Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, capital and *illusio* as a starting point. They examine the positioning of interpreters in relation to the principal legal and political institutions involved in the political asylum process, as well as interpreter training programmes, to determine the extent to which observable, socially and institutionally derived interpreting norms and expectations influence the professional practice of interpreters. They also consider the social and biological trajectories of interpreters and asylum applicants themselves and the relationship between these and any expectations or constraints on discursive practices. This strand of research is concerned with configurations and reconfigurations of the social in local, interactional contexts of interpreting where interpreters may challenge the normative practices specific to their own or others' professions, and where linguistic and cultural understandings are constituted and reconstituted, including others' perceptions of interpreters themselves. It suggests that while at the local level interpreters do frequently participate in the reproduction of the existing social order, they also contribute to the production of interactively reconfigured social relations of power. Adopting a similar socio-theoretical approach, Tipton (2008, 2018) applies Giddens's concept of reflexivity in her examination of asylum seekers' ability to assert their status as knowledgeable agents and advance their authentic voice within the asylum application process. Tipton's study, framed around narrative performance in asylum-seeker interpreted encounters, explores the idea that narrative failure may have less to do with discourse strategies or structural constraints in themselves, and more to do with the obfuscation of applicants' stories due to the normative frameworks, including those of interpreting and bureaucratic practices, that operate on all the actors involved, with such frameworks together influencing the production, relay and reception of applicants' stories.

The overwhelming conclusion of the research reported here is that interpreted asylum interviews occur within a climate of national and international policies of exclusion that significantly restrict the right of refugees and asylum seekers to be adequately heard. At the same time,

this research highlights the central role that translation and interpreting play in the development of expansive conceptions of human rights and transnational norms that have the potential to support applicants' rights to participate in a constructive, inclusive dialogue within the global politics of asylum. Interpreters and translators enable the system to function by ensuring both the flow of communication and of applicants. They serve as active social agents in the global political space of the asylum system and contribute both consciously and unconsciously to inclusionary as well as exclusionary practices as they negotiate linguistic and cultural meanings in the context of institutional and political agendas and national and international relations of power.

See also:

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; COURT INTERPRETING; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; ETHICS; HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; LEGAL INTERPRETING; MIGRATION; ROLE; SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Further reading

Barksy, R.F. (1994) *Constructing a Productive Other: Discourse theory and the convention refugee hearing*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A pioneering study which describes the process of asylum and refugee application for admission in Canada through several case studies, focusing on the argumentative and discursive strategies involved in the legal process and the impact of translation and interpreting on outcomes.

Bot, H. (2005) *Dialogue Interpreting in Mental Health*, Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi.

Uncovers many of the complexities of interpreted exchanges in a therapeutic context where linguistic, cultural, social and emotional realities interact; examination of the interplay between communicative and psychotherapeutic practices reveals a multitude of factors which challenge and constrain the communicative behaviour of therapist, interpreter and client alike.

Inghilleri, M. (2012) *Interpreting Justice: Ethics, politics and language*, London: Routledge.

Examines the interface between ethics, language and politics in the judicial context of asylum adjudication; argues against the restricted notion of neutrality that remains central to translator and interpreter practices;

and offers an alternative theoretical perspective on language and ethics to those which historically shaped and informed translation and interpreting practice.

Maryns, K. (2006) *The Asylum Speaker: Language in the Belgian asylum procedure*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Examines processes of discursive (re)production in the asylum procedure and the impact they may have on the determination of refugee status; and demonstrates how insufficient insight into narrative-linguistic diversity and multilingual speaker repertoires often results in a deficient processing of important elements in the application.

MOIRA INGHILLERI AND
KATRIJN MARYNS

Audio description

Audio description (AD) is a form of assistive audiovisual translation (AVT) that provides access to audiovisual products, primarily for people who are blind or partially sighted. Like other forms of AVT, it is intended to support viewers who do not have full access to some aspect of an audiovisual event – in this case the visual component – for whatever reason, be it physical, situational, cultural or linguistic. It takes the form of a narrative that provides information on the various visual aspects of the audiovisual event, supplementing any other auditory information that may be available. In other words, AD verbalizes visual information and integrates this verbalization with available auditory input such as music and dialogue. It is arguably the form of translation with the least concern for achieving direct equivalence to the source text. This is due to the lack of control over the amount of description that can be provided, which is dictated by gaps in the soundtrack between dialogue and significant sound effects, and by the fact that the audio describer has to select only those parts of the visual scene that will allow the audience to understand and immerse in the text. Like most other forms of audiovisual translation that have to conform to very specific technical and temporal constraints in practice, the creation of

audio described products is guided by various sets of guidelines.

As a field of research in translation studies, audio description is concerned with studying the production, reception and products of AD as well as the contexts within which it occurs. These contexts often involve broader accessibility factors such as policy, legislation, user groups and guidelines. Audio description only rarely involves interlingual transfer, specifically in the case of what is known as audio subtitling – where subtitles are voiced for the benefit of the blind and partially sighted, and interwoven with audio description (Braun and Orero 2010). Hence, its position within translation studies is sometimes questioned, although the relevance of the mode for the wider field of AVT research is now widely accepted.

Audio description is one of the most recent forms of AVT to be developed. It is used extensively in film and television in various parts of the world, most notably the UK and North America, but its use is also growing rapidly in European countries such as Spain, Italy, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands, as well as non-European countries. Other than film and television, audio description is also used in live events such as opera, theatre and sports events, and in museums. Fryer further identifies radio description as a “recent and unusual application of AD” (2016:1). Nevertheless, the main areas in which audio description is used remain film and television.

Research context

The TransMedia Catalonia Research Group at the Autonomous University of Barcelona has been hosting the biannual Advanced Research Seminar on Audio Description (ARSAD) since 2007. This event has been central in setting the research agenda on audio description, and some of the research presented in the seminars is reflected in collected volumes such as Matamala and Orero (2016).

Research undertaken in this field is largely driven by a range of multinational projects conducted since the latter part of the first decade of this century; these projects either focus entirely on audio description or engage with it significantly. The first such project to be undertaken,

Digital Television for All (DTV4ALL), was funded by the European Commission and coordinated by Takebumi Itagaki at Brunel University in the UK. It lasted from 2008 to 2011 and focused on facilitating the provision of access services on digital television across the European Union. The Pear Tree Project was conducted under the umbrella of DTV4ALL, and was aimed at determining the degree of crosslinguistic and cross-cultural differences in film reception across Europe, with a view to developing a common set of guidelines for audio description. The results were reported in various contributions to Mazur and Kruger (2012b), and confirmed that it is possible to develop international guidelines in spite of cross-cultural and linguistic differences (Mazur and Kruger 2012a).

The most significant and comprehensive project conducted on audio description to date is *Audio Description: Lifelong Access for the Blind* (ADLAB), funded by the European Union and coordinated by Christopher Taylor at the University of Trieste in Italy. Its aim was to identify “inconsistencies in AD crafting methods and provision policies at European level” (ADLAB website). It ran from 2011 to 2014 and was in many respects a direct successor of DTV4ALL. In turn, it was followed by ADLAB PRO (*Audio Description: A Laboratory for the Development of a New Professional Profile*), again financed by the European Union. ADLAB PRO is coordinated by Elisa Perego, also at the University of Trieste, for the period 2016 to 2019, and aims “to create free-access, flexible, didactic materials of a modular and customizable nature, for the creation of an extremely important yet little known professional figure with a key role in the field of media accessibility: the audio describer” (ADLAB PRO website).

ADLAB resulted in a large number of presentations, publications and resources that constitute a significant body of work in terms of the theory and practice of audio description, and as such it has played an important role in cementing the position of AD as a serious field of research within audiovisual translation. In terms of practice, it resulted in one of the most comprehensive sets of guidelines for AD to date: *Pictures Painted in Words: ADLAB audio description guidelines* (Remael et al. 2015). This publication established audio description as an academic field, with guidelines informed by

research from a variety of areas such as narratology and narrative studies, film studies, cognitive science and linguistics.

Research themes

Maszerowska et al. (2014), an output of the ADLAB project, uses a single source text – Quentin Tarantino’s 2009 film *Inglourious Basterds* – as a springboard for contributors to discuss some of the most challenging aspects related to audio description. Fryer and Romero-Fresco focus on audio introductions, which offer a powerful way of providing the audience with rich contextual and stylistic information to optimize their experience of a film or performance. Taylor emphasizes the importance of film structure in audio description and argues that in no other form of translation is knowledge of the way the source text is structured and coheres as important as it is in this area of practice. The importance of structure is further elaborated by Vercauteren and Remael in their discussion of the rendering of spatiotemporal settings informed by narratology, taking the perspective of the audience into consideration.

The importance of and ways to portray visual composition and editing techniques are discussed by Perego in the same volume. This topic has received some attention from other scholars (Fryer and Freeman 2013; Fryer 2016; Wilken and Kruger 2016), especially in terms of whether or not to use technical terms or cinematic language to describe camera angles, shots, editing and scene composition. These issues impact the ability of the audience to immerse in the story world of the film, which depends to a large extent on an individual’s familiarity with film terminology – such as types of shots, editing and camera angles – and whether or not they are congenitally blind or lost their sight later in life. On a related topic, Mazur (still in Maszerowska et al. 2014) discusses interpretative description, a controversial practice in a mode that has traditionally prided itself on its objectivity, and shows that the interpretation of gestures and facial expressions is sometimes essential in order to convey the filmic narrative as well as its aesthetic dimension. Other contributions address the difficulty of quality control in this mode (Orero and Vilaró), the importance

of describing and disambiguating sounds for the target audience (Szarkowska and Orero), the naming of characters (Benecke) and the importance of cultural references in audio description, illustrated with reference to the Pear Tree project (Maszerowska and Mangiron).

Other research themes in audio description that are addressed in a range of publications from legislation related to accessibility (Krejtz et al. 2012) to the specificities of different contexts such as gaming (Mangiron and Zhang 2016), theatre (Holland 2009), museums (Orero 2005; Moreno et al. 2008) and educational settings (Krejtz et al. 2012), cognitive processing (Kruger et al. 2016) and the related concepts of immersion and presence. The latter two have been particularly important in the debate on audio description, where there has been a growing understanding that audiovisual translation products, and in particular certain styles of audio describing, may have an impact on the extent to which an audience engages with the narrative content or story world of a film or audiovisual event. This engagement can be measured with existing psychometric instruments designed to assess what could broadly be called immersion but that also includes dimensions of presence and transportation. Immersion refers to “the sensation of viewers of being transported into the story world, and of being swept up in this world to such an extent that it takes priority over their experience of their immediate surroundings”; presence refers to “the immersion of an audience in a mediated environment to the extent that they experience it as unmediated”; and transportation “refers to the fact that the audience forget about their immediate surroundings and immerse themselves in the fictional world” (Wilken and Kruger 2016:258). Wilken and Kruger (2016) investigated the impact of mise-en-shot and elements of film perspective on immersion and found that the audio description provided does not always include a description of perspective, which seems to impact negatively on the ability of the audience to immerse. In a series of studies, Fryer and her colleagues compared the degree to which blind and sighted viewers become engrossed in the story world. They showed that audio description enables the blind audience to experience at least as high a sense of presence as a sighted audience, and in some cases an even

higher sense of presence (Fryer et al. 2013; Fryer and Freeman 2013; Fryer 2016).

Kruger et al. (2016) adopt a cognitive approach to measuring immersion, using both psychometric items and electroencephalography (EEG). This shift to a more objective measurement of audience reception in audio description suggests that research in the field is moving closer to pursuing interdisciplinary methods to investigate the impact of AD on audiences, and this has already begun to impact research agendas. Holsanova (2016), for example, explores the concepts of mental imagery and embodied cognition, adopting a theoretical framework from cognitive science to examine the way in which audio description allows the blind audience to engage with the fictional reality by understanding film through their own lived experience.

As audio description becomes more established as a practice as well as a field of research, intersections with film studies, accessibility and media psychology will continue to inform the research agenda, making this one of the most interdisciplinary fields within audiovisual translation and translation studies.

See also:

AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; MINORITY; TECHNOLOGY; AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION.

Further reading

Fryer, L. (2016) *An introduction to Audio Description: A practical guide*, Oxon: Routledge.

Provides a comprehensive practical guide to all aspects related to audio description in various contexts. Particularly valuable for being informed by solid research.

Maszerowska, A., A. Matamala and P. Orero (eds) (2014) *Audio Description: New perspectives illustrated*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Engages with a wide range of current issues in audio description, illustrated by Quentin Tarantino's 2009 film *Inglourious Basterds*.

Matamala, A. and P. Orero (eds) (2016) *Researching Audio Description: New approaches*, London: Palgrave.

Based on the ARSAD seminars (Advanced Research Seminar on Audio Description held biannually by the TransMedia Catalonia Research Group at the Autonomous University of Barcelona), this collection covers some of the main research areas in audio

description, including sections on the intersection between AD and accessibility studies and the link between theory and practice.

JAN-LOUIS KRUGER

Audiovisual translation

Audiovisual translation focuses on the practices, processes and products that are involved in or result from the transfer of multimodal and multimedial content across languages and/or cultures. Audiovisual texts are multimodal inasmuch as their production and interpretation relies on the combined deployment of a wide range of semiotic resources or modes (Baldry and Thibault 2006), including language, image, music, colour and perspective. They are multimedial insofar as this panoply of modes is delivered to the viewer through various media in a synchronized manner (Negroponte 1991). Since the turn of the century, the combined effect of technological and statutory developments has prompted a significant and rapid expansion in the provision and study of assistive forms of audiovisual translation that aim to facilitate access to media content for sensory-impaired viewers. In assistive translations, the meaning conveyed in the source text through acoustic or visual signifying means is re-encoded in written or spoken language – in subtitles for the hard of hearing and audio description for the blind, respectively. Concerned with inter-semiotic rather than interlingual transfers of meaning, accessibility-driven practices have significantly widened the scope of audiovisual translation as a field of professional practice and domain of scholarly enquiry.

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, the most established forms of audiovisual translation, whose emergence and consolidation are inextricably entwined with the popularization of film for mass entertainment, were adopted by other media such as television and, since the 1980s, software applications and videogames. This increasing diversity of audiovisual content has been mirrored in the changing terminology used to designate this area of

study (Chaume 2004b). As subtitling and dubbing were born on the back of sound motion pictures, the terms film dubbing and film translation featured prominently in early scholarly work (Fodor 1976; Snell-Hornby 1988). The subsequent expansion of television broadcasting provided new avenues for the dissemination of translated audiovisual texts, with labels such as film and TV translation (Delabastita 1989) and media translation (Eguíluz et al. 1994) gaining visibility in the literature. Following the exponential growth in the volume of audiovisual texts produced by and for electronic and digital media, terms such as screen translation (Mason 1989; O'Connell 2007), multimedia translation (Gambier and Gottlieb 2001) and multimodal translation (Pérez-González 2014a) have emerged, illustrating the extent to which audiovisual translation has outgrown its core domain of enquiry and annexed neighbouring fields under an all-inclusive research agenda.

History and modalities

Even during the silent film era, exporting films to foreign markets involved some form of interlingual mediation. The turn of the twentieth century witnessed the incorporation of written language into the conglomerate of film semiotics in the form of intertitles (Ivarsson 2002; Pérez-González 2014b; O'Sullivan and Cornu 2018a). The use of intertitles placed between film frames grew in parallel with the emergence of increasingly complex filmic narratives. Intertitles situated the action in a specific temporal and spatial setting, provided viewers with insights into the characters' inner thoughts and helped them negotiate the discrepancies between screen time and real time during a period when filmic techniques were rudimentary (Panofsky 1934; Dick 1990). Removing the original intertitles and inserting a new set of target-language texts back into the film was all that was required to exploit it commercially in a foreign market. But intertitles also served as the springboard for the development of new forms of audiovisual translation. In-house commentators were employed to fill the same gaps as the intertitles (Dreyer-Sfard 1965; Nornes 2007), although these entertainers often sought to enhance the viewer's experience by spread-

ing gossip about film stars or even explaining how the projector worked (Cazdyn 2004/2010). The national industries of the USA and a number of European countries – the main players during the formative period of audiovisual translation as we know it today – thrived on this absence of linguistic barriers to film exports, until the aftermath of World War I hampered the financial capability of European industry to fund new projects. By the early 1920s, American films had come to secure a dominant market share throughout Europe, pushing some national film industries close to the brink of collapse (Novell-Smith and Ricci 1998).

According to Forbes and Street (2000), the advent of sound in the late 1920s put a temporary end to American domination of European film industries, as the big studios became suddenly unable to satisfy the demand of European audiences for films spoken in their native languages. Experimental attempts to appeal to local European sensibilities failed to earn the American industry its lost market share back, and it soon became obvious that new forms of audiovisual translation were required to reassert its former dominance. During the second half of the 1920s, technological developments made it possible to revoice certain fragments of dialogue or edit the sound in scenes that had been shot in noisy environments through post-synchronization (Whitman-Linsen 1992; Chaves 2000). Despite being conceived as a means of improving the quality of an original recording, post-synchronized revoicing was soon used to replace the source dialogue with a translated version, and is therefore acknowledged as the immediate forerunner of dubbing (Lewin 1931; Ďurovičová 2003). Concurrent advances in the manipulation of celluloid films during the 1920s allowed distributors to superimpose titles straight onto the film strip images through optical and mechanical means (Ivarsson 2002). By the late 1920s it had become customary to use this evolved version of the primitive intertitles to provide a translation of the source dialogue in synchrony with the relevant fragment of speech, thus paving the way for the development of modern subtitling.

The perfection of these new techniques and their acceptance by European audiences ended the moratorium on American control of European and other international markets (Forbes

and Street 2000), with American films regaining a market share of 70% in Europe and Latin America by 1937 (Chaves 2000). This second wave of domination was regarded as a threat not only to the sustainability of Europe's national film industries, but also to their respective languages, cultures and political regimes. The multiplicity of European interests and ideologies would soon lead each country to adopt its own protectionist measures and/or censorship mechanisms (Novell-Smith and Ricci 1998). In a number of cases, these took the form of licencing policies that restricted imports of American films, or established ratios of foreign-to-domestic film screenings. Protectionism and censorship also informed the choice of preferred modalities of audiovisual translation in each country, based on financial considerations and the degree of interference in the source text that each modality allowed for. Despite these efforts, and except for brief exceptional periods like that of World War II, these dynamics of domination were to remain unchanged until the advent of digital culture.

The increasing digitization of audiovisual commodities witnessed since the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century led to the fragmentation of national audiences and the formation of geographically dispersed audienceships (Pérez-González 2014b). In this new media landscape, non-linear or decentralized models of distribution and consumption of audiovisual content are eroding the traditional dominance of Anglophone media industries and fostering global media flows from and into a widening range of source and target languages, often outside commercial circuits. As this relative devolution of power from media corporations to consumers continues to gather pace, viewers are engaging in networked cocreative practices, including collaborative volunteer translation of audiovisual texts, to resist the political, ideological and aesthetic homogenization that industrial audiovisual translation has traditionally favoured.

In terms of modality, subtitling consists of the production of snippets of written text (subtitles, or captions in American English) to be superimposed on visual footage, normally near the bottom of the frame. The literature distinguishes three types of subtitling: interlingual, intralingual and respeaking.

Interlingual subtitling provides a written rendition of the source speech in the target language. In communities where at least two languages coexist, bilingual subtitles deliver two language versions of the same source fragment, one in each of the two constitutive lines of the subtitle (Gambier 2003a). Each of the fragments into which subtitlers divide the speech for the purposes of translation must be delivered concurrently with its written rendition in the target language via the subtitle. The “technical constraints of shortage of screen space and lack of time” (O’Connell 1998:67) have been shown to “compromise the dynamics of dramatic characterization envisaged by the creator of the original audiovisual text” (Pérez-González 2014b:16). The linguistic condensation inherent to the subtitling process, which often disambiguates the pragmatic complexity and/or indirectness of the source speech, may change the way in which characters are perceived by the target audience.

Intralingual subtitling, where captions are composed in the same language as the source speech, plays an important role in fostering the integration of minorities such as immigrants in their host communities. The fact that it is of particular importance for sensory-impaired viewers explains why the term intralingual subtitling has become almost synonymous with subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing. This form of intralingual transfer provides a text display of the speech but also incorporates descriptions of sound features which are not accessible to hard-of-hearing viewers. To compensate for its higher lexical density (Wurm 2007), intralingual subtitling has been traditionally bound by idiosyncratic conventions in terms of timing, text positioning and use of colours (Neves 2005). But ongoing technological and regulatory advances are prompting a more user-centred conceptualization of subtitling for the hard of hearing. Neves (2018), for example, advocates a shift towards terms that place less emphasis on viewers’ impairments. To remove the stigma of disability and reflect the growing diversity of devices mediating the experiences of deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers, she proposes two terms: enriched subtitling, which “speaks for all the added elements that make subtitles relevant to specific users”, and responsive subtitling, which reflects how today’s subtitles “travel across platforms and media” (ibid.:84).

Although the use of interlingual and intralingual subtitles was for a long time restricted only to films and programmes recorded in advance, the development of real-time or live subtitling technologies, ranging from the stenograph and stenotyping methods to speech recognition systems (Lambourne 2006; Romero-Fresco 2011), has increased the accessibility of live news, live chat shows and reality TV, among other audiovisual genres. Defined as “the production of [intralingual] subtitles by means of speech recognition” (Romero-Fresco 2018c:107), respeaking involves repeating the original sound of a live programme into a microphone connected to a computer equipped with a voice-recognition software application. Having rapidly gained prominence as the preferred method for the production of live subtitles, respeaking has the potential to be used interlingually in future (ibid.:108).

Technically, revoicing (Luyken et al. 1991; Baker and Hochel 1998) is an umbrella term designating a variety of oral language transfer: voice-over, narration, audio description, free commentary, simultaneous interpreting and lip-synchronized dubbing. In practice, lip-synchronized dubbing, commonly referred to as dubbing, is dealt with as a distinct modality. Although all revoicing methods involve a greater or lesser degree of synchronization between soundtrack and on-screen images, the need for synchronization is particularly important in the case of dubbing.

Voice-over or ‘half-dubbing’ (Gambier 2003a) involves prerecorded revoicing: after a few seconds in which the original sound is fully audible, the volume is lowered and the voice reading the translation becomes prominent. This combination of realism (the original sound remains available in the acoustic background throughout) and almost full translation of the original text (Luyken et al. 1991) makes voice-over particularly suitable for interviews, documentaries and other programmes which do not require lip synchronization. Voice-over is also used today to translate feature films for some relatively small audiovisual markets in Europe and Asia because it is substantially cheaper than dubbing (O’Connell 2007). It is executed differently in each of these target contexts (Naficy 2003; Szarkowska 2009; Franco et al. 2010; Matamala 2018), depending, for example, on whether the

voice talent is expected to mimic the prosodic features of the original speech.

Narration aims to provide a summarized but faithful and carefully scripted rendition of the original speech, and its delivery is carefully timed to avoid any clash with the visual syntax of the programme. Although its use was first documented in the 1940s (Perego 2018), audio description, understood as a form of mostly intralingual narration incorporated into media content to facilitate the accessibility of audiovisual products for the visually impaired, has grown exponentially in the second decade of the twentieth century. An audio description is a spoken account of those visual aspects of a film which play a role in conveying its plot, rather than a translation of linguistic content. The voice of an audio describer delivers this additional narrative between stretches of dialogue.

Other forms of revoicing are performed on the spot by interpreters, presenters or commentators by superimposing their voices over the original sound. Free commentary, for example, involves adapting the source speech to meet the needs of the target audience, rather than attempting to convey its content faithfully (Gambier 2003a). Commentaries are commonly used to broadcast high-profile events with a spontaneous tone. Simultaneous interpreting is typically carried out in the context of film festivals when time and budget constraints do not allow for a more elaborate form of oral or written language transfer. Interpreters may translate with or without scripts and dub the voices of the whole cast of characters featuring in the film (Lecuona 1994).

Finally, lip-synchronized (or lip-sync) dubbing is one of the two dominant forms of film translation, together with interlingual subtitling. In the field of audiovisual translation, dubbing denotes the rerecording of the original voice track in the target language using dubbing actors' voices; the dubbed dialogue aims to re-create the dynamics of the original, particularly in terms of pace of delivery and lip movements (Luyken et al. 1991). Regarded by some as the supreme and most comprehensive form of translation (Cary 1969), dubbing "requires a complex juggling of semantic content, cadence of language and technical prosody . . . while bowing to the prosaic constraints of the medium itself" (Whitman-Linsen 1992:103–104). Since the 1980s, the

importance of lip synchrony proper has been revisited, with new and more elaborate models of dubbing synchrony advocating the need to match other features of the original film which contribute to characterization or artistic idiosyncrasy (Fodor 1976; Whitman-Linsen 1992; Herbst 1994; Chaume 2004b). The idiosyncrasy of dubbed language as an instance of prefabricated orality (Baños-Piñero and Chaume 2009; Chaume 2012), the impact of dubbed voice and prosody on the reception of translated films (Bosseaux 2015) and the role of synthetic voices (Bosseaux 2018) have all attracted growing attention.

Research themes

Research on audiovisual translation follows a range of approaches, including comparative, process and causal models.

Comparative audiovisual translation research has focused primarily on the analysis of shifts and the scrutiny of corpora. Efforts to systematize the range of shifts or differences between source and target texts that arise during the translation process have allowed scholars to produce taxonomies of audiovisual translation strategies (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007); account for types of semiotic transfer through which meaning is redistributed across visual and acoustic codes (Delabastita 1990; Lambert and Delabastita 1996); and describe rhetorical adjustments that bring the narrative configuration of the original film in line with the conventions favoured in the target culture (Cattrysse 2004). Similarly, the use of electronic corpora has enabled comparisons between spontaneous speech and translated dialogue as a means of establishing how naturalness is constructed in dubbed conversation (Pavesi 2009a, 2009b, 2018; Romero-Fresco 2006, 2009b).

Process-oriented research informed by psycholinguistic models (d'Ydewalle et al. 1987; Rajendran et al. 2013) is yielding insights into the impact of subtitling segmentation on the processing of language chunks that are preassembled as such in the brain. Cognitive models based on the notions of visual and narrative salience (J.-L. Kruger 2012b; Vandaele 2012; Vercauteren 2012) are also driving process studies of audio description that aim to identify

the information describers should prioritize in their narrations, given that visually prominent information might not always be crucial for understanding how the plot unfolds. Likewise, neurolinguistic approaches are helping researchers explore the impact of changes in acoustic stimuli on the trajectories of viewers' gaze as they make sense of audiovisual texts (Vilaró et al. 2012).

A causal logic seeking to establish why audiovisual translated texts exhibit certain features or are interpreted in particular ways underpins a large body of research. A plethora of studies has drawn on systems and norm-based theories to understand what dictates the choice between dubbing and subtitling in certain national markets (Delabastita 1990; Karamitrouglou 2000); or how the global dominance of American films might account for the emergence of dubbese – a variety of spoken language used only in films dubbed from English and characterized by the presence of many Anglicisms and syntactic calques, thus reflecting the subordination of the target film culture to its American counterpart. Also following a causal logic, some research has drawn on discourse analysis and pragmatics to show how translation alters the interpersonal dynamics of original filmic dialogue (Mason 2001a; Remael 2003; Pérez-González 2007b), and on gender studies and sociolinguistics to account for the neutralizing and standardizing impact of audiovisual translation on filmic representations of gender (de Marco 2012; Asimakoulas 2012; Flotow and Josephy-Hernández 2018) as well as sociolectal and dialectal variation (Federici 2011; Yau 2012; Yau 2018).

Although the visibility of activist subtitling communities (Pérez-González 2010; Baker 2018a) has risen significantly in recent years, fansubbing (Nornes 1999; Pérez-González 2006b; Dwyer 2012) remains the most widely researched form of volunteer audiovisual translation. The growing importance and influence of audiovisual translations undertaken by networks of ordinary citizens, often with the goal of resisting the commercial dynamics of commercial media flows, is driving a new research strand informed by concepts and methods from digital media sociology. Drawing on the notion of self-mediation (Chouliaraki 2010), Pérez-González (2014b) and Dwyer (2017)

have explored the role that subtitling, as a form of immaterial collaborative work, is playing in the digital culture. Acting as a platform for the expression of subjective – both activist and playful – spectatorial experiences, participatory subtitling is paving the way for the introduction of ethnographic research methods (Li 2017). These should prove particularly useful to studying the online and offline dynamics of such discursive spaces, where non-affiliated individuals engage in complex negotiations of cultural identity and citizenship.

See also:

ACTIVISM; AUDIO DESCRIPTION; DUBBING; FAN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; MEDIA INTERPRETING; MULTIMODALITY; SUBTITLING, INTERLINGUAL; SUBTITLING FOR THE DEAF AND HARD OF HEARING; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Further reading

Dwyer, T. (2018) 'Audiovisual Translation and Fandom', in L. Pérez-González (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Audiovisual Translation*, London & New York: Routledge, 436–452.

Yields new insights into the role that audiovisual translation, particularly subtitling, carried out by ordinary people is already playing in the digital culture, drawing attention to potential new avenues of interdisciplinary research.

Pérez-González, L. (2014) *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, methods, issues*, London & New York: Routledge.

Delivers a comprehensive overview of audiovisual translation as a domain of research enquiry, surveying the main theories and methods that have been used and are being developed to advance knowledge in the field.

Pérez-González, L. (ed.) (2018) *The Routledge Handbook of Audiovisual Translation*, London and New York: Routledge.

A collection of 32 chapters by different authors examining the professional and scholarly developments of both established and emerging modalities of audiovisual translation; includes a range of contributions that explore the social relevance of audiovisual translation in a variety of contexts.

LUIS PÉREZ-GONZÁLEZ

Authorship

The status of the translated author's identity and the question of the translator's authorship are topics that have long concerned scholars in translation studies. In one of the earliest essays on translation, the Earl of Roscommon bids the translator choose an author carefully and become 'No longer his *Interpreter*, but *He*' (in Steiner 1975:77; original emphasis). Such representation of the translator as the author's mimic has historically dominated popular and theoretical understandings of the translation process. However, it arguably implies an understanding of the translator-author relationship as one of harmonious unity that is highly misleading. The figure of the author has been rigorously deconstructed by twentieth-century philosophers such as Foucault (1977, 1981) and Barthes (1977b), who deny the authority of the author-figure as sole creator of the text. This problematizing of authorship and text as unstable and contested categories inevitably raises questions of origin, authority, agency and responsibility in the translation process (Gentzler 2001). Research in translation studies has focused increasingly on the agency of the translator and that of other participants in the translation process, such as publishers, reviewers and scholars, to understand how the translated text might be seen as the result of collaborative authorship. The concept of authorship is therefore deeply embedded in the debates that continue to shape the discipline of translation studies.

Redefining authorship

The hierarchies of originality and authority that traditionally place the source text as master of the target text find their roots in a Romantic literary ideal of the author as inspired creator-genius. Some of the theoretical tools that translation studies have borrowed from literary studies still reflect such literary ideal. The concept of the implied author (Booth 1961; Chatman 1978; Rimmon-Kenan 1983), for example, has been applied to translation (Schiavi 1996; O'Sullivan 2003) as a method for tracing the path of intention and interpretive influence from the author of the source text to the reader of the

target text. Applied to translation, the implied author model constructs a linear path from the 'real' author to the 'real' reader of the translation, leaving primary agency with the author of the source text and relegating the translator's role to one of facilitation, hence allowing little room for creative input.

The understanding of the source language author as the only author of a translated text is institutionally ingrained in modern translation practice, as revealed by legal frameworks such as copyright (Venuti 1995a). This inequality of status is also visibly reflected in the published translation, where the author's name is given more prominence and used instead of the translator's for bibliographic cataloguing. This subordination or even invisibility of the translator has typically been considered a key factor in the low status of literary translations, particularly in the Anglo-American book market (Venuti 1995b/2008; Zeller 2000), although there are indications that this may be starting to change (Kershaw 2010).

Worship of what Littau calls the "Author-God", borrowing from Barthes (1977b:146), leads theorists and readers alike towards an expectation of fidelity in the target text (Littau 1997/2010:438). The disempowered translator occupies a vulnerable position in which they might be accused at any moment of infidelity. Meanwhile, fidelity may prove just as dangerous when the translator is held accountable as the author's representative: following the fatwa issued against Salman Rushdie for the publication of *The Satanic Verses*, attacks on his publishers and translators included the murder of his Japanese translator Hitoshi Igarashi.

This configuration of authority and agency in the translation process seems to weigh against the translator. However, the post-structuralist destabilization of authorship as a unified point of textual origin results in an understanding of literary authorship in translation as even more fragmented and unstable than source language authorship. Research into translated authorship has shown how the author's identity is constructed by manipulating the author-brand (Bassi 2015) or through the workings of Foucault's author-function (Summers 2015, 2017). This research contributes to an increased awareness of how authorship is constructed and reconstructed by those with textual and institutional

agency in translation, including publishers, reviewers and scholars. As Venuti points out,

the collaborative and derivative dimensions of form result in linguistic and cultural differences that can serve not only as the basis for the translator's claim to copyright, but also for an argument in favour of restricting the foreign author's rights over the translation.

(1998a:62)

Post-structuralist approaches to authorship in translation have a particular affinity with theatre translation, where the status of the translator may range from invisible ghostwriter to celebrity adaptor, and where the translator is one of many individuals working to stage a translated play (Bassnett 1998a). On the basis of research on theatre translation, Aaltonen (2000) calls for greater recognition of translation as a collaborative act. She points out that the obsession with authorship as origin reflects an individualist bias and highlights the need for a new model for understanding authorship and translation in the theatre. Elsewhere in the literary world, canonical writers such as Umberto Eco and Günter Grass have famously collaborated with their translators (Eco 2001a; Frielinghaus 2002). Translators have also historically viewed themselves as authorial collaborators: the sixteenth-century translator Margaret Tyler presented herself as a 'faithful' translator whilst manipulating gender roles and author/translator identities to intervene in the text (Uman and Bistué 2007). Tyler's enactment of a collaborative approach to translation reveals the translated text as the creation of neither the original author nor its translator alone, destabilizing the categories of original and imitation that help to delineate a traditional concept of authorship. Meanwhile, it is not only translators but also readers who are invoked as creative collaborators in the text. The impact of technological developments on the relationship between reader and text has resulted in the fragmentation of authorship through hypertext, where the virtual presence of *versioners* such as the reader and the translator reflects the unfinished nature of the original, *babelising* the scene of the writing (Littau 1997/2010).

Where the status of authorship is in question, so too is the control of meaning in the

text. Deconstructionist scholars such as Derrida (1985) and de Man (1983) see in the translated text an opportunity to discover more meaning in the source text. They view translation as a creative opportunity that, by inference, attributes authorial agency to the translator. This licence for creative agency is perhaps most evident in the translation of poetry, where the translation may be seen as a "poet's version" of the text first written in another language; in other words, as an original composition (Venuti 2011b:231). Venuti has argued that poetry translation is less bound by strict expectations of faithful message transference and is more inclined to recognize the need for creativity in the target text. Evidence for this can be found in the work of poet-translators such as Robert Lowell, who called his translations imitations and worked from languages with which he was not familiar, basing his translations on existing ones and transforming each text as he translated (Lowell 1958/1961). Lowell's authorial approach to translation is perhaps complemented by the translatorial approach to authorship taken by Ezra Pound, whose poems demonstrate influence from foreign texts, showing how his work as a translator fed into his original work as a poet (Venuti 2011b). Such practice reveals the permeable boundary between what have traditionally been seen as author and translator roles.

Authors as translators, translators as authors

The blurred nature of the distinction between the specific identities of author and translator is particularly evident in the activities of authors who act as translators of their own work, demonstrating that the roles of author and translator are neither mutually exclusive nor entirely commensurable. The figure of the self-translator, uniting author and translator in one body, emerges as a nonetheless dual, and therefore non-united, cultural voice. Bassnett (2013b) criticizes the term self-translator as a misnomer, calling for an understanding of the source and target texts not as original and translation but as two versions of a piece of writing. The concept of originality, often a key criterion for authorship, becomes fluid and unstable in self-translation, and the figure of the self-translating author

destabilizes the hierarchy between originating author and imitating translator. The self-translator, acting with ‘authorial’ authority to make changes between source and target texts where the translator may fear accusations of infidelity, reveals the contradiction in a simple understanding of translation as non-authorship.

Lefevere’s seminal work on translation as rewriting (1992) explores how any translation must be seen as a rewriting of the source, and in this respect he attributes authorial agency to the translator. The creative agency of the translator has also been widely explored by studies that focus on the translator’s power and responsibility to generate new meanings in the translated text (Bassnett and Bush 2006; Loffredo and Perteghella 2006; Wilson and Gerber 2012). In literature, fictional translators have emerged who seem to claim the author’s place: writers such as Borges and Calvino explore the translator as a potential usurper of the author as primary creator in the text, and treat the act of writing itself as an act of translation (Thiem 1995). Meanwhile, efforts to ensure that reviewers, publishers and commentators “name the translator” (Society of Authors 2018) are increasing the attention paid to translator agency and creativity in literary discourse and in the media. The reconceptualization of the Man Booker International Prize in 2016 as a prize for fiction in translation to be awarded annually for a single book, rather than biennially for the body of an author’s work in English, recognizes the input of both authors and translators. In this climate, authors such as the Italian novelist Elena Ferrante, a notoriously elusive figure, can be represented by their translators: Ferrante’s English translator Ann Goldstein has been a visible figure and has publicized the author’s work in translation (Bojar 2018:39).

Translation has also been historically enacted as a claim to authorship and agency by the disempowered, and histories of women translators in particular demonstrate the empowering and inherently collaborative gesture inherent in the act of translation. Translation has been used by women writers to gain access to public discourse through publication: women Renaissance translators often used translation as a subversive means of undermining dominant institutions to acquire the status of author (Krontiris 1992; Robinson 1995). Simon (1996:52–58) shows how women such as Aphra Behn and Constance

Garnett used translation for the implementation of their own political agenda or stylistic preferences. Brown (2018) discusses how women translators in Early Modern Germany opted to work collaboratively with each other and with men, on an equal footing as authors and translators. In the contemporary period, the work of translators such as Barbara Godard or Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, who claim the right to a specific feminist agency in their translation practice, can also be described as enacting authorial behaviour (Flotow 1997b:22–29).

Still, translation is not universally accepted as an original form of expression and translators continue to be conceived of as separate from authors. While Nord (2011) draws on Benjaminian and Derridean arguments to suggest that literary translators can claim authorial presence by ensuring the quantitative and qualitative growth of the text, contributing to the future life of the source text, Pym (2011a:34) counters that the authorship of the translator does not extend to ethical and pragmatic responsibility for the text, so that the translator can never fully enact the role of author. Pym draws attention to the “alien I” of the source text that the translator represents but does not inhabit, and refers to empirical studies of translator practice that show differences from authorial behaviour in the process of composing a text (ibid.). Pym’s approach is also supported by Benjaminian ideas, insofar as Benjamin states that “just as translation is a distinctive form, the translator’s task can also be conceived as distinctive and clearly differentiated from the poet’s” (2012:79).

Future directions

Beyond the literary context, the question of authorship has been taken up in audiovisual and multimodal research in translation studies. The dismantling of the *auteur* in film theory (Petrie 2008) has implications for film translation; similarly, the translation of video games highlights the corporate production of the translated text and the need to acknowledge multiple authorial agents in the creation of the finished product (Bernal Merino 2006). Textual modes such as video games and film subtitling, in which authorship is visibly fragmented, play an important role in challenging the stability of the author

category more broadly, as scholars in audiovisual translation have recognized (Gambier 2013; Diaz Cintas 2012a). This is also attested by the growing number of crowdsourced translations, which question the norm of authorship as a professional or solo role (Lerat 2012; Sutherland 2013). Meanwhile, the continuing development of machine translation technologies repeatedly reevaluates the assumption that authorship must even be human.

Research into the authorial role of translators also explores the development of new genres in the target culture. Margaret Tyler is widely regarded as responsible for introducing the form of the Spanish chivalric romance into the English language ('Krontiris 1992:45–62; Simon 1996:48). Looking beyond literature, McMichael (2008) explores how the emergence of rock music in Soviet Russia was driven by the translation of songs originally in English, rewritten by their translators to speak to a new audience. In this context, the translator's creative agency enabled the Russian language to become a vehicle for the songs and thus generated a new musical form in the target culture. The creation of material that is new to the target language qualifies the translator, in Foucault's terms, not simply as the author of a text but as an "initiator of discursive practices" (1977:131): Foucault explains that whereas the writer is author of their own text, the initiator of discursive practices creates a space of possibility that permits further such texts to appear in the future.

New models for understanding authorship continue to emerge in and around translation studies. There is scope to apply actor-network theory, for example, to the collaborative input of various agents in the translation and publication process (Buzelin 2005). Elsewhere, meta-data analytical approaches have been applied to understand the trends of world authorship, asking what constitutes a world author by using quantitative means to trace authorial signature and influence (Piper 2015). These computational methods examine large sets of data rather than individual texts, and thus offer a means to challenge abstract categories of originality. By tracing how authors have come to be emblematic of their language communities and showing that the author-function has in some sense become interchangeable with a 'nation function' in literary discourse, research in this area promotes

the concept of world author as an antidote to an institutionalized literary bias towards categorizing authorship by language (Piper 2015:191).

Authorship is a concept that continues to be deconstructed, criticized and redefined but remains a useful point of departure in translation research precisely because it is so problematic. A central tension exists between the desire to believe that a single authorial identity can be meaningful above the level of the individual language, and the now inevitable acknowledgment of creative mediation by the translator and others. While it seems that the translator will always struggle to be recognized as an author, the deconstruction of authorship as a status and an agency means that perhaps this is no longer a desirable goal. Instead, as translators become more visible and are acknowledged as creators and re-creators of their texts, the figure of the translator is being redefined. The examination of authorial identity from creative, historiographical, ethical, pragmatic and legal angles demonstrates the complexity of a concept that is central to our understanding of the relationship between the translated text and its producers and readers.

See also:

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY; CANONIZATION; COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION; CROWDSOURCED TRANSLATION; DECONSTRUCTION; LITERARY TRANSLATION; MEDIA AND MEDIALITY; PARATEXTS; PSEUDOTRANSLATION; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES; REVIEWING AND CRITICISM; REWRITING; SELF-TRANSLATION; THEATRE; WORLD LITERATURE

Further reading

Buffagni, C., B. Garzelli and S. Zanotti (eds) (2011) *The Translator as Author: Perspectives on literary translation*, Berlin: LIT Verlag.

Offers a variety of perspectives on the affinities and intersections between author and translator agency, with some contributors convinced (notably Nord) and others (notably Pym) unpersuaded by the argument that the translator is an authorial figure.

Foucault, M. (1977) 'What Is an Author?', translated by D.F. Bouchard and S. Simon, in D.F. Bouchard (ed.) *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 113–38.

A key text in the post-structuralist theory of authorship, in which Foucault introduces

his concept of author-function, presenting authorship as an institutionally constructed position in the text.

Summers, C. (2017) *Examining Text and Authorship in Translation: What remains of Christa Wolf?*, London: Palgrave MacMillan.

The first book-length study of authorship in translation; explores textual and paratex-

tual sites of authorial construction through the example of East German writer Christa Wolf. The study draws on Foucault and on social narrative theory to explore how translation reconstructs authorial identity on many levels.

CAROLINE SUMMERS

B

Bible, Jewish and Christian

The Bible (from the Greek *biblia*, meaning books) epitomizes complexity. It was recorded mainly in Hebrew and Greek, with a few passages in Aramaic, over the period of more than a thousand years – roughly, between the eleventh century BCE and second century CE – by multiple authors living in diverse cultural, religious and sociopolitical settings. Biblical writings represent a wealth of genres: from law to genealogy, historical epic, prophecy, proverbs, epistles and apocalypse. This linguistic and generic span, together with the sheer size of the material, explains why Bible translation has often been a collective endeavour. Even those versions which are commonly associated with single names such as Jerome, Wycliffe, Luther, Tyndale and Coverdale rely on collaborative work and involve multiple agency. Moreover, the ownership of the Bible as the sacred text of two separate religions and, consequently, the relationship between Judaism and Christianity, remain contentious issues (Davies 1995/2004). Applied to the Bible, the standard set of singular notions routinely deployed in translation research – such as *the* author, translator, text, source and target culture – is no more than a conceptual shorthand for highly complex realities and multiple relationships.

Composition, canonicity and transmission

As a collection of ancient writings, the Bible confronts its translators with a series of interpretive decisions even before the translation process begins. Possibly the most fundamental

question is what counts as the Bible. The answer is not straightforward; it inevitably depends on one's ideological position and religious affiliation, underpinned by beliefs on a number of theological points, including inspiration (that is, the assumed divine origins of the text), authority and canonicity. This ideological commitment is ingrained even in the terminology itself: the familiar designations Old Testament (OT) and New Testament (NT) reflect a Christian view according to which the latter part of the Bible brings a fuller revelation of the divine message first communicated to the Jews. In order to eliminate this bias, the terms Hebrew Bible and Greek Bible are used here; in some instances, however, when a Christian perspective is involved, it is more convenient to speak of the two Testaments.

Beyond these sensitive terminological issues, there is little consensus among the various religious groups as to what material should be considered sacred. From the Jewish perspective, the canonical query is much more settled: the sacred Scripture is the *Tanakh*, composed of three main parts – *Torah* (Teaching, also known as the Pentateuch or Five Books of Moses), *Nevi'im* (Prophets) and *Ketuvim* (Writings). The Jewish Bible is normally subdivided into 24 books, with the prophetic writings grouped together, but in most modern translations it is broken down into 39 books. The issue of canonicity is considerably more divisive amongst the various Christian groups. Paradoxically, the disputes do not concern the Christian part of the Bible, which is almost universally agreed to include 27 books: four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, a collection of Epistles and the Apocalypse. They rather concern a group of late Jewish books, collectively known as the Deuterocanon or Apocrypha and originally written in Greek and therefore not recognized by Jews as sacred. Consequently, the broadest biblical

canon, accepted by some branches of the Oriental Orthodox Church, includes as many as 81 books, while the narrowest canon, recognized by most Protestant denominations, consists of only 66 books. The canonical differences, which map onto major schisms in the history of Christianity, have implications for certain doctrines. For example, support for prayer for the dead – and, indirectly, the idea of purgatory – comes from 2 Maccabees 12:42–46, a book considered sacred by the Roman Catholic Church but rejected by most Protestant churches.

Another facet of the fundamental question of what constitutes the Bible concerns the selection of the so-called textual basis, with clear implications for translation. Focusing on the less ancient of the two Testaments, written between the late first and mid-second centuries CE, one is confronted with over 5,800 preserved Greek manuscripts, mostly fragmentary, of which no two are exactly alike. Detailed analyses of the variant readings, undertaken as part of textual criticism over the past two and a half centuries, have revealed systematic similarities between the extant witnesses. The manuscripts have been grouped into three major families or so-called text types: Alexandrian, Western and Byzantine. The Byzantine text type accounts for around 80% of all surviving manuscripts (hence its alternative name, the Majority Text), although most of them are relatively late and appear to have undergone more extensive editorial work, including paraphrasing, harmonization and expansion in the process of copying. The Alexandrian text type contains comparably few manuscripts which, however, are considered the earliest and most authentic, in the sense of displaying the smallest number of scribal interventions. Most contemporary translations are based on an eclectic, critical text which is constantly revised and updated as more manuscripts are discovered and analyzed. Reconstruction must balance statistical criteria (the number of manuscripts supporting a particular variant) against qualitative considerations such as the age, provenance and reliability of a specific witness. For example, according to the principles of textual criticism, when confronted with alternative variants, the shorter one – all other things being equal – is more likely to be original because of the general tendency to expand rather than condense the material in the process of copying,

especially from several manuscripts. Likewise, more difficult readings are preferred over those which seem easier to understand because scribal activity usually involved elucidation and harmonization. These principles have strong parallels in findings on translation-specific patterning (Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004), including a tendency for explicitation (Olohan and Baker 2000; Pápai 2004), which suggests that the process of textual transmission is translational in character.

Textuality and orality

The abundance of unique yet closely connected biblical witnesses, resulting from a complex history of textual transmission, significantly problematizes the idea of a single source text, and even textuality itself. In the present post-print age dominated by electronic media, the concept of a (source) text has become much more fluid (Cronin 2013), and therefore in some ways closer to the ancient idea of a narrative inherently susceptible to contextual variations and therefore resistant to strict standardization. In many cases, it is obvious that the written biblical material draws on earlier oral narratives. For example, a close linguistic analysis of the so-called Song of Deborah (Judges 5:2–31) leads most scholars to conclude that it is much older than the text in which it is embedded (Block 1999:211ff.); likewise, the poetic form of Philippians 2:6–11 suggests that it is an early Christian hymn, poem or creed, subsequently incorporated into Paul's epistle. The emphasis on orality was sometimes adopted as the guiding translational principle: the Jewish scholars Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig believed in the essential spokenness (*Geschprochenheit*) of the Hebrew Bible, which they sought to convey in their German version, *Die Schrift*, by dividing the text into units which could be spoken in one breath (de Vries 2015:142). Similar objections against the literary bias are raised in relation to the Greek Bible; some scholars argue that “instead of discussing the original text one must talk of early performances and the oral-derived scripts that remain” (Maxey 2009:195). In stressing the contingency of the performance and interaction with the audience, while challenging the idea of a permanently fixed text viewed as ‘the original’,

recent biblical performance criticism (Maxey 2009; Maxey and Wendland 2012; Loubser and Kelber 2013; Iverson 2014; Weissenrieder and Coote 2015; Perry 2016) has considerable relevance for studies in drama translation, audiovisual translation and adaptation.

Early translation and interpreting practices

Ancient Jewish religious practices involving the Bible problematize a clear-cut distinction between written translation and oral interpreting. Written copies of biblical texts were not designed for silent reading but rather “stood as a permanent reference point for an ongoing process of largely oral recitation” (Carr 2005:4) based on memorization; “only when people were already very familiar with a text, on the basis of memorization, could they read it: reading was a kind of recognition” (de Vries 2015:150). When in the period following the Babylonian exile in the sixth century BCE Aramaic gradually replaced Hebrew as the medium of communication between the Jews, the liturgical reading from the Hebrew Bible in the synagogue came to be followed by its rendition into the Aramaic vernacular. The practice resembled what today would be called consecutive interpreting (Kaufmann 2005): “for a reading from the Pentateuch, the Aramaic translation followed each verse of the Hebrew; for a reading from the Prophets, three verses were followed by the Aramaic rendering” (Metzger 2001:20). These renditions, called Targums – a word derived from the root denoting translating or explaining – for a long time functioned exclusively in an oral form that is closer to memorized recitation than a spontaneous rendition, which confirms the observation that “in the Jewish tradition, Bible translations are intended to supplement, not supplant; complement, not replace, the original” (Greenspoon 2005:54). Yet when these renditions started to be written down around the first century CE, their strongly interpretive character became evident: there are substantial linguistic, stylistic and theological divergences between the preserved Targums. This indicates that the role and licence of the targumist – who should more adequately be conceived of in collective rather than individual terms – went far

beyond ensuring linguistic access and involved an explanatory and critical engagement with the original text. Metzger cites numerous instances of “converse translation, in which the Aramaic text contradicts what is said in the Hebrew” (2001:23), apparently because targumists struggled with some expressions which appeared to them unorthodox or inappropriate. Similar struggles and practices are attested broadly at both the intra- and interlingual levels. The first known written translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, the Septuagint, in many cases tones down theologically controversial phrasing (for example, suggesting that God changes his mind). Likewise, numerous New Testament manuscripts display traces of deliberate alterations by Christian scribes who found it difficult to reconcile the reading of the text with their beliefs, often in response to current theological disputes, such as those surrounding Christ’s deity (Ehrman 2005, 2011). These interventions often took the form of glosses (Long 2005:37ff.) through which the biblical text became interlaced with paratexts, additionally complicating the questions of authorship, originality, transmission and interpretation. These findings contribute to our understanding of translator and interpreter activism, ethics and ideology. They also point to the ancient roots of the contemporary practice of church interpreting (Karlik 2010; Hokkanen 2012, 2017).

Against this background, it is clear that “in a more than metaphorical sense, the source itself is already translational” (Pym 2007a:198). Indeed, the Gospels narrating the life and teaching of Jesus must be considered translations in a strict sense because Jesus and his disciples spoke Aramaic rather than Greek. Apart from historical arguments, this is evident from a range of passages in which the Aramaic is quoted and followed by a translation, for example Matthew 27:46, “About three in the afternoon Jesus cried out in a loud voice, ‘Eli, Eli, [a] lema sabachthani?’ (which means ‘My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?’)” (*Holy Bible New International Version* 2011). Even though there is no evidence suggesting that parts of the New Testament were first written down in a language other than Greek, some Jewish translators argue that many idiomatic expressions only become meaningful when translated back into Hebrew and Aramaic. The titles of several translations illustrate their

authors' views and ambitions along these lines: *The Original New Testament: A Radical Reinterpretation and New Translation* (Schonfield 1985), *Jewish New Testament: A Translation of the New Testament That Expresses Its Jewishness* (Stern 1989).

Authority and access

Throughout much of the history of Bible translation, the question of textual originality has been secondary to the weight of authority. In addition to the difficulties of establishing the exact linguistic fabric of some part of the Bible, for a long time translators tended to rely on authoritative versions into high prestige languages, rather than on texts in the original languages. As a result, for over a millennium the Bible was available primarily in the form of indirect translations. This is true of the biblical text itself: whenever the authors of the New Testament writings quote from the Old Testament, they routinely refer to the Septuagint, a translation with which they were more familiar than the original Hebrew. When in the late fourth century CE Jerome was commissioned by Pope Damasus I to produce a uniform and reliable text of the Bible in Latin, his high regard for the *Hebraica veritas*, 'the truth of the Hebrew', set him apart from countless earlier translators who exclusively relied on the venerated Septuagint. The completion of his work, which later came to be known as the Vulgate (meaning the commonly used version), marks the beginning of the reign of possibly the most influential translation of all times. With the growing influence of the papacy in western Europe and the spread of Latin as the language of both worship and scholarship in the Middle Ages, the Vulgate came to be the authoritative text of the Bible for well over a thousand years. It was the basis for all early vernacular versions, including Wycliffe's translation into English as well as the first printed Bibles in German, Italian, Catalan, Czech, Polish and French (Metzger 2001:34). At the Council of Trent in 1546, the Roman Catholic Church decreed that "the Vulgate approved through long usage during so many centuries be held authentic. . . , and that nobody dare or presume to reject it under any pretext" (*Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini*, cited in Schwartz 1955/2008:10). As Schwartz

observes, "the meaning of 'authentic' version in this sentence is that such a version replaces the original in every respect. The authentic version and not the original is therefore the basis for the interpretation and translation of the Bible" (ibid.:10–11). The belief that the Latin text "is truer than the vulgar Greek itself", articulated in the preface to the Rheims version of the English New Testament of 1582 (Thuessen 1999:28), was held by the Catholic Church well until the 1960s, when the principle of translating from the original languages was finally approved. By contrast, the Protestant translations produced during the Reformation, including Martin Luther's into German (NT 1522, OT 1534) and William Tyndale's into English (NT 1526), as well as a host of others which followed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were undertaken directly from Hebrew and Greek. Indeed, a key aspect of the Protestant Reformation was its claim to return to the sources of 'true' Christianity, including its sacred writings in their original languages. But with time, and with official and ecclesiastical endorsement, certain Protestant translations reached such a high status that they practically became the new authoritative 'originals'. One of the most notable cases is the Authorized (King James) Version of 1611, whose profound linguistic, cultural and literary influence on the English-speaking world is very well documented (McGrath 2001; Jeffrey 2011; Hamlin 2013). By the mid-nineteenth century, such was its authority that translation committees in various parts of the globe, when faced with obscure or ambiguous passages, agreed to use the King James Version as their main point of reference rather than the Greek or Hebrew originals (Israel 2011:62ff.). Today, the principle of translating from the original languages (on the basis of critical editions) is almost universally accepted; it is explicitly stated in the guidelines of United Bible Societies (2004).

Both Judaism and Christianity, roughly about the same time, started to develop rich traditions of commentary on the meaning of their sacred writings. In addition to the Targums, the ancient Jewish practice of the midrash combined an exposition of a passage from the Torah with its interpretation and application. Similarly, from the second century CE onwards, Christian commentaries on the Bible started to emerge. This shows a growing awareness that the Bible

requires interpretation (hence the recognition of the vital role of exegesis and, many centuries later, hermeneutics) and, once again, raises the question of who is entitled to provide it. That Bible translation was seen as a crucial interpretative practice is demonstrated by the fact that by the late Middle Ages it was carefully monitored by religious authorities and often banned in the absence of an official permission. In the sixteenth century, several unauthorized translators, most notably Martin Luther in Germany and William Tyndale in England, were declared heretics and sentenced to death – Tyndale was captured and executed; Luther managed to avoid a similar fate thanks to his powerful protectors. In both these cases – and many others – unauthorized translation of the Bible was not the only or even main reason for persecution; rather, it was seen as accompanying and supporting subversive public activity. Nevertheless, the religious activists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were well aware that spreading the message of the Bible in a form comprehensible to the general public (the ‘common people’) would help advance their causes, both theological and political. To fulfil this role, the translations had to retain the authority of the sacred text, usually by emulating the style of the venerable Vulgate, but at the same time be comprehensible and relevant to the target audience. In his *Open Letter on Translating*, Luther argued:

You must ask the mother at home, the children in the street, the ordinary man in the market, and look at their mouths, how they speak, and translate that way; then they will understand and see that you have been speaking to them in German.
(1530/2003)

This manifesto, which in many ways prefigures Nida's (1964) advocacy of dynamic equivalence, demonstrates ongoing preoccupation with questions of accessibility and acceptability, central to audience-oriented approaches in translation studies.

Five centuries later, the focus on access remains one of the main drivers of Bible translation efforts. According to the *Global Scripture Access Report* published by the United Bible Societies (2015), out of the total number of 6,887 languages currently spoken across the globe,

the entire Bible is available in 563 languages (5.1 billion readers), the New Testament in a further 1,334 languages (658 million readers) and some portions of the Bible in 1,038 languages (281 million readers). Nevertheless, as many as 3,952 languages (spoken by 497 million people) still lack a Bible translation; over 400 translation projects around the world are currently underway. This quantitative perspective on translation is underpinned by ethical and theological convictions. Providing universal access to the Bible is viewed by Christian believers as part of their responsibility toward those who remain ‘unreached’, and therefore represents a missionary imperative. Making the Bible widely accessible includes producing versions in Braille as well as in signed languages.

Sociocultural influence

Yet, conceptualizing translation predominantly in terms of access is problematic in several ways. It assumes one translation per language, masking the fact that in numerous cases a Bible translation is in fact a retranslation which seeks to engage critically with existing versions and present a new perspective, often expressing a particular confessional position or aiming at a certain target audience. The perspective of access reduces translation to a purely linguistic product while concealing the hermeneutic nature of the process as well as the wide range of contextual and sociopolitical considerations involved. Moreover, research into the axiology of translation suggests that uncritical belief in the inherent positive value of translation – including Bible translation – needs to be reexamined. Historically, pursuits of reaching ‘the unreached’ through translation have been entangled with processes of empire-building, colonization and westernization in situations of significant power imbalance (Rafael 1988/1993; Sugirtharajah 2001, 2005; Israel 2011; Blumczynski and Israel 2018). Rafael remarks that the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), an organization dedicated to translating the Bible into all the languages of the world, “has arguably played an important role in spreading and consolidating American influence in the Third World, initially in Central and Latin America and more pronouncedly in the Pacific Islands” (2015:90). Even more

provocatively, Freedman claims that although “[t]he translated Bible was intended to be radical, liberating and inspirational”, religious conservatism has turned it into “a negative force, a barrier to social evolution”; indeed that “the translated Bible [has never] been free from violence” and that its history “is truly murderous” (2016:2).

At the same time, Bible translation is also acknowledged as a force advancing and supporting positive social change. Writing about the most linguistically diverse continent, which is also the site of vigorous translation activities, West and Dube admit that “although the arrival of the Bible in Africa has often been a tale of terror, the Bible has become an African book” (2000:back cover). Punt further argues that “Bible translation in Africa extends beyond the religious realm since the translated Bible marks the first foray of a language into the literary world” (2002:101), and has thus participated in the preservation of endangered and minority languages. Some scholars suggest a positive correlation between Bible translation and sociocultural development, claiming that the vernacular Bible often contributes to the strengthening of indigenous groups’ self-respect by expanding their lifeworlds, promoting literacy and offering a new sense of dignity (Sanneh 1989/2009; Whiteman 1990; Punt 2002). At times of raging religious and political controversies, important battles were fought in and through Bible translation, with many versions offering not only contentious renditions but also polemical prefaces and annotations. Convinced that translations of the Bible should promote certain values and reflect positive social developments, different groups have produced versions that addressed what they deem discriminatory or otherwise offensive aspects of the Bible. For example, the last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed the publication in the United States of a number of new and revised Bible versions that used gender-inclusive language. This caused a wave of “Bible rage” (Carson 1998:15), illustrated by the titles of publications such as *Distorting Scripture?* (Strauss 1998/2000), *Muting the Masculinity of God’s Words* (Poythress and Grudem 2000) and *A Plea for Realism* (Carson 1998). Since then, the publishers of two best-selling translations, the (New) King James Version and the New International Version, under pressure from their

respective constituencies – religious organizations and sponsors – (Poythress and Grudem 2000:15ff.) adopted opposite policies regarding gender-inclusive language. Bible translation is rarely discussed in terms of market factors or readers’ expectations, but this example proves that the influence of the audience may be decisive in some cases.

Contribution to translation studies

The practice of Bible translation and the theoretical reflection that surrounds it have made, and continue to make, a profound contribution to research in translation studies, as evident in the collection edited by Noss (2007). One of the most popular as well as controversial concepts in the field – equivalence – was practically redefined by Eugene Nida, for many decades a translation consultant for the American Bible Society, whose book *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964) became “the ‘Bible’ not just for Bible translation, but for translation theory in general” (Gentzler 2001:45; Barnes 2011:44ff.). Bible translation has brought significant insights to the study of context (Wendland 2008) as well as communication and cross-cultural encounter (Gutt 2000; Wilt 2003; Hill 2006); it has been at the forefront of the reorientation towards a broader understanding of translational phenomena as involving transformation, not merely across different languages but also across different media and modalities (Soukup and Hodgson 1999; Soukup 2004; Maxey and Wendland 2012). The Nida Institute, a scholarly branch of the American Bible Society, has been successfully engaging since 2007 with both new and established translation scholars from across the world through the annual Nida School of Translation Studies in Misano Adriatico, Italy. Its aim is to advance research in translation through a transdisciplinary approach which challenges traditional disciplinary boundaries, and to encourage original thinking about translation and its role in a globalized world.

See also:

BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST TEXTS; CANONIZATION; COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION; CONQUEST; FICTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS; GREEK

AND ROMAN TEXTS; HERMENEUTICS; HISTORIOGRAPHY; HISTORY, TRANSLATION; IDEOLOGY; LINGUA FRANCA, TRANSLATION; NATIONS AND NATION-BUILDING; ORALITY; PHILOSOPHY; QUR'AN (KORAN); RETRANSLATION; SACRED TEXTS; TRANSLATABILITY

Further reading

Metzger, B.M. (2001) *The Bible in Translation. Ancient and English versions*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.

Written by one of the world's leading experts on ancient biblical manuscripts and chairman of the New Revised Standard Version translation committee, this book combines superior scholarship across a range of disciplines with a highly accessible style.

Noss, P.A. (ed.) (2007) *A History of Bible Translation*, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.

A collection of essays that outline some of the most important themes in Bible translation over the centuries and offer rich, stimulating dialogue between biblical scholars, linguists, theoreticians and translators.

Wendland, E. (2008) *Contextual Frames of Reference in Bible Translation*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Designed as a course book for both translators and trainers, this multidisciplinary work by one of the leading consultants for the United Bible Societies explores a wide variety of sociocultural, organizational and situational factors involved in Bible translation.

PIOTR BLUMCZYNSKI

Buddhism and Buddhist texts

Translation has played a central role in the dissemination of Buddhism, and the intercultural movement and transformation of Buddhism have been inextricably bound up with the interlingual translation of Buddhist texts. This close relationship has been recognized since early times: as Zürcher (1999/2013:541–542) observes, “[t]he translation of texts as a corollary to the propagation of Buddhism was fully accepted and practised long before Buddhism spread beyond the Indian subcontinent”. The

earliest transmission and translation of texts, then, happened between Indic languages and was a purely oral undertaking. It was not until several centuries after the Buddha's death in the fifth century BCE that a textual canon began to be transcribed. By this stage, the dissemination of Buddhist teachings had expanded considerably, following King Asoka's dispatch of missions south to Sri Lanka and north as far as Gāndhāra, in present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan, in the third century BCE. These geographical directions of development would eventually form what today are three key traditions with distinct doctrinal foci: Southern Buddhism, of which Theravāda (pejoratively referred to as Hinayāna) Buddhism is the oldest surviving school, and which is found across Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia; Eastern Buddhism, which follows Mahāyāna doctrine and is found in China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam; and Northern Buddhism, which is associated chiefly with Tibet and Mongolia, and with Vajrayāna (or tantric) Buddhism (Harvey 2013:4).

The Buddhist landscape is thus one of considerable cultural and linguistic complexity. It raises important issues for translation that ultimately concern the ways in which travel across languages, cultural contact zones and historical eras filter and change religious truth, and how new receiving cultures adapt and localize traditions while striving to maintain doctrinal authenticity. Core issues include linguistic hybridity and the nature of the source text; canonical and vernacular languages of translation; pseudotranslations and their canonicity; translators and practices of production in the classical context; and Buddhism in the modern era, in particular the issues of cultural back-translation and contemporary Buddhist communities.

Hybridity, canonicity and vernacularization

Much scholarship on Buddhist translation has been concerned with the attempt to trace the possible sources of given translations. In the Chinese Buddhist canon – whose texts, written in Chinese script, are used across China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam (Tarocco 2008:323) – translations are in many cases the only record of

particular scriptures, their Indic sources having been lost. The difficulty of identifying possible sources and influences is compounded by the widespread practice of relay translation, which means that the source might itself be a translation (St. André 2010a; Cheung 2006a:12). A further array of linguistic influences can add yet more complexity. Discussing a common assertion that many of the source texts for Chinese Buddhist translations were written in Gāndhārī Prakrit (Nattier 2008), Boucher (1998, 2008) cites textual evidence to show how pronunciation and orthography may complicate such claims. Translation, as many scholars have pointed out, among them Cheung (2006a), involved a strong oral component, where the foreign master would recite the text, often by heart. If that text were delivered with a Central Asian accent to a native Chinese assistant not always familiar with these sounds, an oral/aural mismatch would occur that left textual traces of the assistant's uncertainty. Boucher further argues that where a source manuscript was available, if it had been written in a different script (in this case, Kharoṣṭhī) of which the reciter had less than perfect command, further slippages could occur. Furthermore, a text that had moved even as far as Gāndhāra would likely already have passed orally through one or two other Middle Indic languages first before taking its form in Gāndhārī, and thus "our corpus of Indian Buddhist texts – be they Pāli, Gāndhārī, or Sanskrit – is [itself] a corpus of translations" (Boucher 2008:87). This last assertion underscores the considerable fluidity involved in dealing with oral traditions that were crystallized in writing centuries after their reported utterance by the Buddha. It further problematizes the whole idea of 'the source'. Indeed, Silk argues that in the case of Mahāyāna scriptures, their "very nature . . . precludes the establishment of a historical *ur*-text, which means that the very idea of aiming at the/an 'original' text is illusory" (2016:304). Rather, we must conceive of a non-unitary source.

These complex effects of acoustic and orthographic pressures on the target text are also evident at the level of the end user. Recitation of a sutra was as much a part of the user's experience as reading for meaning, a distinction that leads Eubanks (2013) to speak of the sutra's dual ontological status: as a semantic text, and as

a relic in its own right. The sutra-as-relic might be the object of material veneration (Kieschnick 2003), or be chanted as a mantra whose power lay in its sounds alone. Focusing on the latter, Eubanks details a remarkable case of highly localized translation in the remote Tayama area of northern Japan, in which radical measures were taken to combat a hybridity that would have involved illiterate villagers "memoriz[ing] Tayama dialect-inflected pronunciations of a Japan-icized transliteration of a Chinese translation studded with Sinitic transliterations of Sanskritic loan words" (2013:15) – an impossible task. Thus the *Heart Sutra* (a very short and influential Mahāyāna classic) was translated using a "visual lexicon" (ibid.:9) whose symbols drew on the daily life of the local inhabitants. Yet, while invoking this locally relevant frame of reference, the pictographic script represents not a semantic translation but a phonic rendering that allowed access to recitation: the pronunciation of the words represented by the pictures in sequence in the Tayama dialect replicates the sounds of the sutra. Meaning, in this case, is thus apotropaic, the chanting of the sutra (irrespective of its semantic value) acting to ward off evil and bring protection.

In its level of micro-localization, the Tayama case exemplifies a preoccupation running through much Buddhist translation history, namely the interaction – and sometimes tension – between classical, canonical church languages (Nattier 1990) and non-canonical local vernaculars. The Buddha's own instructions as reported in an often-cited passage from the Pali Canon (Edgerton 1953; Crosby 2014) stress the importance of dialect variation in spreading the *dharma* (the Buddha's wisdom), and as Zürcher notes, missionary activity, which was key to the diffusion of Buddhism, "was not coupled with the preference – let alone prescription – of any 'sacred language'" (1999/2013:541). Nevertheless, gradual crystallization into fixed canonical languages occurred: in the Indian context, Pali, for instance, was a Prakrit that gradually gained canonical authority as the sacred language of Theravāda Buddhism (Crosby 2014:90), while certain vernaculars gradually became Sanskritized to form what Edgerton (1953:1) dubs "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" (BHS). Beyond India, other distinctive forms of Buddhist sacred language also developed through the influence

of translation. In Tibet, *chos skad* (*dharmalanguage*), a Buddhist form of Tibetan, was born from highly literal renderings of Sanskrit texts (Kramer 2007:47; Seyfort Ruegg 2016:214), while in the case of Chinese, the injection of foreign concepts and features such as vernacularisms (Nattier 2014) led to what Mair (1994:712) calls “Buddhist Hybrid Sinitic” or BHSi. As Mair suggests, Central Asian monks may have felt more able to translate into BHSi than into their own vernaculars because “they were simply transferring scriptures from one sacred language into another” (ibid.:718).

Later examples from Buddhist translation history demonstrate the religious, secular and translation politics that underpinned such interactions. Obeyesekere (1991) discusses the case of the *Saddharma Ratnāvalīya*, a “commentary or collection of stories” (ibid.:xi) on the *Dhammapadda* (a central Theravāda work) produced in Sri Lanka; Friedlander (2009) and Hallisey (1995:42) discuss the same example. In the fifth century CE, the original Sinhalese work was translated into canonical Pali; in the thirteenth century, this in turn was back-translated into Sinhalese using a semicolloquial style. Both versions were characterized by adaptive approaches that cut, added to and generally refashioned their respective source texts, as justified by the particular ideological stance of the translator with regard to the appropriate medium for sacred expression. The attitudes revealed in the translators’ paratexts show that while the Pali translator takes a dim view of the vernacular source, the thirteenth-century back-translator of the Pali text argues from a more pragmatic position: forget the text’s stylistic faults, he urges, and “consider only its usefulness” (Obeyesekere 1991:vii).

A second example comes from Mongolia, in which Tibetan Buddhism, underpinned by political allegiances, occupied a central position. While Mongolian translations of the Tibetan sources (themselves translations) were being produced by the early seventeenth century under government sponsorship (Wickham-Smith 2015), Tibetan continued to be the language used in “virtually all of Mongolian Buddhism” (Ujeed 2015:95). Moreover, where translations were made, they often took a verbatim approach that sought to preserve the Tibetan form and content and thus the integrity

of the words of the Buddha (Yampolskaya 2015). Yet radical attempts to break free of Tibetan language influence and to increase scriptural accessibility did occur, especially in the case of the new translation traditions developed at the Mer-gen monastery by Mergen Gegeen (1717–1766), many of whose translations “are more or less his *reworking* of a given text” into Mongolian (Ujeed 2015:110; emphasis added). The treatment of texts intended for ritual chanting is especially illustrative: responding to the criticism that a relay translation through canonical Tibetan into Mongolian resulted in a loss of authenticity and thus of blessings acquired, Mergen Gegeen argued that “[i]f one has to seek authenticity, there is nothing superior to Sanskrit texts. If you cannot chant [them] in Sanskrit, it is better to have them in your own language” (trans. Ujeed 2015:108). The stress on the religious utility of vernacularization seen in such responses echoes strongly the pragmatism in the Sinhalese translator’s call to usefulness, as noted above.

Issues of authenticity and canonical authority become particularly acute in the case of pseudo-translations, or ‘Buddhist apocrypha’, which are numerous within the Chinese canon. The translated provenance of a given text was a crucial element in determining canonicity: a text established as being translated from an Indian source would acquire what Bradford Verter (cited in Tarocco 2008:325) terms the necessary “spiritual capital” for inclusion in the canon, and the cataloguing of Buddhist texts and establishment of their provenance and sources was a major preoccupation in the history of Buddhist bibliography (Nattier 2008; Storch 2014). Chinese catalogues from the first millennium CE show a continual process of reassessment, in which earlier catalogues’ verdicts are quite frequently overturned. A case in point is the highly influential *Treatise on the Mahāyāna Awakening of Faith*, which was listed in a sixth-century catalogue as “dubious”, then given the all clear in the eighth century, only to be reappraised as a pseudotranslation in modern times (Tarocco 2008:327). The processes of travel and hybridity highlighted above likewise apply to such apocrypha. Buswell (1989/2017:181) illustrates “the organicism of the East Asian Buddhist tradition” with the case of a Korean Son (Zen) Buddhist text, the *Vajrasamādhi Sutra*. This was composed by a frustrated monk through the fusion

of Mahāyāna Buddhist elements with “thought then popular in Korea” (Buswell 1990:23) as a means to increase the palatability of his new teachings for the Korean audience. This pseudo-translation was subsequently introduced into China (as a Chinese original) and Tibet, in turn influencing developments there.

A further case of apocrypha demonstrates how canonicity and scriptural authority were frequently underpinned by political interests and patronage. Lewis (1990:232), discussing Zürcher, observes that the “entire medieval period” in Chinese Buddhism was one in which “texts that might have been included in the canon were regularly scrutinized, and any doctrines that challenged the monastic order and their imperial patrons were suppressed as heretical”. The Tang dynasty Three Stages Sect illustrates this well: in arguing that the Buddha’s teachings had decayed to such an extent that only this sect’s programme provided a way forward, it posed a direct challenge to the dynastic legitimacy of an Empress whose claim rested on portraying herself as the incarnation of the future Buddha. Yet following her downfall, the sect’s *Dharma Mirror Sutra* was judged by an imperial commission to be an authentic text and was entered into the canon – only to be removed again in 730 by the compiler of another, influential catalogue, an ebb and flow of fortunes that demonstrates the extent to which monastic influence and the politics of imperial and religious historiography impacted on canonicity (Forte 1990).

Translators and practices of production

Translators have generally enjoyed a high status in the Buddhist world. Kramer (2007:46) notes their “exalted position in Tibetan society”, while Davidson (2005:118) observes how Tibetan translators are celebrated iconographically in the image of a double-headed cuckoo, “a bird said to know perfectly both the source and the target languages”. In the Chinese tradition, the status of translators in the monkhood is well illustrated by the Tang dynasty treatise *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Gao seng zhuan*), in which translator-monks are placed first in the presentational hierarchy (Zürcher 1999/2013; Storch

2014:143). Translators were even depicted as having supernatural powers, with those of foreign masters thought to be stronger than native Chinese translators (Storch 2014). Such hagiographical accounts are underpinned by the belief that the translator alone is in a position to convey the *dharma* or Buddhist teachings across the linguistic and cultural divide. The foreign monk-translator enjoyed special status, being the sole agent able to attest to the authenticity of the translation’s Indic source, although even these respected individuals could fall prey to “the whims of the politicians” (Forte 1990:243).

Buddhist translation throughout history has incorporated a range of roles and different modalities of text production. In the Chinese tradition, various forms of collaborative translation tended to be used, although it is possible that some translation may have been carried out by individuals (Nattier 2008:40). A key challenge was the “expertise deficit”: foreign monks, however eminent, had an “often inadequate knowledge of the Chinese language, especially in the early years of their tenures in China” (Forte 1990:243; Boucher 2008); the actual translation and interpretation of many texts thus “appears largely to have been a Chinese affair” (Zürcher 1999/2013:561), a factor which influenced the whole development of Buddhism in China. Collaborative work in China increasingly took the form of large team efforts: by the time of the great translator Kumārajīva (344–413), translation activities had developed into vast ‘translation assemblies’ (*yi chang*) involving hundreds of participants and a highly delineated role structure (Cheung 2006a; Salguero 2014); later, smaller assemblies would be preferred, but the emphasis on group collaboration continued. Questions of economics and patronage clearly impacted the development of such enterprises. Zürcher (1999/2013:558) identifies a “shift from private, small-scale sponsorship to state-supported translation projects” in the late fourth century, and state patronage became particularly important in the translation assemblies of the sixth to eighth centuries (Salguero 2014). This pattern did not apply across all traditions, however. Comparing the Chinese and Tibetan milieux, Raine (2016) notes a major difference in the collaborative *modus operandi* of Tibetan translators, who would work with perhaps as few as one Indian (or Kashmiri or Nepalese)

native informant or *pandit*, a mode also discussed by Seyfort Ruegg (2016:213). Kramer (2007:46) speculates that the lingua franca of such translator/informant exchanges would likely have been “some Indian language”, given that various Tibetan translators had been to India, despite the collaboration taking place in Tibet.

Buddhist translation in the modern era has been characterized as one of pronounced syncretism (Garfield 2009): different perspectives and traditions that developed organically over long periods of time have been melded through selective and often random translation into English and other European languages, creating a conceptual hybridity, doctrinal cacophony and intercultural complexity that Bhushan et al. (2009) attempt to capture with the term Trans-Buddhism. Syncretistic activity is also present in certain earlier Buddhist translation phases. However, the range of resources available and the speed of activity today has dramatically increased this tendency. As Garfield observes, “[i]t is simply inevitable that the interested practitioner will be reading Theravāda, Dzogchen, Gelukpa Madhyamaka, Zen, and Pure Land Buddhism within a short span, and blending the insights and views of these traditions in creative ways” (2009:94). This situation is compounded by the sheer number of translations available, undertaken for reasons ranging from the scholarly to the soteriological and using “a disparate set of methodologies” (ibid.:93).

The results of such translation activity have led to interesting cases of cultural back-translation, in which non-Asian understandings of Buddhism feed back into Asia to create a range of “modern Asian Buddhisms” (Snodgrass 2009:40). Such a process had already begun in the nineteenth century. Buddhist interpretations by the Pali Text Society, for example, were influential in Asian nationalism and anticolonial movements (ibid.); while in Japan, Anglophone and European philosophical treatments were appropriated in the cause of legitimating Japanese nationalism, as when *The Gospel of Buddha*, a life of the Buddha written by the Christian monist Paul Carus, was translated in the late nineteenth century into Japanese (Snodgrass 2003:252). In the contemporary setting, Garfield provides a personal account of a Tibetan tantric initiation ceremony in which young

Tibetans were reading the text in English, and describes how a Tibetan teacher preparing for a lecture on a sutra by reading its translation commented: “It’s so much easier in English” (Garfield 2009:97). Moreover, the publication of translations potentially changes the nature of reader interaction with the text. In the Tibetan tradition, for instance, the sutra is meant to be read with a teacher, not as a standalone guide, but modern translations and the plethora of paratexts that accompany them may shift the context of consumption from one of shared orality to one of solitary literacy. This removal of the need for a master’s input has led to a democratization, or as Snodgrass (2009:39) styles it, a “secularization” of Buddhism in the modern period, in which reading is “unmediated by the ordained clergy”.

A vast amount of Buddhist translation is undertaken today, both in the academic and religious worlds. Much of this takes place in Buddhist translation communities, differentiated by the source text traditions upon which they focus (for example, Tibetan or Chinese scriptures), doctrinal interests, size and community membership, among other factors. Examples include the 84,000 project, a “global non-profit initiative” whose stated 100-year vision is to translate the entire Tibetan canon, and the California-based Buddhist Text Translation Society (BTTs), established in 1970 (Lee et al. 2015:476), which works from Chinese into a range of languages. Collaborative translation is frequently the mode through which such projects and communities operate, with sometimes explicit reference being made to the classical collaborative legacy. Far more research is needed to understand these communities. Important issues include tracing the different modes of collaboration and the extent to which they relate to classical models, and the ways in which different agents – both lay and monastic – at different stages of the collaborative process interact to negotiate the production of the finalized translation; Bingenheimer (2010) discusses one example of online collaborative practice. At a broader level, a more general landscape study is needed to map the extent of such community activities, their possible interactions and their translated output. It is worth noting further that, despite the emphasis so far on sutra translation, such activities also extend to other spheres of Buddhist translation – from

20-volume Buddhist art encyclopedia projects to community newsletters. In addition, beyond the collaborative context, a significant amount of individual book-length works related to Buddhism, often with popular religious or historical perspectives, are produced by single translators, as Shih (2017) discusses in the Taiwan context. Examining publishing trends for book translations into Chinese, Shih demonstrates that here too, issues of patronage and religious ideology are crucial shaping factors, which are in turn shaped by a range of shifting variables that include social attitudes to religion and national religious policies.

Contemporary Buddhist perspectives on translation

Buddhism can provide important insights into the experience and understanding of translation. Translation has long been seen as a meritorious act that earns considerable good karma for the person who performs it. It is thus also an act of devotion, which as Siu (2008) argues, can be theorized in terms of the Buddhist concept of *dāna* (charity, giving, donation). The sense of selfless devotion implied here is also found extensively in the Translator's Guidelines of the BTTS. While it might be expected that the central eight tenets of these guidelines would stress issues such as accuracy and fidelity, they instead begin with several injunctions to the translator to avoid motives of personal fame and to "cultivate an attitude free from arrogance and conceit" (Buddhist Text Translation Society, undated). Here, translation – or at least the mental preparation for it – becomes an act of spiritual self-cultivation, as well as of religious learning and meditative practice.

Garfield (2009) invites us to think of the continual transformation of texts through translation in terms of the central Buddhist doctrines of impermanence and dependent origination,

the continual chain of cause and effect whereby phenomena arise and decay, and in which nothing is immutable (Black 2013). Viewed from this perspective, anxieties over hybridity and reinterpretation are subsumed by the broader acceptance that this is all part of the ever-changing flow. In this sense, the concept of translation is thus fundamentally Buddhist: impermanence and change are at the inevitable heart of the translational act.

See also:

BIBLE, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CANONIZATION; COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION; HISTORY OF INTERPRETING; ORALITY; QUR'AN; SACRED TEXTS

Further reading

Bhushan, N., J.L. Garfield and A. Zablocki (eds) (2009) *TransBuddhism: Transmission, translation, transformation*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

An engaging collection of articles dealing with the transformation of Buddhism across cultures. The majority focus on translation in the broader cultural sense, although some, such as Garfield's contribution, also address interlingual issues.

Salguero, C.P. (2014) *Translating Buddhist Medicine in Medieval China*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Focuses on medicine, examining a less well-trodden area of Buddhist translation; one of only a few works that incorporate conceptual approaches from translation studies.

Seyfort Ruegg, D. (2016) 'On Translating Buddhist Texts: A survey and some reflections', in D. Wangchuk (ed.) *Cross-cultural Transmission of Buddhist Texts: Theories and practices of translation*, Hamburg: Department of Indian & Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 193–266.

Lengthy survey article from a Buddhist Studies perspective, by an eminent Buddhologist.

ROBERT NEATHER



Canonization

A literary canon is a body of texts taken to be the best a culture has to offer; it is composed of works that have stood the test of time and enjoy general acclaim among readers, critics and academics alike. Importantly, a canon is shared by a group; canon formation is a collective cultural process of value conferral upon works of literature. Each time a text is read, cited, reprinted, translated, imitated, commented on or adapted, literary value is reproduced and processes of canonization are set at work.

Twenty-first-century scholars generally accept that the canon is not an immutable, closed group of literary works but rather a dynamic body: texts can fall out and new texts can fall in. What triggers such change is whether readers, both enthusiasts and professionals, continue to access an interpretive frame that fits the text, that is, whether the link between text and reader is maintained. This often necessitates a minimization or negation of certain aspects of a text. For instance, *Pippi Longstocking*, the well-known children's book by the Swedish author Astrid Lindgren, remains in the canon only as long as its racist elements are concealed; these elements include Pippi referring to her father at one point as king of the Negroes. A change in the paratexts that accompany the original or translated text is often implicated in this process. Thus illustrations of the 'king of the Negroes' are much more politically correct in later editions and translations than in earlier ones. Such textual and paratextual interventions serve to gloss over inconvenient insensitivities. "Features that conflict intolerably", Herrnstein-Smith (1983:28) argues, are "repressed or rationalized", making texts "timeless by suppressing their temporality". Herrnstein-Smith stresses that canons are comprised of "works of art and literature (that

bear the marks of their own evaluation history" (ibid.:23). Translation, too, is part of this evaluation history. This interpretive flexibility suggests that the canon is dynamic, but also markedly conservative: texts that have been canonized are not easily uncanonized. Lefevere speaks of a "conservative bias of the system itself" (1992:19), a bias that can be partially traced to editorial policy given that a work's availability is a prerequisite to its canonization. This works in two directions: a canonized work will remain available – via reprints, reproductions in school books, online and in other venues – and ready availability will allow the work to remain in the canon.

If the canon is understood as the best a culture has to offer, the implication is that it is culture bound and that each culture has its own canon. This essentially makes a canon a national phenomenon, sometimes even a nationalistic phenomenon. A culture's canon functions as a sort of shop window where its finest literary goods are displayed. The Royal Academy for Dutch Language and Literature in Belgium, and the Flemish Literature Fund, an autonomous governmental institution, cooperated in compiling a canon of 50 literary works considered essential to Dutch literature. This 'Dynamic Canon of Dutch Literature (from a Flemish Perspective)' – as the website is entitled – is presented by its creators as a tool for educators, the government, publishers and the wider reading public. The initiative's organizers stress the dynamic character of their canon, claiming that "[i]t is not a stone tablet meant to last for all eternity. Instead, the canon is a menu that reviews today's tastes in relation to the literary fare of our past".

Processes of canon formation transcend cultural boundaries despite the fact that every nation has its own canon. The most discussed transnational canon is the so-called western canon: a collection of works considered to be

the shared cultural patrimony of an assumed western culture, works that have long been considered universal. Discussions about the western canon were dominant in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly among Anglo-Saxon scholars of literary studies. With the arrival on the cultural scene of feminism, postcolonialism, Marxism and postmodernism, the canon came under fire. Diverse voices called for expanding the canon of dead, white males to include works by women and minorities. These debates are now known as the canon wars. The most well-known intervention – itself canonized within literary studies – came from American literary critic Harold Bloom. His book, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages*, published in 1994, defends the western canon and lists 26 authors who belong to it, including Shakespeare, Dante, Tolstoy, Kafka and Proust. Bloom here does not regard the canon as a collection of texts but rather as a collection of authors.

Within the increasingly influential discipline of world literature, the idea of a western canon remains a matter of debate. The comparatist David Damrosch shows that globalization of the literary field has significantly transformed the western canon. Crucial to his argument is the connection he draws between canonization and power relations between cultures, where dominant cultures determine the canon and peripheral cultures, including some considered to belong to western culture, find their literatures underrepresented. In his own teaching and research, Damrosch sees it as his mission to bring the hypercanon of major writers and the countercanon of alternative voices in contact with each other. The fact that authors must be read in translation is a hindrance to this goal, he argues, but better than nothing at all (Damrosch 2006:51). This view endorses the widespread idea of translation as loss or necessary evil.

The power dynamics of canon formation can be theorized using insights from systems theory. Torresi argues that “[w]hat dominates the literary polysystem is a function of what group dominates the culture of that society at a given time . . . because it is the dominant intellectual groups, publishers and/or institutions that have the power to establish the canon” (2013:218). Canonicity is not an inherent characteristic of a text. Rather, it is a consequence of the support a

text receives from a dominant group within the system. Even-Zohar has likewise discussed canonization extensively from a polysystems theory perspective (Even-Zohar 1990a).

Translation and the canon

The canon of western literature, and by extension that of world literature, makes constant use of translations, albeit often surreptitiously. Since the 1970s, canons have been expanded to include authors and texts from many areas and languages. Very often these texts were and are read primarily in English translation. Although the discipline of world literature occupies an important place, as in the United States, the danger arises, according to D’haen, of “a basically self-confirming ‘world projection’ inherent in the presentation of the literatures of the world exclusively in English (American) translation” (2012:94). A potential response to this danger could be to address the way in which these works are translated. The well-known distinction between foreignizing and domesticating translation is helpful here. D’haen argues for “a translation that preserves . . . the foreignness of the original, and thus, literally brings home to the reader, in this case the student, that he is stepping into an ‘other’ world”, one “that never can be made [his] ‘own’” (ibid.). He thus suggests that translation brings about not the removal of strangeness but the making visible of it. And yet only limited attention has so far been paid to the translated character of the canon. Readers often do not realize that what they are reading is in fact a translation, a version, an interpretation of a work. According to Carravetta, this blind spot is slowly being brought into focus as translation becomes “a topic of analysis, spurring reflection on the role it has played over time in determining the modes of transmission and incorporation of literary works in the weave of canons from different countries, across continents and centuries” (2013:266).

The canon of a foreign culture is often compiled in the form of anthologies, which function as “powerful instruments in the canonization of authors/texts” (Pieta 2013:153). Although the study of anthologies is attracting growing interest in translation studies (Seruya et al. 2013), scholars of translation, like scholars of world

literature, have largely neglected the relationship between translation and canonization. This is despite the fact that research on literary translation has tended to focus on canonized rather than non-canonized texts. Shakespeare, by far the most canonized author in literary translation, is a good example. Shakespeare is followed at a safe distance by authors such as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Charles Dickens. A glance at the list of the most studied texts also reveals a clear bias among translation scholars towards Anglo-Saxon texts and authors. Just as in literary studies, the canon is dominated by European and Anglophone texts, and specifically by English literature. This is largely due to the fact that English is the lingua franca of translation studies, and most other disciplines, and hence that it is often much easier to discuss English material to attract a larger audience and more citations.

Most translation research that addresses the relationship between translation and canonization reflects either on how languages and cultures create their own version of another culture's canon or on how a given national canon has been influenced by translations of its literary texts into other languages. It is often surprising to see what a given literature imports from another literature through the medium of translation, given that literary quality is far from the most important criterion of selection. Much research has been devoted to questions of why a given text is or is not translated: chance plays an important role, as do actor networks (Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2018) and commercial-economic motives (Heilbron and Sapiro 2015). Literary quality, a characteristic often associated with the literary canon, is only one factor among many involved in the coming-into-being of a translation. Moreover, judgements of quality are extremely context bound, and translation hence triggers significant change in national canons when literature is represented in another culture. Venuti sees this as an opportunity for smaller literatures to exercise power. That is, smaller literatures have the ability to comment on the canon of larger literatures through what they choose to import in translation: "Minor literatures might thus interrogate their major counterparts by translating so as to raise issues such as canon formation" (Venuti 2013b:181). This applies not only to the canonization of national

literatures, but also world literature. Hajdu argues that "world literature exists in (maybe heterogeneous) national versions, and every nation offers or elaborates its own canonised selection" (2004:36). This situation also applies to the literature of antiquity, which one may be forgiven for seeing as international, shared literary patrimony existing in a more or less stable and unchanging state. The ancient canon "also has its national versions", Hajdu argues:

The Germans focused on Greek antiquity at the end of the eighteenth century, and they insisted that Homer was a greater poet than Virgil. . . . In the France and Italy of the eighteenth century Virgil was esteemed the greatest classical poet, while Homer was regarded as a naïve beginner.
(ibid.:36)

Venuti (1995b/2008) similarly points out that "the canonization of transparency in English poetry and poetry translation" led to the inclusion of the Latin author Catullus in the English-language canon around 1800, in turn resulting in "the emergence of a new taste for short poems, mainly epigrams and lyrics, and especially those of an erotic nature" (ibid.:69–70).

Research has thus shown that each culture compiles, through translation, its own canon of another culture and of world literature. This imported canon can also influence the domestic literature, as demonstrated by Rigney (2012) in relation to Walter Scott, who singlehandedly put the historical novel, an imported genre that served to bolster fledgling nationalisms in every national context it entered, on the literary map throughout Europe. *Ivanhoe*, for example, functioned as a reusable narrative model, proving "to be a very powerful template for shaping national histories that was adopted and adapted to a variety of other contexts" (ibid.:86). Translations of Walter Scott's works have both influenced various national literary histories and canons and strongly contributed to his canonization in western literary history, including in his home country. This latter dynamic – which concerns how literary works become canonized in their home country as a result of having been translated and hence deemed of value in other languages – is an important research topic in translation studies.

VanZanten Gallagher (2001:58) describes the case of the Zimbabwean author Tsitsi Dangarembga, whose work was published only after being included in the pedagogic canon in the UK and the US. Translation into English hence works as an instrument of canonization that partly determines the status of a given author in his or her own culture. A. Hu (2011) describes a similar process in connection with the Chinese poet Hanshan, a Tang Dynasty monk. In the mid-twentieth century, Hanshan's Zen poetry struck a chord with western poets and readers. His newfound international acclaim contributed to his gaining access to the Chinese canon, where he had previously been marginalized and largely forgotten.

Circumventing censors through translation into a foreign language or languages can also contribute to an author's canonization. In the case of James Joyce, early translations of *Ulysses* into other languages "bypassed the initial censorship" at home, allowing it to gain popularity outside Ireland. "Had it not been translated", Torresi argues, "its publication history and reception in the Anglo-American world might have been completely different" (2013:223). In *The Portable Bunyan*, Hofmeyr (2003) describes an even more complex canonization process. She sketches the translation history of *The Pilgrim's Progress* into some 80 African languages, among others, and details how it became a worldwide bestseller, helped along by a worldwide network of Protestant missionaries. The book evidently resonated in many different cultures, not least because it was constantly being adapted – both the text and the illustrations – to suit local contexts. However, it was precisely this worldwide recognition that made it difficult in the nineteenth century for the budding discipline of English literature to hold the book up as a symbol of Englishness, as "a marker of racial distinctiveness" (Hofmeyr 2003:32). To assume its place in the canon of English literature and to be useful to nationalist ends, the universal, transnational character of the book had to be minimized.

Future directions

Other questions pertaining to canonization and translation remain largely unexplored. It would

be worthwhile, for instance, to explore cases where retranslations of canonized translations fail to take root. We still do not know how certain translations gain canonized status. The reputation of the translator and/or a widespread acceptance of the interpretation offered by a given translation may play an important role in this process. In the latter case, the foreign text functions as an authentic translation, its prestige similar to that of the source text. One example is Arthur Waley's English translation of the Chinese author Xi You Ji's novel *Monkey*. Waley's text went on to function as a sort of source text and a basis for youth adaptations and translations into other languages (Li Ping 2014). Other English translations of the same text remain largely under the radar because of the canonical status of Waley's translation and those based on it.

The relation between translation, canon and gender is also largely an uncharted territory. Woods's work on translations of Kafka suggests that Kafka's canonization contributed to Willa Muir's decision to publish her translations under the name of her husband, since patriarchal society at the time would have been wary of accepting a Kafka translation by a woman. Woods speaks of "gender censorship" in this context (2013:6). Whereas many women used translation to gain access to literary life, they were often sidelined once the books and authors they translated became canonized.

Another intriguing link between translation and the canon is suggested by Delabastita, and others; Delabastita observes that "newly emancipated or recognized languages . . . quite systematically engage in the translation of canonical texts in order to enrich their textual repertoires, flex their stylistic muscles and showcase their ability to accommodate even the most demanding texts", giving the Bible and Shakespeare as examples and asserting that they are "typically found at the top of their [these languages] 'to translate' list" (Delabastita 2011:70). Research on the translations of *Tintin* shows that the 'to translate' list is not exclusive to literary genres. *Tintin* comics have been widely translated into over 120 languages and language variants, conferring legitimacy on a wide variety of dialects in the process (Soldevilla Albertí 2012; Verbeek et al. 2010).

Future research might also trace the link between translation and canonization to

establish how particular scientific texts reach a central position in their discipline through translation. Meade, for example, has traced the development of engineering as an academic discipline in Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century through the translation of a specific set of British texts, specifically how W.J.M. Rankine's manuals "became the canon – an embodiment of a new orthodoxy amongst the university elite" (2011:218). Reading between the lines of the biography of Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) also gives a sense of how extensively the translation of his texts influenced the natural sciences across Europe.

Finally, translation studies itself is subject to processes of canonization, helped along by anthologies and readers. Certain translation studies texts have attained canonical status; examples include Holmes's 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies' and Even-Zohar's 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem'. Older, foundational texts predating the discipline of translation studies have become prevalent targets of canonization. These include 'Die Aufgabe des Uebersetzer' (1923) ('The Task of the Translator') by Walter Benjamin and 'Ueber die verschiedenen Methoden des Uebersetzens' (1813) ('On the Different Methods of Translating') by Friedrich Schleiermacher. How this canonization came about and how it has influenced the discipline of translation studies have yet to be examined.

See also:

BIBLE, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST TEXTS; POLYSYSTEM THEORY; WORLD LITERATURE

Further reading

Li Ping (2014) 'Canonization of Chinese Literature in the English-speaking World: Construction, restrictions and measures', *International Journal of English and Literature* 5: 257–265.

Discusses mechanisms of canonizing Chinese literature in English translation and advocates measures to accelerate this process.
Rigney, A. (2012) *The Afterlives of Walter Scott. Memory on the move*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Discusses a wide variety of translations and adaptations of Scott's work and the reframing of this canonized author in the process.

Woods, M. (2013) *Kafka Translated. How translators have shaped our reading of Kafka*, London & New York: Bloomsbury.

Discusses the translation and adaptation into English of Franz Kafka, one of the world's most canonized authors, and places gender at the centre of analysis.

ELKE BREMS

Translated from the Dutch by Jack McMartin

Censorship

Censorship is a coercive and forceful act that blocks, manipulates and controls cross-cultural and transnational interactions in a variety of ways and to varying degrees. It depends, largely but not exclusively, on the imposition of a certain ideology, or a set of rules, by a hegemonic power over a group or groups that may be considered subaltern within a particular historical or political context. In a bid to constrain freedom of speech and communication, censorship determines what is to be considered acceptable aesthetically, socially and culturally. It must be understood as one of the discourses, and often the dominant one, that are articulated by a given society at a given time and expressed through repressive cultural, aesthetic, linguistic and economic practices. Censorship thus operates largely according to a set of specific values and criteria established by a dominant body and exercised over a dominated one; the former can often be identified with either the State or the Church (or similar religious authorities), or with those social and aesthetic conventions established by cultural institutions, cultural agents or by market rules, which police autonomy of choice at both public and personal levels as well as at national and international ones. In contrasting fashions, both censorship and translation influence the visibility and invisibility, as well as the accessibility and the inaccessibility, of the intercultural message and cultural capital enjoyed or produced by a certain text or body of texts, and are embedded in the cultural formations and power dynamics of institutions, media and private life.

Interest in the relationship between institutions and power in general and in censorship

and translation in particular has grown significantly since the turn of the century, with numerous volumes dedicated to the latter, narrower topic (Rabadán 2000; Ballester Casado 2001; Craig 2001; Merkle 2002; Sturge 2004; Biliiani 2007a, 2007b; Ní Chuilleanáin et al. 2008; Seruya and Lin Moniz 2008; Rundle 2010a; Rundle and Sturge 2010; Merkle et al. 2010; Woods 2012b; Spirk 2014; Dunnett 2015; Looby 2015; McLaughlin and Muñoz-Basols 2016). Initially, research in this area focused on the national sphere, often taking individual case studies of specific texts or bodies of text as its point of departure, but it gradually expanded to cover other media and contexts outside the European and Anglophone world. One example is Issa's (2012) study of the censorship of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* in the Arab-Islamic world. From a focus on text-based analysis, centring on linguistic patterns and solutions to prevent or avoid censorial cuts, the scope of research has also widened to encompass sociological and cultural questions relating to how texts are censored in translation, including texts drawn from popular culture and new media such as Twitter, YouTube and Facebook.

Research themes

Research into the role played by censorship in shaping the ways in which translations circulate and are received within a given historical and cultural moment has developed significantly since the turn of the century, especially in relation to three areas of enquiry: the study of censorship and translation as a sociological phenomenon; the connection between censorship and forms of textuality generated in and by a national or transnational context; and the censoring of translations in both traditional media other than printed books and the new, social media of the digital age.

Foucault's (1975/1977) seminal work on knowledge, power and repression laid some of the methodological foundations for scholarly research on translation and censorship. Foucault argues that the production and representation of knowledge depends on the ways in which any social system articulates a set of rules, which in turn determines forms of direct or indirect censorship in both aesthetic and political ways. These

visible and invisible rules, however, are not only to be read as exclusively repressive measures, but also as a means of generating additional knowledge and power (ibid.:177, 187, 201–202). The censorship of translations does not therefore act simply according to the logic of punishment, but also according to the principle of correction, or in some cases of self-correction, a principle that has been explored in research on translation in the nineteenth century (Merkle et al. 2010). In his work on sexuality, Foucault claims that in the Victorian era the ban on the evocation of sexuality did not obstruct the production of more discourses on the issue; instead, it encouraged their regulated and diverse proliferations (Foucault 1976/1981:6–9; Saunders 1992; Brownlie 2007; O'Sullivan 2008). Thus, when censors punish and regulate the circulation of the cultural capital of translations, they can also foster further knowledge as a by-product of imposing constraints on certain forms of creativity (Foucault 1975/1977:170–94; Sammells 1992:5–6; Tymoczko 2008). The limitations enforced by censorship on individual creativity can paradoxically result in further production of knowledge, provided there is a degree of shared mutual understanding among communities (Boase-Beier and Holman 1999:1–17; Ó Cuilleánáin 1999:31–44; Tourniaire 1999:71–80; Gómez-Castro 2008).

In addition to Foucault, Bourdieu's sociological theory played an important role in defining the methodological landscape of the field. It emphasized the relationship between agency and structure (Inghilleri 2005b) and allowed researchers to analyze the implications of that relationship for shaping the cultural habitus and field, which governed the working mechanisms of a censorial apparatus (Bourdieu 1979/1984:170, 63–95, 232). Specifically, Bourdieu contends that to understand fully how censorship operates, one needs to take into consideration its relationship with the habitus (dynamics of tastes) of the field in which it circulates. Bourdieu names this censorial condition “structural censorship”, and states that it is determined by the habitus of the agents belonging to the field within which a text circulates as well as by the aesthetics of the field (Bourdieu 1982:168, 1984:170; Krebs 2007a; Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2007). He conceives of censorship as a way of shaping and regulating the cultural production of the specific fields in which texts circulate, therefore accounting – like

Foucault – for both the productive and repressive force of translation. But Bourdieu expands the potential of the field by maintaining that censorship has to be seen not as an institutional set of rules, or even as an overtly repressive means of controlling public opinion and discourses, but rather as a set of unwritten rules, shaped both by current habitus and by the symbolic capital a text as cultural and aesthetic object enjoys in a certain field (ibid.:172–173). Furthermore, in its consideration of transnational dynamics of taste, Bourdieu's definition of structural censorship allows scholars to view the phenomenology of translation and censorship in terms of both its national specificity and a repertoire of universal themes such as sexuality, religion and ideology that are shared by different communities at different moments in their history (Bourdieu 1982:168–173).

Foucault's and Bourdieu's sociological accounts of the structures of cultural production and their repercussions for the field of the imaginary have facilitated the expansion of scholarship outside the European and Anglophone world and helped shape the critical discourse in transnational terms. They have informed studies of censorship of translations in China (Tan 2015), for example, and of patterns of intellectual transfer between 'East and West' through censorship and self-censorship of translations (Rodríguez-Navarro and Beeby 2010).

As well as operating as a sociologically inscribed phenomenon, the censorship of translations also functions at the textual level; as such it may involve the translator introducing a series of alterations and modifications in line with a certain habitus or institutional directive, and in response to the aesthetic paradigm determined by the broader landscape of textuality. In broad terms, textuality accounts for the ways in which texts circulate within a certain field of cultural production. In this respect, Sullivan and Bandín (2014) analyze such interventions with examples of the use of metaphors to circumvent censorship of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in Franco's Spain. Finally, in the context of translation, the idea of textuality also concerns the set of relationships established between source and target texts, and the agents involved in self-censorship, including translators as tacit censors (Gibbels 2008), and institutional censorship (Woods 2012b).

Censorship may be divided into two main categories: institutional and individual. This division can help in framing research questions in relation to a phenomenon which connects the textual and the socio/political levels (Rodríguez-Navarro and Beeby 2010). The most famous case of censorship, which gave rise to the term bowdlerization, is that of Dr Bowdler's (1724–1825) expurgated texts: bowdlerization in this case resulted in the simultaneous circulation of expurgated and full editions, which differed in price and thus addressed diverse audiences (Perrin 1969; Ó Cuilleanáin 1999:37–39). As an institutional phenomenon, censorship has existed since at least 399 BC, when Socrates was accused of introducing new divinities and corrupting the young and thus exposed to the punishment of the State. Yet it was the Obscene Publications Act (1857) that marked the beginning of official censorship of texts, which were deemed offensive to readers in Britain, and a similar attitude has been adopted by the many European dictatorships in the twentieth century (Billiani 2007b; Rundle 2010a; Rundle and Sturge 2010; Dunnett 2015).

Famous instances abound of banned individual translations belonging to diverse literary domains – including canonical texts, high- and low-brow culture and children's literature – and demonstrating the range and practices of censorship. They include Machiavelli's *The Prince* (banned in France in 1576); *The Thousand and One Nights* (banned in the US in 1927); H.B. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (banned in Russia in 1852); and Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (banned in China in 1931). It is not only individual texts that are targeted by censorship, however. The translations of complete oeuvres have been banned at different times. The name of the author and that of the translator can gain considerable importance: institutional censorship can officially reject a text not only because of its content but also because of the author's profile or indeed the translator's identity. Bertolt Brecht's works were banned during the Greek dictatorship, which lasted from 1967 to 1974 (Asimakoulas 2007), and those of Jean Paul Sartre were barred for more than 20 years in Franco's Spain (Godayol 2016b). André Gide's works were prohibited in 1938 in the Soviet Union and in 1954 in East Berlin, and Upton Sinclair's were forbidden in 1929 in Yugoslavia,

in 1933 in Germany and in 1956 in East Germany. In Fascist Italy, translations by authors such as Thomas Mann and André Gide were censored because the authors were believed to be Jewish (Fabre 1998). Similarly, entire genres may be subjected to censorship. Lygo (2016) offers examples of the censorship of translation in literary journals such as *Novyi mir* in Brezhnev's Soviet Union. Both in Fascist Italy and in Nazi Germany, translations of detective stories were subject to censorial scrutiny as a genre a priori during the last years of the dictatorship because of the popularity they had gained among readers (Rundle 2010a; Dunnett 2015). These stories were thought to constitute a vehicle for importing perilous and immoral examples of antisocial behaviour. The nature and extent of censorship of translated texts can also be determined by the dynamics of interaction between what is deemed to be or to belong to the national tradition and what is perceived as specific foreign sources. Spirk (2014) offers examples of censorship of translations from the Czech Republic in Portugal, and Looby (2015) discusses the censorship of English translations in Poland.

The relationship between censorship and translated texts has been researched in terms of the extent to which translations permit the circulation of ideas beyond the boundaries imposed by a certain authority; specifically, in terms of the extent to which translation may act as a means of evading censorship (Billiani 2007b). Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Franco's Spain put into practice a censorial preventive apparatus, which specifically and selectively targeted those translations deemed ideologically destabilizing. In these contexts, censorship functioned as a preventive measure, which worked effectively because of the relevant regimes' ability to recruit the publishing industry and bring it in line with the political order. Translations were rarely sequestered, because the publishers themselves preempted censorship by guaranteeing their acceptability (Rundle and Sturge 2010; Steen 2007). Here, as elsewhere when censorship does not involve a complete ban, translations are identified with a 'stranger' who needs to be presented in a particular fashion in order to become part of the discourse of dominant institutions and political leaders.

One area of translation which has continued to attract scholarly attention is that of children's

literature under dictatorships, due to the alleged vulnerability of readers and the double addressees of children's texts (Craig 2001; Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2007; Inggs 2011; Sinibaldi 2016). On the whole, scholarship on textual aspects of censorship suggests that the censoring of translation is rarely absolute or straightforward: it operates within a social context which has often allowed agents – including publishers, translators, authors and literary agents – a certain freedom of manoeuvre, resulting in some potentially subversive texts being occasionally published (Fabre 1998; Sturge 2004).

Beyond the printed word, traditional media, such as cinema, have also been subject to censorship. Imported cinema has often been subjected to various forms of censorship through dubbing and subtitling (Rabadán 2000; Ballester Casada 2001; Vandaele 2002; Gutiérrez Lanza 2002). While reading might be seen as a private act, screening occurs in front of a purportedly vulnerable and visible audience (D. Jones 2001:164–167). Creative censorship, or at times the translator's own self-censorship, has been evidenced in subtitled films, two well-known examples being the *Last Tango in Paris* (1972, Jones and Platt 1991) and the renowned Japanese film *Ai No Corrida* by Ōshima Nagisa (*In the Realm of Senses*, 1976). Once censored, in the original as well as in the subtitled versions, both films are now regarded as masterpieces. The Japanese film was censored for obscene content, but its main purpose was to address the repressive politics of 1930s Japan (D. Jones 2001:797–812, 817–820). By targeting only the erotic content of the film, the institutional censorial power was able to set, albeit in a contradictory fashion, the boundaries of the circulation of the film as well as its modes of reception. As pointed out by Vandaele (2007), the censorship of film through subtitling was a frequent practice in Franco's Spain, but its evolution, as more or less stringent in application and scope, signalled periods of change during the lifetime of the regime.

Another traditional medium, the theatre, has also been the subject of institutional censorship. Until 1968 dramatic productions in the UK were subject to approval by the Lord Chamberlain's office, which determined what plays could or could not be performed (Krebs 2007a, 2007b/2014; Walton 2006, 2007). Wood (2012) complements the study of institutional censorship in this

context with attention to issues of gender by investigating the role of women in censorial practices in the theatre.

Finally, a more contemporary understanding of the practice of censorship and its impact on translation requires engaging with the profound effect of globalization on the way texts circulate – and significantly not only on how written texts circulate, but rather on how information or knowledge per se is transmitted or blocked. New media now play a fundamental role in the dissemination and manipulation of translations, and are changing the landscape and nature of censorial practices, and of evading such practices, at a fast pace. Twitter, WikiLeaks, YouTube and Facebook are thus all important sites of future research on censorship and translation. Cronin's (2003) call for exploring the consequences of globalization for the ways in which translations circulate and are censored remains to be answered in the context of this fast evolving media ecology.

See also:

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; DUBBING; FIELD THEORY; GLOBALIZATION; POLITICS

Further reading

Billiani, F. (2007) 'Assessing Boundaries: Censorship and translation. An introduction', in F. Billiani (ed.) *Modes of Censorship and Translation. National contexts and diverse media*, Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1–25.

Provides a working definition of the relationship between censorship and translation against the backdrop of ideologically and politically defined national contexts and diverse media; such definition is set within the broader theoretical and methodological debates in the field of translation studies.

Issa, I. (2012) 'Fragmentation, Censorship and an Islamic Journal: A history of the translations of Milton into Arabic', *Milton Quarterly* 46(4): 219–232.

Examines the dissemination and reception of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* in the Arab-Islamic world and covers their circulation via the Internet, from the 1930s to the present, while focusing on forms of linguistic censorship and self-censorial interventions in the text.

Merkle, D., C. O'Sullivan, L. van Doorslaer and M. Wolf (eds) (2010) *The Power of the Pen. Translation and censorship in 19th century Europe*, Vienna: LIT Verlag.

An interdisciplinary collection which offers insights into censorship in the nineteenth century, methodological guidelines as well as a thorough discussion of the current state of affairs in this area of research, including the question of norms and institutional constraints. Articles cover a wide range of geographical areas, such as Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Portugal, Russia and Spain.

Woods, M. (2012) *Censoring Translation. Censorship, theatre and the politics of translation*, London: Bloomsbury.

An important contribution which presents a clear methodological discussion and addresses the main pitfalls in the field; it introduces the key concept of 'agents of change' in relation to the work carried out by translators, while focusing on the often-neglected perspectives of gender and the market.

FRANCESCA BILLIANI

Children's literature

Translation for children encompasses such diverse forms as the toddler's board book, the young adult novel or the illustrated information text, and requires an understanding of both developmental factors and the world of childhood. Hollindale's definition of childness as "the quality of being a child – dynamic, imaginative, experimental, interactive and unstable" (1997:46) underpins the fine balance of affective content, creativity, simplicity of expression and linguistic playfulness that characterize all writing, and therefore translation, for the youngest readers. At the opposite end of the age range, novels addressing the fragility of the adolescent's self-image demand of the translator an awareness of the preoccupations of young adults and up-to-date information on rapidly changing youth cultures. Boundaries between fiction for adults and children have never been clear cut: the modern phenomenon of crossover fiction,

that is, fiction that is read by or addresses readers of all ages (Beckett 1999), has antecedents in the romances, fables and fairy tales read by both adults and literate children. Furthermore, the adult presence takes on many guises in children's books, from the spectre of the didactic narrator of the eighteenth-century moral tale to the playful ironic asides intended for the amusement of the adult reading aloud to a child in A.A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*. Translation may alter the nature of the adult-child relationship implicit in the source text: O'Sullivan's (2005) account of the removal of the layer of irony in the first German translation of Milne's classic stories exemplifies a loss of dual address. In another example of shifting address, Shavit (1986) analyzes the transfer of both *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* from the adult to the children's literary canon via translation.

Translating image and sound

One fundamental, general difference between texts for adults and children is the history of children's literature as a visual medium. Whether images are used to create visual narratives in comics, graphic novels or picture books, or as illustrations that punctuate a prose text, they add a new dimension to the dynamics between source and target languages. The translation of the modern picture book in particular entails an understanding of stylized artwork, multimediality, typography (Unsworth et al. 2014) and visual codes that may be intended for child or adult viewers and readers. Such texts feature a sophisticated orchestration of text and images that may include a form of counterpoint between the two modes, encouraging children to become active readers and fill the gaps (O'Sullivan 2006; González Davies and Oittinen 2008). In the first academic book in English entirely devoted to picture book translation, Oittinen et al. (2017) examine the role of illustrations in shaping the translating and reading experience. Oittinen (2000) has also argued that translating illustrated texts requires specialized training, combining translation studies with classes in art appreciation. An integration of image and language is found, too, in the rapidly expanding fields of audiovisual translation (O'Connell 2003) and video game localization, where

children's films and games require insights into the likely responses of a young audience.

Sound is also a vital element in translating for the young, since children have stories read to them, and translating for reading aloud necessitates the competence to replicate the poetic dynamic of children's texts (Dollerup 2003). Whether read aloud or silently, stories for young children often present a clear narrative line in prose that is both expressive and rhythmic. Puurtinen (1995) is one of the few scholars to have examined the effect of syntactic alterations on readability in children's literature in her study of two different Finnish translations of Frank L. Baum's *The Wizard of Oz*. She discovered that one of the two versions had a more fluent and dynamic style and was easier to read aloud. The aural texture of a story, or indeed of lullabies, nursery rhymes and jingles, is of paramount importance to a child still engaged in discovering the power and delights of phonology. Repetition, rhyme, onomatopoeia, wordplay, nonsense, neologisms and the representation of animal noises are therefore all common features of children's texts and require a considerable degree of linguistic creativity on the part of the translator. The translation of poetry for children is a particularly challenging art, as demonstrated by Kreller's (2007) detailed study of the translation of children's poetry from German into English, which integrates an examination of translation strategies with literary analysis of rhyme, rhythm, metre, imagery and semantic content.

Theoretical and critical developments

Critical interest in the translation of children's literature has developed at an accelerating pace. A number of edited volumes, for example van Coillie and Verschueren (2006), di Giovanni et al. (2010) and Douglas (2015), as well as monographs demonstrate a diversity of approaches and theoretical perspectives. Tabbert's (2002) comprehensive international review of publications and Lathey's (2006) collection of English-language articles take stock of specialized studies published by the first decade of the twenty-first century. Following on from the early edited collection of papers in Persson's *Translations of Children's Books* (1962),

Göte Klingberg – the Swedish cofounder of the International Research Society for Children's Literature (IRSCL) – was one of the first scholars to pay serious academic attention to translations for children in the 1970s and 1980s. In *Children's Fiction in the Hands of the Translators*, Klingberg takes a prescriptive approach to the practice of “cultural context adaptation” – the domestication of foreign names, coinage and foodstuffs – for a child audience, arguing that the literary integrity of the source text should be respected as much as possible and expressing an “anti-localizing attitude” (1986:18). Yet translators and editors are not always prepared to trust the child's ability to delight in and assimilate the unfamiliar, sometimes citing a lack of life experience as grounds for domestication. Historically, therefore, the contextual adaptation of children's texts has been common practice, although award-winning English translator Anthea Bell advocates flexibility and autonomy for the translator who has to “gauge the precise degree of foreignness, and how far it is acceptable and can be preserved” (1985:7).

Klingberg (1986) also discusses the ‘purification’ of children's texts in the course of translation, an ideological issue that has preoccupied many researchers who take a descriptive approach to translations for children. Since the 1970s the general movement in the study of translation has been away from an emphasis on equivalence and faithfulness, towards a focus on the purpose, function and status of the translation in the target culture. Shavit's (1986) application of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory to children's texts, for example, locates translations for a child audience within a model of literary hierarchies. Shavit argues that the low status of children's literature, different cultural constructs of childhood and diverse notions of what is good for the child have led to radical censorship and abridgement, particularly of classic texts such as *Gulliver's Travels*. Sutton (1996) offers further evidence of adaptation to the norms of the target culture in nineteenth-century translations of Grimms' tales where violent and scatological passages were removed. Didactic interventions in the process of translation are plentiful, with the toning down of Pippi Longstocking's wayward and anarchic behaviour in the first translation into French of Astrid Lindgren's modern Swedish classic as a telling

example (Heldner 1992). Desmet's (2007) investigation of the translation into Dutch of narrative fiction for girls reaffirms Shavit's emphasis on literary status as a determining factor in the degree of adaptation and abridgement in translations for children. Moreover, historical research has uncovered evidence not only of changes in translation practices according to contemporary constructions of childhood, but also of the impact of translations on the target culture (Lathey 2010).

Issues of ideology in the adoption of different translation strategies for a young audience continue to attract the attention of scholars analyzing children's literature within specific political contexts. Fernández López (2000) discusses intercultural ideological factors in the translation into Spanish of the work of Roald Dahl and Enid Blyton. The eradication of racist and sexist language from the work of these authors during the 1970s and 1980s in the UK was ignored in Spanish translations that returned to earlier, unpurified versions of source texts, thereby creating a mismatch between English and Spanish versions published in the same period. Fernández López regards this practice as indicative of political and social factors in the Franco and post-Franco eras in Spain. Further detailed examples of translation under political control are provided by Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009), whose investigation into the selection of children's texts for translation in the German Democratic Republic reflects the primacy of ideological content in a period when the child was central to the socialist enterprise, and by Pokorn (2012), who analyzes the legacy of politically motivated censorship in translations for children in post-socialist Slovenia. In a study of the translation of children's literature in postcolonial South Africa, H. Kruger (2012b) challenges received paradigms when examining the translation, publication and reception of texts in a highly complex sociolinguistic context. By adopting a cross-disciplinary approach and applying insights drawn from postcolonial theory, she calls into question the binary oppositions between source and target cultures that characterize comparative research on translation.

O'Sullivan (2007) has pioneered the application of image studies to the analysis of children's literature, where reductive and ideologically

determined representations of other nationalities are common. Both Frank (2007) and Seiffert (2005) draw on this new approach to children's literature to inform case studies on the translation of Australian children's fiction into French and Canadian fiction into German respectively, demonstrating ways in which images of a nation and locale are constructed as children's texts move from one language and culture to another. Scholars have also turned their attention to publishing practices in relation to translated children's literature (Biernacka-Licznar and Paprocka 2016) and to the phenomenon of retranslation. Douglas and Cabaret (2014) examine the role of retranslation in the canonization of international children's classics, whereas O'Driscoll (2011) presents a case study of historical retranslations of the work of Jules Verne into English that illustrates shifts in both publishing practices and translation strategies. In a uniquely extensive exploration of translations of one text, the three-volume publication *Alice in a World of Wonderlands* (Lindseth and Tannenbaum 2015) presents essays on versions of Lewis Carroll's text by scholars from across the world, as well as back translations of a sample passage and a checklist. On the professional front, two course books, Lathey's general *Translating Children's Literature* (2016) and Epstein's more specific *Translating Expressive Language in Children's Literature: Problems and Solutions* (2012), offer guidance and challenges to trainee translators intending to specialize in children's literature.

Narrative communication and the child reader

Two major studies (O'Sullivan 2005, Oittinen 2000) address the complexities of narrative communication with the child reader. O'Sullivan (2005) applies the insights of a comparatist to books written for the young, offering a number of case histories that inspire a fresh look at the international history of children's literature. Adapting existing theories of narrative communication by Schiavi and Chatman, O'Sullivan also proposes a model that distinguishes between the implied child readers inscribed in source and target texts. She cites instances where translators have inserted additional material or

explanations for the attention of the child reader in the target culture, thereby creating an implied reader who needs information that the author of the source text could take for granted. Such additions also demonstrate a further aspect of O'Sullivan's model: the presence of the implied translator whose voice can be detected within the translated text. O'Sullivan's concept of narrative interaction has, however, been questioned by H. Kruger (2011), who highlights in her analysis of translations for children in South Africa the necessity of investigating reader constructions rather than textual features alone.

Drawing on Bakhtin's theories of dialogism, Oittinen (2000) argues that translation for children constitutes a series of playful and subversive social interactions that take place between the translator and the source text, between the translator and the potential child reader, and between the child reader and the translated text. She encourages freedom and creativity in the translator, whose goal should be child-friendly translation that constitutes a positive manipulation of the source text. Other professional translators besides Oittinen have made thought-provoking contributions to debates on translating for children, notably Anthea Bell's witty notebooks (1985, 1986) on the translation of names, tense, gendered nouns and other 'delicate matters', and Cathy Hirano's (2006) depiction of the challenges presented by subtle degrees of politeness inherent in personal pronouns in Japanese young adult fiction.

A further, significant aspect of narrative communication in children's fiction is the high proportion of dialogue that offers respite from lengthy descriptive or explanatory sections of prose which may seem daunting to young readers. Spoken exchanges drive narrative momentum and are the location of both character development and plot. Voices can range from the humorous inaccuracies and misunderstandings of the very young child to the ephemerally fashionable cult or street language of the young adolescent, all of which require of translators both some knowledge of children's culture and a creative approach; indeed, Hirano argues that translating conversation often requires "more ingenuity than descriptive passages" (2006:230). Translating fictional dialogue for children and young people is the subject of a collection of papers edited by Fischer and Wirf Naro (2012)

where, for example, van Coillie's (2012) contribution identifies linguistic markers such as intensification, neologisms and abbreviation in surveys of teenage speech in English, Dutch and German. Adams (2005) gives the professional translator's view of the challenges posed by the fictional dialogue of young people in the specific instance of translating Maghreb-influenced *verlan* (back slang) from French into English.

As a result of pedagogical concerns, the practice of transposing dialect or slang into the standard language of the target culture in the process of translation has been common across the history of children's literature. Although the situation has changed and there is now a greater concern to find an equivalent register in the target language, Hagrid's non-standard English is nonetheless changed to standard French and German in translations of J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (Jentsch 2002). Likewise, Dünge's (2011) cites examples of resistance to translations intended for children into colloquial Arabic rather than Modern Standard Arabic.

Future directions

The globalization of the children's book market and the commercial development of children's culture has had a marked effect on translation, as demonstrated by international marketing strategies for J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* books, and by the rapidly decreasing interval between the publication of the original and translations worldwide as the series progressed. In the first full-length study on the influence of publishing conglomerates on the translation of children's books, Borodo's (2017) investigation into changes in the publication of translations in postcommunist Poland offers a revealing case study of accelerated globalization and the adaptation strategies of glocalization. In the global context, translation into the English language continues to lag behind translation from English into other languages; nonetheless, prizes for the translation of children's literature into English such as the Marsh Award in the UK and the Mildred L. Batchelder Award in the USA testify to the range and quality of translation for children and young people within a limited market. The international exchange of children's books

has always been uneven, both for economic and political reasons and because stories enjoyed by children do not constitute a separate 'children's literature' in all cultures and languages.

Interest in the field continues to grow as children's literature and translation scholars work towards a more complete picture of the role of translation in the dissemination of children's literatures across the world. Looking to the future, children's responses to translations are still largely a matter of speculation, although H. Kruger's study (2012b) takes a step in this direction by including data on the reception by both adults and young readers of texts translated from English into Afrikaans. Further empirical research is required to discover just how much foreignness young readers are able to tolerate, especially in view of existing studies on the degree of sophistication with which young readers are capable of responding to texts (Fry 1985; Appleyard 1990). Analysis of children's responses to translations may lead to a review of contextual adaptation for children at a time when the practice is regarded as exploitative in its appropriation of the source culture (Venuti 1995b/2008). A better understanding of the process of translation, as encouraged by the *Translators in Schools* programme funded by the Gulbenkian Foundation in the UK (Ardizzone 2011), will also enhance an appreciation of a text's origins. Children and young people have, after all, participated in the dissemination of children's literature in the form of fan translation, for example in the collective translation of *Harry Potter* volumes from English prior to the publication of authorized translations (Lathey 2016), and the scanlation by young fans of raw manga scans from Japanese (H.-K. Lee 2009). Publishers have also started to seek to engage young readers by profiling translators on book jackets or providing space for translators to address their readership in a child-friendly manner (Lathey 2016). Developments of research methods in translation studies, too, have the potential to offer new insights into the translation of children's literature. In particular, advances in process-oriented studies may shed light on ways in which translating for children differs from translating for adult audiences, and large-scale computer analysis of corpora could pinpoint cultural trends and linguistic patterns in translations for the young.

See also:

ADAPTATION; CENSORSHIP; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; REWRITING

Further reading

Lathey, G. (2010) *Invisible Storytellers: The role of translators in the history of English-language children's literature*, New York & London: Routledge.

Provides a historical overview of translation for children that highlights shifting ideological perspectives on childhood and corresponding translation practices into English from the eighth to the twenty-first centuries.

Ottinen, R., A. Ketala and M. Garavini (2017) *Translating Picturebooks: Revoicing the verbal, the visual and the aural for a child audience*, London & New York: Routledge.

Draws on a wide range of picture books published and translated in a number of languages to explore the process of translating multimodal material for children and its impact on the reading experience. Also offers a survey of research in the field and explores translators' own reflections on the process.

O'Sullivan, E. (2005) *Comparative Children's Literature*, translated by Anthea Bell, London & New York: Routledge.

O'Sullivan's comparative approach offers insights into intertextuality, narrative communication, poetics, image studies and questions of international contact and transfer in a detailed, theoretical investigation of the translation of children's literature.

Van Coillie, J. and W. Verschueren (eds) (2006) *Children's Literature in Translation: Challenges and strategies*, London & New York: Routledge.

Leading scholars in the field discuss pertinent issues from the ethics of translating for children to the translation of fairy tales, cultural and intertextual references and censorship within specific political contexts.

GILLIAN LATHEY

Cognition

The study of cognition is not a new area of research in translation and interpreting studies; its antecedents may be traced to neighbouring disciplines such as cognitive science,

cognitive psychology, general linguistics and psycholinguistic studies of bilingualism. Interpreting studies in particular has a long tradition of studying cognitive issues (Risku 2012; Alves 2015; Ferreira et al. 2015; Gile 2015b; Muñoz Martín 2012), whereas cognition occupied a rather limited space in translation studies before the 1990s. This area of scholarship has now reached a significant level of maturity, however, with impressive growth in the number of scholars, high-quality publications, dedicated journals, research centres and large-scale, competitively funded research projects. New models and theories of cognition have broadened the theoretical space to allow for the cognitively motivated investigation of the translation workplace, including the integration of various translation technologies, the study of the reception of translations and the psychological characteristics of translators, among other lines of enquiry. In addition to interpreting and written translation, a range of translation modalities are now being investigated from a cognitive perspective, including sight translation, audiovisual translation and sign language interpreting. Enhanced engagement with theoretical models from bilingualism studies, cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics and neuroscience has brought with it new insights, increasingly sophisticated testing, as well as innovation and development in the types of data under investigation and the methods used in the analyses.

Research trends and themes

Much research into translational cognition is still referred to as translation process research, a term which has been claimed to originate in the Holmes/Toury map of translation studies (Angelone et al. 2016:43; Muñoz Martín 2017). The focus of much of the early work in this area was on mental processes in translation, and in the late 1980s and early 1990s it was important to distinguish this approach from the predominantly text-oriented paradigm of the day. Other terms have since been used to refer to the same area of study (Jääskeläinen and Lacruz 2017:1–4), including process-oriented research and cognitive translation studies.

Broadly speaking, irrespective of the name chosen, cognitive research in translation and

interpreting has developed along three tracks, identifiable by their relationship to feeder disciplines: one deriving from a specific philosophical position within cognitive science, known as 4EA cognition; one related to concerns within cognitive psychology; and one linked to cognitive linguistics, (psycho)linguistic studies of bi-/multilingualism, and second language acquisition.

Early work built on the accepted models of feeder disciplines in which cognition was described in terms of information processing, and the process itself, as well as translational decision-making more specifically, was depicted in an algorithmic flow-chart fashion (Bell 1991; Lörscher 1991, 2005). While this view is still relatively widely accepted, there is now broad support for a more contemporary alternative, referred to as 4E or 4EA. From this perspective, cognition is taken to be Embodied, Embedded, Enacted, Extended, (Affective); which means it is inextricably linked to the physical body in which it takes place, the particular actions of which it is a part, the broader environment in which it is situated and, for some, the affective state of the cognizer. In other words, cognition is not limited to brain/mind processes alone and is situated in particular configurations of human bodies in time and space. The call for a philosophical approach of this type has been clearly articulated for translation studies by Risku (2010, 2012, 2017), Risku et al. (2013b), Martín de León (2012) and Muñoz Martín (2016a, 2016b, 2017).

Broadening the view of cognition to include interaction with the environment has led to interest in studying translators in their workplace. Ehrensberger-Dow has referred to this area as “the ergonomics of translation” and described it as concerned with “humans in the translation process as well as their interactions with each other and other elements in the system” (2017:335). While the physical characteristics of the workplace set-up (computer set-up, lighting, posture, position of artefacts) are of interest here, cognitive aspects are often investigated in terms of the impact of translation technologies on cognitive processes (ibid.). Several exemplary studies emerged from the large longitudinal project *Capturing Translation Processes* led by Ehrensberger-Dow, which reported, for instance, on the effects of ergonomic

characteristics and various types of disturbances on the efficiency of translation and the quality of the translation product (Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey 2014; Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb 2016).

A number of studies have explored the difference between translation processes with and without the support of technological tools. Balling and Carl (2014), for example, compared production times between translation and postediting of machine-translated text involving several language pairs. Their multivariate statistical analyses show that processing time is affected by the type of task, the processing mode, word frequency, level of ambiguity, cross-linguistic relationships and specific target languages. Additional work is surveyed by O’Brien (2017), who provides a detailed discussion of cognitive processes in various interactions with machine-translated text. Lacruz (2017) surveys research on cognitive effort associated with translating, editing and postediting, and discusses several alternative data types and methods of measurement, including eye-tracking data, various pause measures for use with keystroke logs and human ratings of perceived effort. Lacruz also advocates the use of response time measures with dual- or triple-task designs, a measurement type often used in psycholinguistic studies.

Emphasis on the embeddedness of the translational act and an interest in the cognitive and social ontology of translation have also led scholars to focus on the effect of translations on those who receive them. This emerging area of research interest encompasses studies on the reception and processing of primarily audiovisual, but also written translations. The conceptualization of reception varies across translation modalities, including but not limited to measures of cognitive load, readability, attention allocation and reading behaviour (Kruger and Kruger 2017; Kruger et al. 2015). Kruger et al. (2017) investigate cognitive load in L2 viewers during subtitle processing, studying the impact of language and layout, while also developing a multimodal measurement approach. Suojanen et al. (2015) present a framework based on usability studies, including proposals for undertaking reception research, where the translator collates relevant information in order to form and revise a mental model of her reader. Perego

(2012) features a number of studies involving the use of eye tracking to study viewer behaviour with subtitles.

Adopting a view of translation as embodied, embedded, enacted, extended and affective has further encouraged scholars to investigate the personality traits and affective state of the translator. Important work here has queried the relationship between personality traits and translation quality (Hubscher-Davidson 2009), as well as the role of emotional intelligence in various phases of the broader translation process (Hubscher-Davidson 2013, 2016, 2017). The relationship between specific personality traits (self-efficacy, goal orientation and negative affectivity) and sign interpreter performance has also been investigated (Bontempo and Napier 2011; Bontempo 2012). The relationship between emotional resilience and translation quality has been studied by Rojo and Ramos Cara (2016), whose results suggest that the varying emotions resulting from positive and negative feedback may impact diverse aspects of translation performance such as creativity and accuracy differently, and that there may be a regulating effect of resiliency as a personality trait (Rojo 2017).

Another extensive area of cognitive research builds more directly on questions and issues that derive from cognitive psychology. One such area is the question of what constitutes translator competence or expertise (Tiselius and Hild 2017). Two large-scale projects have presented models of translator competence and its various subcompetences (PACTE Group 2017; Göpferich 2009). While the models differ somewhat in their details, they share an underlying logic and aim to account for the kinds of knowledge and skills that translators require. Both models are also concerned with the acquisition of competence. Kalina (2000) discusses the investigation of competence and its development in interpreters. The investigation of expertise has a slightly different objective: it is concerned with the “consistently superior performance” of selected individuals (Ericsson and Charness 1994:731; Muñoz Martín 2014). Also building on cognitive psychology, Shreve and Lacruz (2017) developed a comprehensive task model for translation, articulating the constituent tasks and their contribution to the whole.

The third broad trajectory within cognitive research builds on cognitive linguistics,

(psycho)linguistic studies of bi-/multilingualism and second language acquisition. Bilingualism research has focused on directions, types and contexts of crosslinguistic influence – that is, the influence of one language on the production process in the other (de Groot 2011:339–401; Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008). Such studies are directly relevant to translational cognition. For instance, specific characteristics of bilingual cognition have been posited as the cause of some features of translated language (Halverson 2003, 2010, 2017) and of the phenomenon of default translation, that is, translation that is easy and fast and that does not involve conscious problem-solving (Halverson 2015, 2019). This idea has also been investigated by Vandevoorde (2016) and Szymor (2017a, 2017b). Schaeffer and Carl (2013) and Carl and Schaeffer (2017) draw on bilingualism research to elaborate their recursive model of the translation process. Studies more explicitly linked to cognitive linguistic theories and approaches feature in the collection edited by Rojo and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013). Cognitive studies of second language production have informed Göpferich’s (2017) study, which looks at how bilingual cognition is manifested in particular writing activities, including translation.

Research methods

Researchers interested in the cognitive processes involved in translation and interpreting initially drew on models and methodologies from psycholinguistics, as can be seen in work dating from the 1970s, such as Moser-Mercer (1997), in connection with interpreting studies. Psycholinguistic research on bilingualism, in particular, is well known for its use of translation-related tasks. The earliest methods included variations on word-translation tasks: normal word translation, cued word translation (in which the first letter of the target word is given) and translation recognition, with the dependent variables usually being response time, percentage errors and percentage omissions in production tasks (de Groot 1997:33–34). Importantly, these methods were not designed for the purposes of researching translation as such: translation/interpreting tasks were/are seen as a means to a different end, that end being the elaboration or testing

of theories of bilingual semantic representation or bilingual language processing. Although psycholinguistic methods were never widely used in translation and interpreting studies, they have garnered new interest in multi-method (cognitive) linguistic work at the turn of the century. In one of the first multi-method studies, Hansen (2003) combined corpus analysis with think-aloud protocols, a sentence completion task, a gating task and a lexical decision task, while Szymor (2017a) combines corpus analysis with judgement and forced choice tasks. Verbal reports on mental activity are among the oldest forms of data used in investigating translational cognition. The method has developed over time and there are several versions of it in use: concurrent verbalization (think-aloud protocols or TAPS), (cued) retrospective verbalization and joint verbalization/dialogue. Criticism of the method has queried the accessibility of automated knowledge, which represents a sizable portion of translational and interpreting activity; the danger that verbalization might disturb or distort the translation or interpreting process; and the fact that retrospection does not provide a direct link to the preceding process (Bernardini 2002; Englund Dimitrova and Tiselius 2009, 2014). Verbal report data continues to figure in studies of translational cognition, and methodological issues are receiving increasing attention (Jääskeläinen 2017).

Keystroke logging first emerged in translation studies in the early 1990s, having been borrowed and adapted from cognitive studies of text production (Jakobsen 2006, 2014, 2017). The data consist of recordings of all keyboard activity coupled with a time stamp, allowing for a real-time record of a variety of text production characteristics. A basic assumption underlying much of this work is that temporal patterning, including pause placement, duration and frequency, is indicative of cognitive effort. Various process-related phenomena have been studied in terms of pause patterns: text segmentation (Dragsted 2004), similarities and differences between translation and monolingual writing (Immonen 2006), and the “pulse” as Jakobsen calls it, i.e. the “rhythm arising from the alternation of key tapping and pausing, which is a reflection of ‘cognitive rhythm’” (2006:104). Keystroke logs have also been used (sometimes in combination with other data

types) to investigate revision behaviour (Alves and Vale 2011; Carl et al. 2010; Robert and Van Waes 2014), translation styles (Dragsted and Carl 2013) and the effects of translation direction (Ferreira 2014). The significance of pause data as an indicator of cognitive processes has also received critical attention, both as regards the development of ratio measures to calculate the prevalence of pauses relative to production time (O’Brien 2007; Lacruz 2017) and as regards the significance of various operationalization decisions. The priority given to long pauses in segmentation, for example, facilitates the identification of problem-solving processes, but may obscure other relevant activities (Muñoz Martín and Martín de León 2018). In addition, the need for individual-based, rather than one-size-fits-all pause thresholds has been pointed out by several authors (Heilmann and Neumann 2016; Muñoz and Cardona 2018).

Technological advances have supported the development of keystroke programmes to facilitate their use with other data collecting technologies, including screen recordings to record web-browsing activity and translation technologies such as translation memory, term bases and machine translation software. In an important methodological advance, numerous data streams are sometimes linked together in what is known as progression graphs, which integrate data on the source text, on target-text production along a timeline, and in some cases also eye-tracking data (Carl et al. 2016a; Ehrensberger-Dow and Perrin 2013). The combined data streams allow for detailed investigation of production characteristics and activity (Carl et al. 2016b).

Eye tracking is an increasingly common source of data on translation processes. Tracking patterns of eye movement, location and duration of gaze fixations, and in some cases the dilation of the pupil, is assumed to provide insight into cognitive processes. The use of gaze data rests on the eye-mind and immediacy hypotheses (Just and Carpenter 1980), which posit a relationship between “visual focus and cognitive focus” (Hvelplund 2014:209). The technical requirements of this data collection method are many and the implications of the various analytical options are important (Hvelplund 2014, 2017; Lacruz 2017). Eye-tracking data has been used to study the distribution of attention and

temporal patterning of reading and production activity during translation (Balling et al. 2014), demonstrating that production often coincides temporally with reading activities. Eye-tracking data has also been employed to compare cognitive effort in direct (into L1) and inverse (into L2) translation. Fonseca (2015) uses a combination of keystroke logs and eye tracking to identify translator profiles, and Ferreira et al. (2016) use eye-tracking data to examine cognitive effort in the direct and inverse directions. The former study demonstrates that translator behaviour (or profile) differs when working in two different directions, while the latter study that inverse translation requires more effort, but that the differences are not unequivocal and are found at a fine-grained level of analysis.

Ethnographic methods are becoming increasingly common in the study of translation cognition, as evidenced by the work on cognitive ergonomics referenced above. Important methodological discussions are offered in Ehrensberger-Dow and Massey (2014) and Teixeira (2014). There is also an increasing interest and capability in implementing approaches and methods from cognitive neuroscience. Garcia et al. (2016) discuss a neuroscientific toolkit for translation studies, while Hansen-Schirra (2017) proposes several uses of EEG data for investigating translation cognition. Other researchers have integrated corpora and keystroke logs and/or eye-tracking data in a version of methodological triangulation that combines product- and process-oriented methods (Rodríguez-Inés and O'Brien 2017). Halverson (2017) and Szymor (2017a, 2017b) have combined the analysis of translational corpora with psycholinguistic tests to investigate features of translated language, and Serbina et al. (2015) have developed an annotated corpus of keystroke data. The linguistic annotations allow for detailed analyses of emerging translations along linguistic parameters.

Future directions

The rate of development in this area of research has been quite rapid. In a then state-of-the-art discussion on the neuroscience of translation in 2012, Tymoczko claimed that “to a large extent the individual translator is still conceived in translation studies as a ‘black box’”, and that

“translation studies has hardly even begun to inquire about the reception of translation at the cognitive or neurological level of the individual receiver” (2012:84). This is clearly no longer the case, and Tymoczko’s prediction that this would become a vibrant area of research in the coming decades has been borne out (2005:1092–1093).

Advances in the theoretical breadth and depth of cognitive studies of translation and interpreting have been accompanied by extensive empirical findings. Numerous studies have elaborated the characteristics of and relationships between translation and interpreting processes, the settings in which they are situated, and the development and varying characteristics of the translating subject. Ongoing efforts at data pooling – for example, through the Translation, Empiricism, Research and Cognition (TREC) network and as evidenced by the CRITT database (Carl et al. 2016a) – constitute a significant step forward towards the securing of better data, continuing methodological innovation and more replication of studies. Quantity of research and speed of development are not the most important characteristics of a research field, however. The most important factors for the discipline remain the quality of the research and the results it produces. Increasing methodological rigour, for example through the use of advanced statistical methods for the analysis of quantitative data, and tighter links to theories of cognition and bilingual language processing, reading and writing, are among several signs of health in this area.

Several recurrent issues remain contentious or unresolved. For instance, the roles of conscious decision-making and automatization at all stages of a translator’s development are not yet clearly understood. Nor are the cognitive underpinnings of the uniquely metalinguistic characteristics of the translation process (Halverson 2018b). The question of attrition in translating skill has received little attention. Furthermore, the cognitive characteristics of certain varieties of translation, such as interlinguistic audio description or sign language translation, are yet to be explored.

Chesterman (2009) has argued for the development of translator studies as a counterpart to translation studies, in a way that brings together sociological, cultural and cognitive research. The emergence of a social perspective within

cognitive linguistics is further evidence of a new, integrated socio-cognitive position (Harder 2010). Halverson (2015) has further highlighted the ongoing disintegration of the process-product divide, which is increasingly evident in cognitive studies. These areas of realignment and critical rethinking are indicative of a promising future for cognitive research in translation and interpreting studies.

See also:

COMPETENCE, INTERPRETING; COMPETENCE, TRANSLATION; GENETIC CRITICISM; LINGUA FRANCA, INTERPRETING (ELF); NOTE-TAKING; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, INTERPRETING; PROCESS RESEARCH; TECHNOLOGY, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Lacruz, I. and R. Jääskeläinen (eds) (2017) *Innovation and Expansion in Translation Process Research*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Includes papers on topics of ongoing interest, such as expertise, tolerance of ambiguity, and postediting and use of machine translation, as well as new and emerging questions such as the reading behaviour of editors and multimodal measurement of cognitive load during subtitle processing.

Muñoz Martin, R. (ed.) (2016) *Re-embedding Translation Process Research*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Contributions engage with several key areas and topics investigated from the perspective of cognition.

Schweiter, J.W. and A. Ferreira (eds) (2017) *Blackwell Handbook of Translation and Cognition*, Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell.

Offers rich coverage of the field and cutting-edge surveys of the most important areas of current research.

SANDRA L. HALVERSON

Collaborative translation

Collaborative translation has played a prominent role across a wide range of historical and cultural contexts. Yet, as numerous scholars have observed, theories of translation have been

dominated by “myths of singularity” (Cordingley and Frigau Manning 2017a:4) which perpetuate the image of a lone translator, creating what Davison (2014:5) terms the “isolated paradox”, whereby “translators themselves tend to be evoked in isolation”, even where they may have been involved in a collaborative exchange. Recent scholarship, however, has seen a dramatic increase in work that attempts to redress this balance. Historical studies have drawn attention to the normality, or indeed predominance, of collaborative translation in various eras, while the application of concepts from genetic criticism has seen reappraisals of translator/author collaborations, particularly within the literary sphere. Moreover, the rapid development of online collaboration on Web 2.0 platforms, and of increasingly sophisticated collaborative translation technologies, has provided a wealth of research data that fundamentally questions accepted perceptions of what it means to translate and to be a translator.

Mapping collaborative translation

The concept of collaborative translation has been used in multiple senses that reflect the complex modalities of collaborative practice in different contexts. Collaboration clearly implies the interaction of two or more agents, most obviously two or more translators working together, a situation which O’Brien (2011a:17) calls collaborative translation in the “narrow meaning” and which is also referred to as “co-translation” (Cordingley and Frigau Manning 2017a:24). In a specifically literary sphere, collaboration may take place in the form of an interaction between a single translator and the author they are translating (Cordingley and Frigau Manning 2017a; Hersant 2017), but beyond this narrow sense, agents contributing to the collaborative work might include editors and others involved in bringing the final translation to publication. In this sense, the notion of collaborative translation broadens to take account of all those who may have an impact on the translation, as in Buzelin’s study of “translations in the making”, which uses actor-network theory to examine how “multiple subjectivities” (Buzelin 2007c:142) become inscribed in a given target text, an approach also employed by Kung (2010).

Moving into a more explicitly online environment, web-based platforms that allow multiple users to interact simultaneously and to correct and comment on each other's work have led to a proliferation of forms of mass collaboration that problematize notions such as translator expertise and professionalism. This rapid evolution has led to considerable fuzziness of terminology (O'Hagan 2011; Munday 2012b): terms such as volunteer translation, community translation, user-generated translation and crowdsourcing all seek to highlight different aspects of a central activity that might be designated by the hypernym 'online collaborative translation'. These different aspects might include whether the collaboration is bottom-up and user-driven, or top-down and solicited; the latter is often the case in crowdsourcing. Jiménez-Crespo (2016), who gives a detailed visual mapping of these terms, also notes how certain terms intersect only partially with collaborative translation: volunteer translation may not necessarily be collaborative, while community translation may indicate translating for the community rather than translation in a communal mode (O'Hagan 2011). It is important, therefore, to remember that such definitions are necessarily generalizations that only capture part of the complexity of collaborative practice and are constantly subject to reassessment in the light of new case studies.

Historical context

The historical dimensions of collaborative translation have been under-researched (Cheung 2014:57). Yet such practices have been key motivators of intercultural transfer and cultural change, functioning as contact zones – sites in which cultural contact is negotiated through the interaction of individuals from diverse cultural traditions. In the Buddhist tradition, for instance, the interaction of Indian and Central Asian monks with Chinese assistants was essential to bridging deficits in cultural and linguistic expertise. The official designation of such monks in medieval catalogues of Buddhist works as the principal translators presents an interesting perspective on translatorial authority: at least in the earlier periods of Buddhist influence in China, many had – or began with – only rudimentary knowledge of Chinese, and their status derived to a large extent from their capacity as the sole persons with the

expertise to 'correctly' interpret the source text and to vouch for its canonical validity (Forte 1990). Again, the larger Buddhist projects such as those of the Tang monk-translator Xuan Zang (600–664), in which translation assemblies involved multiple participants (Cheung 2006a; St. André 2010a; G.K.K. Lee 2016), raise issues that are still relevant today regarding the delineation and configuration of roles – such as editor, polisher and accuracy checker – in large-scale collaborative projects. In the Medieval European context, Bistué (2013/2016) has similarly pointed out the crucial importance of collaborative translation teams in the cross-cultural dissemination of philosophical and scientific texts.

Other, smaller-scale forms of interaction, in particular the kind of one-on-one collaborations that Hill (2013:32) refers to as "tandem translations", played a central role in missionary and colonial contexts. Such practices, Hill notes, "were inseparable from collective or collaborative methods . . . that arose through a long series of colonial encounters in East Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, India, and the Middle East" (*ibid.*), and as Cheung (2014:57) asserts, frequently involved "a translator translating into an unmastered language with the aid of a monolingual native scholar knowledgeable in the subject matter, whose role [was] to turn the oral rendition into written language". The power politics of such collaborations were often complex. The native informant's position in the relationship was likely to be one of extreme subordination (Hill 2013:34), although as Hofmeyr (2004:22), speaking of the African missionary context, cautions, the involvement of a "second-language missionary", "first-language convert" and translation committee, coupled with complexities such as the multilingual layering of African society, meant that "any mission translation was shaped in a web of negotiation, disagreement and contradiction" and thus was "less about the 'technologies of colonial domination' than about opening up fields of maneuver".

Two further examples from the Chinese/European encounter illustrate possible ways forward for historical research. Cheung (2014, 2017) shows how the different collaborators' paratexts – if available – can illuminate the subtleties of such intercultural contact. She discusses the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci's (1552–1610) collaboration with the Chinese high official and Christian convert Xu Guangqi (1562–1633).

Where Ricci's preface to their Chinese translation of Euclid's *Elements* presents the notion of mathematics with a term (*jihe*) that stresses "the politics of difference", Xu uses an intricate discursive move that employs "the politics of sameness": he coins a neologism for mathematics (*dushu*) that seeks to frame Euclid's work as a continuation of knowledge that had already been present in the Chinese tradition but had been lost for centuries (Cheung 2014; 2016:42–43). From a later, non-colonial context, the famously monolingual Lin Shu (1852–1924) frequently worked not with foreign collaborators, but with fellow Chinese with the necessary foreign language expertise (St. André 2010a; Hill 2013). That Lin is nevertheless traditionally projected as a master translator with substantial brand recognition – as evident in the title of Hill's book, *Lin Shu, Inc.* – reminds us how conceptualizations of the translator are impacted by "local political and cultural discourses" (Hill 2013:20), as well as how commercial imperatives also play a part in the construction and projection of the translator's image. Echoes of such arguments are seen in other traditions. Discussing the case of Leonardo Bruni, a fifteenth-century translator who argued for the necessity of bilingual expertise, Bistué (2017) observes that such a position was more radical than it might appear today: in an era that saw frequent collaborative work, bilingual expertise had not previously been seen as a prerequisite for translatorial competence. Likewise, Brown (2018:96), discussing the role of women as collaborators in seventeenth-century Germany, argues that "collaborative practices were accepted in premodern Europe as a legitimate means of creative production", and suggests that we view such practices as "site[s] of dialogue and exchange between co-writers". Such observations support Hill's call for greater consideration of how collaborative translation "represented itself as a legitimate way to produce literature" (2013:6).

Contemporary modalities: issues and approaches

The precise interaction of different players in the field of literary translation and publishing has received significant attention from scholars employing genetic critical approaches to interrogate notions of literary authorship and transla-

tional authority. Hersant (2017) provides a typology of author/translator interactions, which in its delineation according to the degree of collaboration involved could also be applied to thinking about degrees of involvement in other collaborative translation relationships. At one end are hands-off relationships in which the translator is given "carte blanche" (Hersant 2017:92). The Chinese 2012 Nobel laureate in literature, Mo Yan, is a case in point. Mo told his translator, Howard Goldblatt, to "Do what you want", as he would not be able to understand the English anyway (Goldblatt 2004:26), despite having told his Chinese editor "Don't change a word!" (ibid.). This case suggests a fascinating dualism in regard to creative authority: in his native language, Mo's text is sacrosanct, with the editor in the source culture production network reduced to a wholly submissive role. Yet when the text travels beyond the source language, its handling almost ceases to be of importance to the author, with the translator duly carrying out the substantial cuts that he felt should have been carried out by the Chinese editor, a kind of role-appropriation process that he styles "blue-pencil translating" in the title of his article (Goldblatt 2004). Moving away from such hands-off collaborations, Hersant's typology incorporates author recommendations, more hands-on involvement such as authorial revisions of the translation and detailed question-and-answer dialogues, through to "closelaborations", a term drawn from G. Cabrera Infante that denotes a target-oriented adaptation "with the author's active collaboration" (Hersant 2017:95; Bollettieri and Zanotti 2017). Hersant (ibid.) dubs this "four-handed translation", a term that strongly recalls Martha Cheung's pushing-hands approach to translation, as explored in G.K.K. Lee's (2016) study of two cotranslators achieving polyvocal harmony in translating a Zen poetry collection.

Technological advances have led to further, online-mediated modes of interaction in such literary encounters. Heller (2016) discusses the role of ICTs in author/translator interactions in Israeli translations of fantasy literature, while Zielinska-Elliott and Kaminka (2017) detail various cases, including the translation of David Mitchell's *Cloud Atlas*, in which translators were able to post questions to the author through a webpage. They further discuss a case of author-independent translation, in which

multiple language translators of the Japanese author Haruki Murakami set up their own “virtual Murakami translation workshop” – a brainstorming forum in which “collaboration is based on a non-hierarchical relationship of equality” (Zielinska-Elliott and Kaminka 2017:183). The non-hierarchical, translator-initiated nature of this group recalls other, broader self-help networks of non-literary professional translators in the online world, as discussed by McDonough Dolmaya (2007).

Relatively little attention has been paid to the workings of offline groups, or offline situations involving collaboration between communities – at least in the contemporary milieu. One site of collaborative practice that has received some attention is that of theatre translation (Marinetti and Rose 2013; Jansen and Wegener 2013a), and the closely related area of musicals. Sorby (2014) draws on ethnographic data, including rehearsal observation and extensive stakeholder interviews with production team members, to explore how a raw Chinese translation intended for sung performance was adapted through the interaction of the translator, performers and director *in situ*: the translation was orally back-translated literally into English for the director’s consideration, line by line, while he in turn gave feedback and the actors provided input on the performability and audience acceptability of each line. This laborious process illustrates how collaborative translation for the theatre is often a process of negotiated re-creation in which the imperatives of directorial authority and actor performability are subtly balanced. It also suggests how, through a process of negotiation, particular roles may develop, and how motivations evolve dynamically: the lead actor, in a series of blog posts, originally declared himself bored by the whole process, yet became increasingly enthusiastic when he saw how his personal suggestions were incorporated into the final product. This last issue, which concerns how trust and buy-in are developed between stakeholders, is also evident in Neather’s (2012a) study of collaboration between offline communities in the Chinese museum context. Drawing on communities of practice (CoP) theory, Neather seeks to show how two different professional communities interact – partly through the use of boundary practices – to overcome their respective expertise deficits and produce a final translation. Dis-

cursive authority here lies ultimately with the museum professionals: whatever anxieties may exist regarding their translation competence, their domain-specific competence gives them power as gatekeepers over texts outsourced to the translation community.

The religious context constitutes another important site of collaboration. In the Christian sphere, Wycliffe International’s Vision 2025 website announces its aim as having a Bible translation project underway by 2025 for “every people group that needs it”. A key component of this strategy is the MAST (Mobilized Assistance Supporting Translation) programme, which aims to radically cut the time needed for translation by using collaborative teams of local translators who learn on the job in workshop format and have access to other existing language translations, an approach that has not been without its problems (MacLellan Foundation 2015). Numerous such initiatives exist across a range of faiths. Yet scant scholarly consideration has been given to issues such as participatory mechanisms, participant learning, hierarchical structures or the relationship of the translator network to the broader religious community within which it is embedded. Technology is likewise a key concern here. Bingenheimer (2010) is a rare example of a study that addresses religious collaborative translation, in this case contemporary Buddhist sutra translation, in the digital age. Religious communities can be difficult to research for reasons of ingroup loyalties, but they can offer new insights into contemporary collaborative practices.

Research on offline collaborative translation has been undertaken in other fields of scholarly enquiry, including marketing (Douglas and Craig 2007) and education. In the latter case, collaborative translation in the classroom has been used as a means to empower heritage language speakers. Keyes et al. (2014) develop an approach known as TRANSLATE (Teaching Reading and New Strategic Language Approaches to English Learners) that involves US Spanish heritage students in the collaborative oral and then written rendering of chosen Spanish passages. Translation thus becomes a tool for collaborative learning that encourages both students and teachers to engage with their heritage and learn from each other’s differing competencies (Puzio et al. 2016). While grounded in the domain of language

education, such studies raise issues that are highly germane to interaction in volunteer translation communities, including novice/master interactions in religious translation groups and translator learning in online communities of practice.

Online collaborative translation encompasses a broad range of practices, from fansubbing and activist translation to various forms of wiki-based translation communities with wide-ranging agendas (Jiménez-Crespo 2017a). It is increasingly used in the translation industry as a more efficient form of interaction than the traditional TEP (Translate, Edit, Proofread) linear work mode (Kelly et al. 2011). Several major concerns have been aired in this context. Firstly, there is the complex question of how members of such communities interact and how final translation output is produced. For many online communities, the revision history, where every new edit of an existing text or translation is logged, provides a rich vein of material for research (McDonough Dolmaya 2015; H. Jones 2018b). Such histories, and the paratextual comments that accompany them, have unsurprisingly been taken up by those working from a more explicitly genetic critical perspective (Fan 2015; H. Jones 2017). For example, Fan (2015) examines the Chinese online collaborative platform Yeeyan, analyzing how user input in the form of critical and editorial comments, which she theorizes as *avant-textes*, forms part of the genesis of the final output. Yu (2017) approaches Yeeyan as a community of practice (CoP), combining CoP theory with ethnographic participant observation to explore how meaning is negotiated through the interaction of participants who range from novice entrants to experienced translators renowned within the community. A central preoccupation for Yu, following CoP theory, is learning and expertise acquisition, and how a given participant's ability to function in the CoP requires familiarization with its regime of competence, including an understanding of its joint enterprise and shared repertoire.

The voluntary nature of such activities has led to enquiries into other aspects such as motivation and professionalism (O'Brien and Schäler 2010; Olohan 2014c). Yu (2017), in line with her emphasis on CoP-based learning, suggests that motivation is a shifting concept that mutates in

the course of interaction with fellow participants in the translation. With regard to professionalism, the collective power of collaborative volunteers has blurred the boundaries between non-professional and professional behaviour, leading to a reappraisal of what it means to be expert or professional, and of how expertise is defined and acquired, as several of the contributions to Susam-Saraeva and Pérez-González' (2012) argue. McDonough Dolmaya (2012) has examined how professional and non-professional participants in collaborative crowdsourced projects perceive translation differently, and suggests that public perceptions of translation may be affected "if translation becomes an activity performed for commercial organizations by volunteers without formal training in the field" (ibid.:187). Finally, studies of online collaborative translation have also engaged with a range of concerns relating to the technical design of collaborative platforms (Giovannetti et al. 2017) and the implications of technology for human collaborative behaviour (O'Hagan 2017b).

Future directions

Research on collaborative translation is still in its infancy, and our understanding of the complex interactions and modalities of production involved is evolving as new cases are explored. Imperatives for future research include taxonomizing the various modes and submodes of collaboration; examining role differentiation between collaborators and the extent to which roles are permeable or rigidly delineated; investigating democratizing mechanisms for participation within sometimes rigid power hierarchies (as potentially in religious communities), and further examination of collaborative learning. Research in these areas will also stimulate engagement with approaches hitherto underused in translation studies, such as CoP theory, actor-network theory and social network theory, all of which hold strong potential for the study of translation in group collaborative environments. Attention has also begun to focus on emerging notions such as "translaboration" (Alfer 2017b), a category which explores conceptual synergies between collaboration and translation, and how this interplay can "articulate connections, comparisons, and contact

zones between translation and collaboration” (Alfer 2017a:275).

Collaborative translation is likely to occupy an increasingly important position in translation studies. Indeed, if in some sense “all translation is collaborative” (Cordingley and Frigau Manning 2017a:23), then it would seem time to put collaboration centre stage.

See also:

ACTIVISM; AUTHORSHIP; BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST TEXTS; BIBLE, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; CROWDSOURCED TRANSLATION; FAN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; FAN TRANSLATION; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS

Further reading

Cordingley, A. and C. Frigau Manning (eds) (2017) *Collaborative Translation: From the Renaissance to the digital age*, London & New York: Bloomsbury.

Chiefly inspired by genetic critical approaches and with a predominant interest in literary activity and issues of authorship; also includes contributions on institutional bilingual contexts and a closing piece by Michael Cronin on collaboration and resilience.

Jiménez-Crespo, M.A. (2017) *Crowdsourcing and Online Collaborative Translations: Expanding the limits of translation studies*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A definitive monograph that covers a variety of online collaborative translation practices, including fansubbing and activist translation. A key text for understanding current developments in the online setting.

ROBERT NEATHER

Comics, manga and graphic novels

Comics, manga and graphic novels are closely related types of graphic narrative whose lineage can be traced to prehistoric graffiti, medieval tapestries and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century prints and *protocomics* (McCloud 1993; Groensteen 1999; Petersen 2011), but whose present form “is closely related to the emergence

of mass-media, due to new means of mass reproduction and an increasing readership of the printed media” (Mey 1998:136). Comics first developed into a text type of their own thanks to their growing commercial value in the journalistic field (Kaindl 1999b) at the end of the nineteenth century, when they featured in colour in the Sunday pages of American newspapers. In the 1920s, collections of comics first published as daily strips in black and white began to appear in book form, to be followed shortly afterwards by comic books containing original material (Carlin 2005; Barbieri 2009; Horn 1976/1999). In the course of the twentieth century, comics gained popularity in other areas of the world, at first in Europe (most notably in Italy, France, Belgium and Spain), then in South America (most notably in Argentina) and Asia (most notably in Japan). Today, almost every nation in the world has its own comics industry.

Historical perspective

The development of many continental European comics industries and cultures in the early 1930s can be seen largely as the result of translation practices (Zanettin 2017). The new brand of comic magazines issued by a handful of Italian, French and Spanish publishers and literary agents prominently featured translated American stories. In these comic magazines and books, the American repertoire of visual conventions and narrative genres merged with and shaped local traditions of visual storytelling (Eisner 1985). While most *emanata* – that is, “visual codes that . . . represent such invisible elements as music, noise, thought, and motion” (Petersen 2011:xix) – including the use of balloons for dialogue and thought, speed lines to represent movement, onomatopoeias to represent feelings and sounds, and pictograms to represent concepts or emotions (Gasca and Gubern 1988) in fact predate American comics, they were codified as conventions which came to be recognized as characteristic of this form of graphic narrative in American newspapers at the beginning of the last century, and were reproduced elsewhere through translation. American comics differed from earlier European drawn literature not only as regards visual conventions, but also in terms of readership. They specialized

in distinctly popular fictional genres – such as comedy, adventure, detective story, science fiction – whose serialized narratives, recurrent themes and characters appealed to a mass audience of adults as well as children.

Like other forms of literature, comics have often been the object of explicit institutional censorship or preventive self-censorship by publishers and translators, regardless of the political orientation and government of any one country. In twentieth-century Europe, state censorship, motivated on economic and nationalist grounds as well as by appeal to appropriate social behaviour and political correctness, attempted to counter the “foreign invasion” (Barrale 2018:855) not only in Fascist Italy, Francoist Spain and Nazi Germany, but also in democratic France and Great Britain. In Germany, censorship succeeded to the extent that a national comics industry developed much later than in other European countries. Manipulation of comics for reasons of (self)censorship include editing the images, rewriting the text, or both. Such practices have at times resulted in pseudo-originals, that is, translations attributed to indigenous authors and modified accordingly.

The Japanese comics industry, the largest in the world, has grown steadily and exponentially since the Second World War. In 2005 it was estimated that it was 50 times as large as the United States comics industry – the second largest – and accounted for some 40% of all printed material published in the country, compared to approximately 3% in the United States (Pilcher and Brooks 2005:90). In Europe and elsewhere, Japanese comics, or manga – as they began to be called in the 1920s – gradually established themselves at the confluence of United States imports and substrata of a preexisting national tradition of graphic narratives. While at first deeply influenced by translated American comics, Japanese manga have developed their own style and conventions and comprise a vast range of genres targeted at specialized readerships. Manga currently fall into five main categories: *shonen* (boys), *shojo* (girls), *redisu* or *redikomi* (ladies), *seijin* (adult erotica) and *seinen* (young men), though each category is further subdivided into a myriad of often overlapping genres. They differ from comics as regards reading direction and pace, page layout, type of transition between panels, emanata (for example,

pictograms and balloon shape) and ways to represent the human body and facial expressions, among other elements.

While translated in other Asian countries since the 1960s, manga remained practically unknown elsewhere in the world until the 1980s. From the 1990s onwards, translated manga began to circulate widely also in the United States and Europe, leading to the establishment of national manga publishing industries. Currently, translated manga are the single largest sector in comics publishing in Europe, the United States and Australia, representing between one-third and one-half of all comics titles published (Johnson-Woods 2010; Brienza 2016). Translated manga were at first heavily adapted to target-culture comics conventions by, for instance, changing publication format; reversing reading direction; colouring the stories originally in black and white; redrawing balloons, sound effects, onomatopoeia and inscriptions; and dropping honorifics (Jüngst 2008; Rampant 2010). Since the second decade of the twenty-first century, most manga have been published with a standard trim size, without reversing the reading direction and with fewer changes to graphic and verbal aspects. However, even within this general trend towards formal equivalence (Jüngst 2008), there is often no methodological consistency between publishers or even titles by the same publisher. For example, Japanese sound effects might be redrawn into English onomatopoeia or left untranslated with the addition of footnotes or endnotes.

Much as American comics were appropriated by European comics industries in the 1930s, manga are changing the way comics are produced and read worldwide. Manga publishing has increasingly become integrated into the trade book publishing field, appropriating its “signs and social practices [of] production and consumption” (Brienza 2016:172). As opposed to comics, for instance, manga address a large female readership, and many translators are (mostly freelance) women (ibid.:112). As publishers have begun to develop content autonomously rather than relying exclusively on content from Japan, manga are increasingly replacing American comics as a source of inspiration for local authors, who tend to adopt Japanese conventions in their works.

The breakthrough of manga in the book trade was also consequential for the success of graphic novels. The term graphic novel was first popularized by Will Eisner (1978) and then from the 1980s used to refer to works such as Pulitzer Prize-winning *Maus* (Art Spiegelman 1986–1991) and *Watchmen* (Alan Moore and David Gibbons, 1986–1987), hailed for their structural and visual narrative achievements. However, already in 1957 Yoshihiro Tatsumi had coined the similarly nuanced Japanese word *gekiga* to differentiate his more dramatic works from mainstream manga, then mostly aimed at children. While based on the semiotic conventions developed and codified in popular comics and manga genres, graphic novels are usually associated with longer, more sophisticated non-serialized graphic stories in book form aimed at an educated adult readership. The graphic novel can thus be considered as a different cultural object which has reached its maturity at the turn of the new millennium, contributing to narrowing the gap between elite and popular arts, so that graphic narratives are no longer disregarded as unworthy of serious consideration even in cultures where they were traditionally considered unsophisticated production for the juvenile or uneducated masses. Graphic novels have joined other written literature in bookshops and are currently one of the main success stories in the western publishing world, increasingly gaining readership, literary prizes and critical acclaim, to the extent that they have been celebrated as the most notable phenomenon of adult literature (Spinazzoli 2012). Non-fictional genres such as autobiography and graphic journalism are similarly increasing their market share and cultural capital.

Current trends

Interest in comics translation reflects a widening of the scope of translation studies as well as a general increase in the interest in comics as a field of academic enquiry. While the number of research articles on the translation of comics has been growing since the mid-1990s, topics discussed were at first mostly restricted to the translation of proper names, puns and onomatopoeia, notably in translations of *Astérix*. Since the turn of the century, there has been an

increase in research output, with a few collected volumes (Zanettin 2008c; Altenberg and Owen 2015; Mälzer 2015; Reyns-Chikuma and Tarif 2016), entries in handbooks and encyclopedias (Zanettin 2009; Kaindl 2010; Evans 2016), and a growing number of conference papers, articles, doctoral dissertations, degree and Masters' theses dealing with the translation of comics and graphic novels, though this field still remains largely underdeveloped.

Four main areas of interest can be discerned in research on comics translation, although with considerable overlaps. First, there is the study of the different strategies, processes and practices employed to translate comics depending on their geographical provenance and genre. For instance, Rota (2008), Zanettin (2008a) and Kaindl (2010) have shown how a change in publication format, readership age and reading practices, respectively, may entail substantial manipulation of verbal or visual content. Second is research on the history of comics translation as concerns, for instance, the function played by some publishers, literary agents and other mediators, with special reference to questions of copyright, ideology and censorship (Valencia-Garcia 2012; Sinibaldi 2016; Zanettin 2017). Third, research on comics translation provides insight into how cultural and political identities are constructed, communicated and negotiated in graphic narratives (Brems 2013; Mohamed 2016). And fourth, there is research on inter-semiotic translation/adaptation between graphic narratives and other media/art forms, such as novels (Stein 2015), films (Brumme and Esteruelas 2015), video games (Gröne 2015), sculpture (Bukatman 2014) and theatre (Bremgartner 2015).

The first studies of translated comics were often undertaken within the framework of audiovisual translation, and foreign editions of comics were seen as instances of constrained translation (Titford 1982). While considering the semiotic dimension and the interdependence of words and images in comics, these approaches were primarily concerned with the translation of verbal material. Words were seen as subordinated to the images, and the non-verbal components of comics were generally discussed only insofar as they represent visual constraints for the translator of the verbal components. However, comics are primarily visual texts, and

meaning derives from the interaction between images and written language, both within and across panels and pages. The scope of investigation therefore had to be extended beyond the analysis of linguistic elements. In fact, as shown by historical and current practices, when comics are published in translation they are often manipulated at both the textual and graphic level, with modifications ranging from the omission of panels, or even pages, to the retouching or redrawing of the layout and content, to the complete rewriting of the text.

Works which complement linguistic with cultural and semiotic analysis, and consider the different elements and strategies which may be involved in the translation of comics, include Kaindl (1999b), who, drawing on Delabastita (1990), suggests that translation strategies such as replacement, subtraction, addition and retention apply to all types of signs in comics, and distinguishes between the translation of typographical signs (font type and size, layout, format), pictorial signs (colours, action lines, vignettes, perspective) and linguistic signs (titles, inscriptions, dialogues, onomatopoeias, narration). Celotti (2000, 2008) discusses the strategies used to translate the verbal content of comics, distinguishing between four translation loci – that is, areas of interplay between visual and verbal messages in translated comics: balloons, captions, titles and paratext – and discusses translation strategies such as translation, deletion, retention and cultural adaptation. Zanettin (2014a) focuses on visual adaptation strategies, and discusses a typology of visual units (narrative arc, page, panel and balloon/caption) at which level changes may occur as a result of translation.

If translated comics are understood as commercial products and textual artefacts in which translation, in the narrow sense of replacement of strings of natural language, is only one component of the process, the publication of a comic in translation may be regarded as a form of localization, understood in its broadest sense as the adaptation and updating of visual and verbal signs for a target locale. The publication of a comic, manga or graphic novel in translation typically engages different actors in addition to the translator ‘proper’, whose work is related to the general context and workflow of production. This involves securing reproduction rights from a foreign publisher, acquiring the source copy

and adapting the product for the local readership, which can be done in-house or commissioned to an external agency, or may involve a mix of the two. In some cases, English may function as a vehicular or transitional language in relay translation. For example, Japanese comics are sometimes translated into other languages based on an American translation (Jüngst 2004), while Disney comics, which are mostly produced in non-English speaking countries, are often translated on the basis of a working English version (Zanettin 2008a). Translators and editors may censor or tone down text and depictions dealing with sex, religion, drug use and prejudice, while lettering and retouching involves erasing and replacing texts and sound effects, but also, in some cases, drawing new material. Graphic design may entail changing layout and pagination, and the creation of paratextual material such as covers, titles, flyleaves and advertisements.

Before the advent of computers, the whole process was done manually; letterers used to erase the text with a shaving blade from balloons and captions in the transparent film and replace it by inking in the text received from the translator by hand. Graphic adaptations represented an additional cost for publishers, which was often perceived as unnecessary, unless dictated by institutional or self-censorship. Words used as pictures (such as onomatopoeias and graffiti) and pictures used as words (such as calligrams and ideograms) were often left unaltered when American comics were first translated, thus becoming part of the genre conventions of importing countries. However, digital technologies have brought about many changes to the comics industry, as introducing changes to a computer file rather than manually on film has made both lettering and retouching easier and less expensive.

Technology has changed not only the way many comics are now produced and distributed but also translation practices. Mainstream American superhero comics, for example, are usually streamlined for multilingual localization, so that art, text, balloons and onomatopoeia are provided as multilayered files in which translations into one or more languages can be imported and placed alongside the source text, to replace it in one swoop, thus facilitating multilingual production. The translation of manga, on the other hand, usually starts from a scanned

copy of the Japanese title, which is then edited by inserting text boxes of translated dialogues and modifying pictures with photo editing applications (Zanettin 2014a).

Changes brought about by digital technologies concern more than technical aspects of the localization process. The emergence of digital transmedia productions has favoured the convergence of narrative worlds across different media such as films, videogames and graphic novels, bearing some consequences for the translation of comics. For instance, up to 2004 the translation of films based on superhero comics would retain the names of characters as established in translated comic books. However, since then most characters in comic books have been named after those on film. This is not surprising considering that the comics industry is a specialized sector, while cinematic productions are addressed to the general public.

The production and dissemination of digital content through the Internet has changed the usability of graphic narratives, affecting both reading and translation practices by, on the one hand, providing easy access to foreign visual literature in the original language and, on the other, favouring a mode of translation, scanlation, which is based on crowdsourcing and fan culture rather than on professional practice. Scanlation, which consists in the scanning, translating and distributing of manga through the Internet outside of licenced channels, by and for communities of fans (Ferrer Simó 2005), is a mode of distribution which has exerted a major influence in orienting translation strategies towards the preservation of source visual and verbal features. The digitization and deterritorialization of manga and comics publishing, driven by the rise of e-books and other digital reading devices, have led to an increase in free digital publishing, as in the case of scanlation sites, which provide stiff competition for emergent models of commercial digital publishing.

Graphic novels have contributed to bringing graphic narratives outside the exclusive interest of popular culture; many publications which were or would be otherwise published as comics are now repackaged as graphic novels and sold in bookstores. The translation of popular comic genres has been largely dictated by market considerations, with quick production times, low costs and limited cultural capital resulting in uneven quality. Graphic novels have

left behind the circuit of popular literature and the cultural stigma attached to it, bringing about a shift in translation requirements and norms, more geared towards source author- and source text-centred models of translation usually associated with traditional written literature.

See also:

CENSORSHIP; FAN TRANSLATION; MULTIMODALITY; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES; REWRITING

Further reading

Altenberg, T. and R.J. Owen (eds) (2015) *Comics and Translation*, Special issue of *New Readings* 15.

Reyns-Chikuma, C. and J. Tarif (eds) (2016) *Translation and Comics*, Special issue of *Transcultural. A Journal of Translation and Cultural Studies* 8(2).

Two collections of papers, both freely available online, offering an array of perspectives and case studies.

Kaindl, K. (1999) 'Thump, Whizz, Poom: A framework for the study of comics under translation', *Target* 11(2): 263–288.

The first study to address the translation of comics as a social practice and to attempt a comprehensive classification of verbal and non-verbal elements and translation strategies involved.

Zanettin, F. (2018) 'Translating Comics and Graphic i Cortés Novels', in S. Harding and O. Carbonell i Cortés (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Culture*, London & New York: Routledge, 445–460.

Provides a general historical overview and discusses critical issues and topics in comics translation research.

FEDERICO ZANETTIN

Community interpreting

Community interpreting encompasses bilateral spoken and signed language interpreting in different domains such as health and social care, and in different settings such as prisons, schools and asylum tribunals. It is usually made available by the state at no cost to the service

user. Community interpreting is also known as public service interpreting, particularly in (English-speaking) contexts where a distinction is made between untrained interpreting for low-risk interactions in community-led organizations, and professional interpreting in more complex and higher-risk institutional interactions; however, the terms are often used interchangeably to denote professional interpreting services (Corsellis 2008; Pöchhacker 1999). Other terms, such as dialogue interpreting and intercultural mediation, emphasize the type of activity undertaken as opposed to the contexts in which it is performed (Mason 2000a; Davitti 2013). In terms of mode of delivery, spoken language community interpreting principally involves liaison interpreting (or short consecutive) in person or by telephone, and, increasingly, via videoconference technologies. Whispered simultaneous interpreting (*chuchotage*) is also used to a limited extent, for example in courtroom settings, but is being phased out with the introduction of booth and web-based technologies in some countries.

Community interpreting supports the delivery of statutory and voluntary sector services to speakers with limited language proficiency in countries that have a history of receiving and resettling large numbers of (im)migrants. Although the focus of research on community interpreting to date has been on countries that have a well-established welfare system, community interpreting also occurs in disaster zones to support the work of search and rescue teams (Kurultay et al. 2006), and beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, in settings such as refugee camps (Moser-Mercer et al. 2014). It also takes place in societies without a history of receiving large numbers of (im)migrants but where indigenous multilingualism exists, as in the case of South Africa, where ‘functional multilingualism’ was instituted to help redress power inequalities caused by colonialism and apartheid (Erasmus 2000).

Despite the increasing prominence of community interpreting across the world, the development of statutory interpreting has been highly uneven. Specific structural and attitudinal factors influence interpreter provisions at the local level, reflecting a range of responses to communication needs (Ozolins 2000, 2010). Even within a single national context, the right to an interpreter may be guaranteed in one

institutional setting but not in others, attesting to the weakness or absence of regulatory frameworks in some cases, and/or the lack of cross-portfolio policy making in others. Since the mid-2000s, attention to community interpreting at the supranational level has led to the development of an international standard (ISO 13611:2014 Guidelines for Community Interpreting) as well as region-based instruments such as Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Parliament and the Council, which establishes common minimum rules for European Union countries on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings. However, effective implementation is contingent on the existence of appropriate educational provision and a favourable ideological climate. Even reasonably stable patterns of professional provision may be disrupted as the political and economic landscape changes (de Boe 2015).

Community interpreting is a relatively young subdiscipline of interpreting studies; its development was strengthened by the Critical Link conference series, the first of which took place in Geneva Park, Toronto, in 1995. Prior to that, research tended to occur in isolated pockets, reflecting the dominance of conference interpreting education and research programmes. In the contemporary period, the limited range of languages typically offered by university departments means that community interpreter education is still likely to take place outside higher education. However, growing interest in the role of interpreting in society means that community interpreting is now present in the curriculum of many translation and interpreting studies programmes. The number of journals, special issues and monographs on community interpreting that have been published since the turn of the century also attest to its status and growing influence.

Community interpreting research

Today, academic research on community interpreting addresses questions at various levels. At the societal level, professionalization, standardization and regulation of community interpreting are recurrent themes, reflecting the pace and nature of its development in different countries (Angelelli 2006, Hertog et al. 2007). An important

body of scholarship addresses the related issue of legitimization and examines community interpreting as one response among others to multiculturalism and superdiversity. Appeals to social theories of articulation (Cronin 2006), mono- and multilingualism (Tymoczko 2006, Polezzi 2012) and political theories of recognition (Martín Ruano 2017), for example, invite critical reflection on the extent to which translation itself – including community interpreting – separates and maintains separation, or facilitates participation *and* recognizes difference.

At the institutional and organizational level, community interpreting research supports close scrutiny of language support policy, practice and procedure, as evidenced particularly in the healthcare (Bowen et al. 2010) and legal domains (Morris 1995, Valero-Garcés 2017). Maryns's seminal study (2006) on the text trajectories of asylum seekers in the context of the Belgian asylum procedure shows how oral and often interpreter-mediated accounts are distilled into written texts in ways that are detrimental to the asylum seeker. Her study sheds light on the problem of fit between individual narratives and bureaucratic procedure, and on the position of interpreter mediation in wider structures of power. Research at this level also helps to identify the intersections between national policy and regulatory frameworks, and their impact on the supply of appropriately qualified interpreters (de Pedro Rico et al. 2009).

At the interpersonal level, the complexities of interpreter-mediated interaction have been the focus of studies involving in-person and remote interpreting. These provide rich accounts of the verbal and non-verbal practices of experienced professional interpreters as well as untrained bilinguals (Meyer 2001). Emphasis is commonly placed on identifying patterns of behaviour and their interactional consequences. This includes attention to the interpreter's influence on interaction in relation to aspects such as the coordination of participation (Baraldi and Gavioli 2012a), positioning (Mason 2009a) and the negotiation of meaning (Wadensjö 1998b). Research at the interpersonal level has helped to illuminate the extent to which interpreters can and do impact the strength of the institutional voice; in some cases, this occurs at the expense of the other participants (Davidson 2000).

Early research in community interpreting was characterized by a tendency towards

prescriptivism, introspection and speculation (Valero-Garcés 2006). Seminal work by Wadensjö (1998b) and Roy (2000) based on close analysis of authentic interpreter-mediated interactions marked a methodological and theoretical advance in the study of spoken and signed language interpreting, establishing a robust foundation for descriptive interpreting studies and emphasizing the complexity of the interpreting act, interaction and context (Rudvin 2006b:21).

Descriptive research began to demystify approaches influenced by the metaphor of the interpreter-as-language conduit, underpinned by a monological view of communication, and revealed interpreter mediation as highly agential and, significantly, dialogical in nature. As a consequence, meaning-making could no longer be viewed as simply facilitated by the interpreter, but rather as co-constructed among all parties to the encounter and largely coordinated by the interpreter, whether implicitly or explicitly. Foregrounding dialogism made it possible to interrogate the interpreter's (in)visibility in ways that opened up new perspectives on agency and on the impact of interpreter mediation on encounters and outcomes. This work made visible the active role played by the interpreter in such encounters as reflected, for example, in seminal studies on healthcare interpreting by Angelelli (2004a) and Bot (2005).

The impact of dialogism on studies of interpreter-mediated interaction broadened the scope of debate on ethics in community interpreting, making it possible to tease out tensions between deontological and teleological approaches to interpreter decision-making. Such tensions were brought to prominence through the recognition that interpreters and translators work in increasingly challenging moral environments (Baker and Maier 2011:2). Deontological approaches, which commonly emphasize moral obligations that arise from a prescribed set of rules or code of conduct, have been criticized for tending to make no distinction between settings and the nature of encounters, and for assuming an underlying level of consensus among interpreters about matters of ethics and professionalism, regardless of their cultural background (Rudvin 2007). Acknowledging interpreting as a “comprehensively *collaborative* activity” (Turner 2007:181; original emphasis) supports a situation-based or teleological approach to

interpreter decision-making (Dean and Pollard 2011); however, it would be misleading to suggest that such developments eschew the importance of deontology. Research in community interpreting, and in translation studies more generally, has increasingly emphasized the need for interpreters to critically engage with professional codes in order to prevent harm and injustice (Baker 1992/2011; Camayd-Freixas 2013).

Community interpreting research now draws on a wide range of theoretical and methodological frameworks, including frameworks borrowed from sociology, political science, linguistics, anthropology, linguistic ethnography, applied ethics, law and criminology, and applied psychology. The tendency for researchers to import concepts and frameworks from other disciplines, as opposed to engaging in sustained inter- and cross-disciplinary research, is to some extent explained by the relatively young age of community interpreting research. At the same time, research on language barriers to service access and delivery undertaken in more established academic disciplines often underplays findings from interpreting studies. Examples include studies on domestic violence (Bui 2003) and psychiatry (Drennan and Swartz 2002), but lack of engagement with the findings of interpreting research is evident more widely in social science research on migrant integration. Notable exceptions include work by Tribe and Raval (2003) and Singh et al. (2016) in the healthcare field.

Disciplinary insights from sociology (Angelelli 2012a) have exerted and continue to exert a strong disciplinary influence on community interpreting research in theoretical and methodological terms. Scholars working in the descriptive interpreting studies tradition, for instance, have drawn extensively on the work of American sociologist Erving Goffman on the social organization of interaction. Goffman's theorizations of the interaction order, the presentation of self and participation framework (speaker and hearer roles) have served to support the close analysis of interpreter-mediated interaction in both spoken and signed language research (Wadensjö 1998b; Mason and Stewart 2001; Llewellyn-Jones and Lee 2014).

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction has also been highly influential in studies that explore the social nature of interpreting practice at the macro-level. His focus on social

practice as opposed to individual action supports "a critique of power as constituted in cultural, social and historical practices" (Inghilleri 2005b:139). Inghilleri (2003, 2005a) applies Bourdieu's core concepts of field, habitus, capital and *illusio* in interrogating the social position of the interpreting profession and the reasons for its (ongoing) occupational vulnerability, drawing specifically on the concept of 'zones of uncertainty'. In addition to the political asylum procedure that formed the focus of Inghilleri's work, Bourdieusian frameworks have also informed studies of healthcare in relation to the importance of the interpreter's cultural and symbolic capital in interaction (Angelelli 2004a), and the impact of volunteer healthcare interpreters on the structures and ethics of the larger field (Aguilar Solano 2012).

Various strands of linguistics have also continued to inform studies of community interpreting. Mason (2000a:216) highlights the centrality of pragmatics to research on community interpreting, observing that "[s]o much communication is effected via implicature and inference". Studies that focus on aspects of politeness, face, discourse markers and other factors of pragmatic constraint, such as hedges, have helped to illuminate the interpreter's impact on unfolding social relations in encounters and on institutional procedure (Krouglov 1999; Pöllabauer 2004). Empirical evidence of pragmatolinguistic failure or speech act misperception on the part of interpreters has been well documented in relation to court interpreting (Berk-Seligson 1990/2002; Hale 2001, 2004) and police interpreting (Gallai 2013; Nakane 2014). Hale (2001), for example, recognizes the challenges interpreters face in relation to achieving semantic and syntactic equivalence in courtroom interactions, but underlines the need for pragmatic equivalence, for example through the maintenance of illocutionary force, if discourse strategies typical to the setting are to be preserved and/or legal procedure is to be followed. The importance of developing pragmatic competence in interpreter education is therefore underscored.

Methodologies

A significant body of research on community interpreting is largely qualitative and empirical

in orientation, and often employs multi-method approaches. However, the findings of this research are often limited in terms of generalizability due to the small sample sizes involved and because community interpreting research is “particularly susceptible to a constructivist epistemology that combines an engagement with empirical data with interpretive procedures that are necessarily relative to situational contexts, settings and socio-cultural backgrounds” (Pöschhacker 2011a:22). Issues of scale and comprehensiveness also reflect the ethical challenges confronting researchers who seek to access sites and obtain consent from individuals in very sensitive circumstances. Notable exceptions are found in the literature, especially on healthcare interpreting, where scholars such as Angelelli (2004a) and Davidson (2000) were able to spend extended periods in the field observing, recording interactions and interviewing institutional staff and interpreters.

Corpus-based approaches have gained ground in the field in recent years. The creation of corpora of community interpreting encounters is technically very challenging, but work by Davitti (2013) on the use of ELAN software (Eudico Linguistic Annotator), and Angermeyer et al. (2012) on the CoPilot database at the University of Hamburg, has been able to address some of these challenges. The difficulty of making corpora from different sources available in a common environment, and of creating common standards for annotating multilingual data from interpreter-mediated interaction, are particular areas of focus for Angermeyer et al. In other developments, building corpora of interpreter narratives (Voinova and Ordam 2016) to enable exploration of the construction of interpreter identity is one of several corpus-based developments to be introduced into interpreter education and research.

Experimental studies on community interpreting are relatively few in number. Berk-Seligson's (1990/2002) study on courtroom interpreting combines experiment with discourse analysis and ethnography and remains a landmark in the field due to its comprehensiveness and scale. The study draws on seven months of courtroom observation and analysis of 114 hours of recorded court proceedings; a sample of 551 participants were involved as mock jurors in an experiment designed to elicit subjective reactions to

interpreted witness testimony. Hale et al. (2017) also use experimental approaches to examine the impact of modes of interpreting on witness credibility assessment in the courtroom. In the field of healthcare, Dubslaff and Martinsen (2007) used simulated medical interviews in their study on untrained interpreters' use of direct and indirect speech.

Hale (2007:202) observes an increase in survey-based methods at the turn of the century, especially to study issues of quality and service provision; the limitations of these methods remain to be addressed by the field. The voice of service users is often underrepresented in survey approaches as they can be a hard-to-reach group; a notable exception is a study on user experiences of interpreters by Edwards et al. (2005). Recent large cross-national surveys, such as that undertaken by Balogh and Salaets (2015), have shed light on perceptions about interpreter provision and actual practice which support the implementation of supranational legal acts such as Directive 2010/64/EU.

Emerging trends and future directions

The dominance of court and medical interpreting in earlier phases of community interpreting research in the 1980s and early 1990s has diminished as attention broadened to domains such as education (Davitti 2013) and settings such as police interviews (Mulayim et al. 2015) and prisons (Baixauli-Olomos 2013). Attention has also extended to the non-profit sector and services provided to support victims of domestic abuse (Tolédano Buendía and del Pozo Triviño 2015). Studies undertaken in these areas have provided additional empirical evidence for viewing interpreting as a collaborative activity, showing that shared responsibility for service user safety is essential in cases that involve high risk, and in other domains, such as education, where interpreters can be contractually obliged to support student learning outcomes (Tipton and Furmanek 2016).

Discourses about the role and status of non-professional interpreters and the unilinear process of professionalization in community interpreting have received critical attention, in part due to the difficulty of developing timely educational provision for interpreters with rare language combina-

tions. In other areas of scholarship, the assumed relation between professionalization and the acquisition of expert-level skills has been interrogated (Susam-Saraeva and Pérez-González 2012). Rather than viewing non-professional interpreters as a disruptive presence, this work emphasizes the role they play in enabling new forms of civic engagement and their impact on shaping “new paradigms of linguistic, cultural and religious mediation in new sites of cross-cultural contact” (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012:151).

Scholarship on the emotional impact of community interpreting on interpreters has taken forward earlier work on vicarious trauma (Ndongo-Keller 2015) to consider broader issues of empathy and emotional labour (Guéry 2014). This work has served to reappraise normative practices that privilege impartiality to the detriment of interpreter wellbeing (Splevins et al. 2010), and has shaped developments in trauma-informed approaches to interpreting. Such developments highlight the potential for the interpreter to retraumatize victims through his or her discursive practices and stress the importance of the interpreter in creating a shared culture of safety and respect in order to facilitate communicative autonomy for the victim/survivor (Bancroft 2017).

The delivery of interpreter provisions via new technologies in response to institutional requirements for efficiency savings has been subject to extensive investigation in relation to organization and quality (Braun and Taylor 2012a). Its widespread use in healthcare in the USA and increasingly in Europe and elsewhere suggests that videoconference technology is likely to become the principal medium of delivery in the not-too-distant future, warranting further academic research on its impact on rapport-building, interpersonal relations, perceptions, interpreter sense of job satisfaction, quality and performativity.

In terms of interpreter education, new technologies are driving developments and helping to overcome the problem of provision to highly diverse cohorts and multiple language combinations. D’Hayer’s (2012) work on communities of practice in community interpreting (and beyond) draws attention to the value of collaborative, horizontal approaches to interpreter education and Continued Professional Development, also supported by technologies. The emergence of

MOOCs on community interpreting, for instance at the University of Alcalá in 2017, marks a new departure in providing access to interpreter education, complementing efforts by the InZone initiative at the University of Geneva to support remote interpreter education in conflict zones.

The relatively young subdiscipline of community interpreting provides ample scope for future research, including topics such as the relationship between community interpreting and second language acquisition, models of provision and procurement processes, the impact of joint training between interpreters and service providers and the promotion of communicative autonomy for children in cases of child protection.

See also:

ASYLUM; CONVERSATION ANALYSIS; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; LEGAL INTERPRETING; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; ROLE; SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING; SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Further reading

Gavioli, L. and C. Baraldi (eds) (2012) *Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Raises questions about aspects of interpreting that have been taken for granted and challenges preconceived notions about differences between professional and non-professional interpreting, pointing in new directions for future research.

Hale, S.B. (2007) *Community Interpreting*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Provides a comprehensive overview of the field and shows how questions generated by practice can be addressed by research.

REBECCA TIPTON

Competence, interpreting

Interpreting competence refers to a set of knowledge and skills that are required for an interpreter to perform an interpreting task. Current research often but not always distinguishes

it from interpreter competence. Where it does, the assumption is that interpreting competence is mainly concerned with core elements associated with bilingual or translational competence, such as knowledge of both languages and transfer skills, while interpreter competence tends to be associated with the professional identity and role of interpreters, and with entrepreneurship (Albl-Mikasa 2013c; Pöchhacker 2004). The two terms are however used here interchangeably, as they often are in the literature.

The task of interpreting requires more than bilingual skills, given that to understand the source language message and reexpress it in an appropriate target language, interpreters must draw on contextual, situational and world knowledge and use their memory as efficiently as possible in order to process both the details and the macrostructure of the source text (Kalina 2000:6). A competent interpreter is expected to successfully mediate between different parties in a bilingual or multilingual communicative situation “characterised by externally determined constraints, such as the pressure of time, lack of semantic autonomy and the potential interference between closely connected processes of production and comprehension” (Kalina 2000:5).

Interpreting competence has received relatively little attention from scholars of interpreting as a topic of research in its own right, for two reasons. First, interpreting competence was initially subsumed under translation competence because of the obvious overlaps in key skills and requirements (Kalina 2000:16). The core elements of models of translation competence such as those developed by PACTE (2003) commonly include linguistic, extralinguistic and transfer subcompetencies, which are also essential components of interpreting competence. However, translation and interpreting must differ in terms of the operation of these subcompetencies, given that they require different sets of subskills and are dissimilar in terms of their cognitive processes and work interfaces. Second, the relatively little importance accorded to the concept of competence in interpreting studies may be due to the historical dominance of cognitive approaches, which also accounts for the emphasis on examining interpreting processes and researchers’ preference for such terms as abilities, skills and expertise (Grbic and Pöchhacker 2015:70).

Competence, defined as “the ability to apply knowledge and skills to achieve intended results” (ISO/IEC 17024:2012; NAATI 2016:4), is not synonymous with expertise, which can be described as “the bulk of cognitive resources and abilities leading to behaviours that yield superior performance” (Muñoz Martín 2014:34). In cognitive psychology, abilities, competence and expertise are viewed as regions along a developmental continuum (Sternberg 2005:15). Put simply, the difference between competence and expertise concerns the degree of mastery of the skills in question. Developing competence is an ongoing process in the acquisition and consolidation of skills needed for performance at or above the journeyman level. Developing expertise involves a similar process but is concerned with the skills needed for a high level of mastery (Sternberg 2005:15).

Early research on interpreting competence was often based on the intuitive ideas of practitioners and trainers (Pöchhacker 2004). Later research has examined the concept in a more systematic manner from the perspectives of linguistics and cognitive psychology (Williams 1994, 1995b; Gile 2015b), treating it as a multidimensional and dynamic construct and taking account of the nature of interpreting as a complex, socially situated activity. Interpreting competence is now understood to encompass subcompetencies on various levels, including cognitive abilities (intelligence, concentration, memory), moral and affective qualities (tact, discretion, alertness, poise, a sense of responsibility, self-control) and physical qualities such as voice, stamina and strong nerves (Sanz 1931; Herbert 1952b; Seleskovitch 1968/1978; Hoof 1962; Pöchhacker 2000b, 2016). It is also viewed as consisting of strategic, interpersonal or psychophysiological competences and technical competences (Pöchhacker 2016:165–166; Grbic and Pöchhacker 2015:70). The focus of research, which once centred on the cognitive aspects of interpreting, has thus shifted towards a broader engagement with the sociocultural context.

In addition to the theoretical contribution of research in this area, the findings of studies on the components and development of interpreting competence, and expertise, have implications for interpreter training, assessment, certification and professional development.

Research on interpreting competence

A number of models of interpreting competence have been proposed by interpreting scholars, who have approached the concept from different perspectives. In Pöchhacker's (2000b) model, linguistic transfer competence appears as the core, complemented by cultural competence and interaction management skills. These may be viewed as context-dependent elements which interact with and are shaped by professional role performance skills and ethical standards.

Adapting Kalina's (2002, 2006) process model of interpreting, Albl-Mikasa (2012) provides a comprehensive model of interpreting competence that covers each stage of the interpreting process, from preparation to reflection after the assignment. Her model recognizes the holistic process of professional interpreting, and attempts to account for its non-cognitive, social and business aspects. Albl-Mikasa views interpreter competence as consisting of five skill areas, each with its respective subskills: pre-process (language proficiency, terminology management, preparation); in-process (comprehension, transfer, production); peri-process (teamwork, resistance to pressure); post-process (terminology work, quality control); and para-process (business know-how, customer relations, meta-reflection). In-process interpreting competence, which is directly concerned with source text comprehension and transfer of the message across languages, is the component of her model that corresponds to a narrow sense of interpreting competence.

Chung's (2011) model, which draws on psychology, is unusual in taking account of the developmental aspect of interpreting competence. The model is visually divided into horizontal and vertical axes. Along the horizontal axis, interpreting competence is described according to degrees of competence, from novice status to proficiency. Chung divides this developmental progression of competence chronologically, starting with what she calls language period and proceeding to discourse period, followed by automatization period. Over time, interpreting students develop the ability to communicate effectively, as their bilingual lexicon expands and their discourse awareness is

strengthened, finally acquiring mastery of their skills and reaching the stage of automatization (Chung 2011:251). On the vertical axis, interpreting competence is viewed as consisting of various subcompetencies such as audiovisual competence, bi-/multilingual competence, linguistic transfer competence, memory, attention, voice and affect (*ibid.*:252–253). With the accumulation of interpreting experience, these subcompetencies develop and become better coordinated and integrated into interpreting competence. This progression, however, does not proceed in a simple linear fashion (Göppferich 2013).

While most existing models of interpreting competence are designed for conference interpreting, Kaczmarek's (2010) model is specifically developed for community interpreting and based on empirical research involving interpreters and users of interpreting services. Drawing on Spitzberg's (2009) model of intercultural communication competence, Kaczmarek argues against conceptualizing competence as a set of components and instead proposes that it "can be approached in terms of subjective and individual judgement" (2010:203–204), that it is dependent on expectations relating, for instance, to the role of the interpreter in different contexts, and hence that "the same episode of an interpreter's performance may evoke different impressions of the interpreter's competence" among different parties (*ibid.*:204). Kaczmarek ultimately concludes that "interpreter competence cannot be subject to objective measurement or observation" (*ibid.*:213). He seeks to highlight the interaction between interpreter competence and the sociocultural context of community interpreting and advocates a major rethinking of the framework for interpreter accreditation in the UK.

Because it is not easy to pin down or observe directly, empirical research tends to focus on specific aspects of interpreting competence or a subset of interpreting skills, such as working memory capacity, textual processing and lexical competence, and proceeds by surveying or studying specific tasks performed by groups of individuals with different levels of interpreting competence (Darò 1989, 1997; Skaaden 1999; Bajo et al. 2000; Christoffels et al. 2003, 2006; Köpke and Signorelli 2012; Tzou et al. 2012; A.

A. Cheung 2013, 2014; A. Chang 2012; Timarová et al. 2015).

Memory, a complex and multifaceted construct in its own right, is a favourite topic of research in interpreting studies, reflecting the influence of cognitive approaches. It is examined mostly as a skill component of simultaneous interpreting (Moser-Mercer et al. 1997:146). In terms of working memory, despite some evidence in favour of interpreters, the general conclusion is that professional interpreters do not seem to outperform control groups such as interpreting students and bilinguals. Köpke and Signorelli's experimental study concludes that working memory plays only a minor role in expert as opposed to novice interpreting (2012:195). Timarová et al. (2015) confirm this view and argue that working memory is only marginally related to competence in simultaneous interpreting and is not enhanced with greater interpreting experience. Their study found that working memory is a predictor at lower levels of acquired skill, which suggests that it plays an especially important role during the development of interpreting competence, when automatic routines are yet to be established (ibid.:105). Noting that experienced professional interpreters were no better than students in terms of their working memory capacity, despite outperforming them in interpreting tasks, Liu et al. (2004) conclude that working memory is not crucial for simultaneous interpreting and that interpreters rely on other cognitive mechanisms. These experimental research findings remain inconclusive because of limited sampling and research designs that do not include an element of interpreting assessment (Timarová 2008; Chung 2011; Köpke and Signorelli 2012).

Cultural knowledge in general and knowledge of the L2 culture specifically are acknowledged as essential for comprehension and interpreting (Blasco Mayor 2015:127), with much of the research on interpreters' cultural competence showing particular interest in healthcare settings (Wilson-Stronks and Galvez 2007; the Joint Commission 2010; HRSA 2002; Anazawa et al. 2012). In addition to Kaczmarek's (2010) model, which was developed as a tool to evaluate community interpreters' competence from the viewpoint of effective cross-cultural

communication, A. Chang (2012) explored the construct of cultural competence from the perspective of conference interpreters, identifying closely related subcompetencies such as cultural understanding, cultural mediation and cultural transfer. Of the three subcompetencies, interpreters who were surveyed considered cultural understanding to be the most important, while the level of execution of cultural competence among those surveyed varied according to individual variables such as length of overseas stay, age and career stage (A. Chang 2012:245).

A number of scholars have sought to identify predictors of interpreting competence by examining the relationship between interpreting competence and cognitive ability, emotional stability, self-efficacy and self-regulation (López Gómez et al. 2007; Macnamara et al. 2011; Bontempo and Napier 2011; Russo 2011; Shaw 2011; Ivars et al. 2014; Hild 2014; S.-B. Lee 2016). The findings of this research indicate that a combination of stable, general cognitive abilities, verbal fluency and personality traits may predict future interpreting competence. Cognitive abilities and second language proficiency seem to be relevant predictors of both spoken and signed language interpreting competence (Gerver et al. 1984; Russo and Pippa 2004; López Gómez et al. 2007; Cai et al. 2015; Blasco Mayor 2015). In the case of spoken language interpreting, a strong correlation was found between interpreting competence and linguistic competence, while weaker correlations were found between interpreting competence and affect and memory (Chung 2011; Cai et al. 2015). Lexical transfer efficiency, which is closely linked to linguistic competence, improved with interpreting experience according to Chung (2013). With respect to factors underlying the development of sign language interpreting skills, perceptual-motor skills turned out to be the most consistent factor influencing sign language interpreting competence – followed by cognitive and personal factors, in that order (López Gómez et al. 2007).

Soft skills also play a complementary role in predicting interpreting competence (Timarová and Ungood-Thomas 2009; Bontempo and Napier 2011; Russo 2011). For instance, self-efficacy has emerged as a potential predictor of proficiency in interpreting (Bontempo and Napier 2011; Shaw 2011; Ivars et al. 2014;

S.-B. Lee 2016), and so has self-regulation, a very closely related concept (Moser-Mercer 2008:15–16). Acquiring self-regulatory competence is regarded as important for reaching high levels of interpreting competence, and in lifelong learning and professional development (Hild 2014:131–132). Albl-Mikasa's (2014d) study suggests that receptivity to intuition may play a role in the development of interpreting competence, an argument which awaits confirmation from further scholarly investigation.

There seems to be a consensus that in addition to aptitude, practice and training are essential in developing interpreting competence (Albl-Mikasa 2014d; Setton and Dawrant 2016b). The acquisition and development of interpreting competence occurs mostly during the training phase and continues during one's professional career (Tiselius 2013). At the same time, research findings suggest that deliberate practice (Ericsson 2000) – defined as “a highly focused and regular practice, completed at a time set aside only for practice and solely aimed at improving the given skill” (Tiselius 2013:32) – may not play a pivotal role beyond the stage of developing interpreting competence. Interview-based studies by Albl-Mikasa (2013c) and Tiselius (2013) indicate that interpreters do not engage in deliberate practice, apart from preparation work, once they have reached a high level of interpreting competence. Tiselius's (2013) longitudinal case study, which involved three interpreters recorded at two different points in time, confirms that interpreting competence does not necessarily improve with the passage of time or simply through experience.

Future directions

The findings of the various studies that have examined interpreting competence and the few attempts at modelling it remain provisional and leave many questions unanswered. This is not surprising given that the complex act of interpreting involves both intuitive and cognitive processes, and numerous subskills. Further research is needed not only to test the robustness of the proposed models but also to explore fuzzy concepts such as social and emotional competence (Albl-Mikasa 2014d) and affect (Chung 2011).

Strategic subcompetence, which is regarded as the most important subcompetence in models of translation competence (PACTE 2003; Göpferich 2013), has been under-researched in interpreting studies. Similarly, instrumental subcompetence (PACTE 2003), which involves the use of tools and research skills (Göpferich 2013), and encompasses the ability of interpreters to prepare for assignments and use equipment on the job, has drawn less attention compared to the interest it has received in models of translation competence. Furthermore, none of the models discussed here recognizes motor coordination skills, which seem to be essential in note-taking during consecutive interpreting and sign language interpreting in particular.

Given that interpreting competence is multi-dimensional, dynamic, and much of it relies on instinct and intuition (Albl-Mikasa 2012:72, 90), an emergentist approach which emphasizes the situated and emergent nature of human cognition may bring a fresh perspective into this area of research and produce more nuanced findings in the future (Albl-Mikasa 2014d). Ultimately, the situatedness of the act of interpreting and its complexity are unlikely to allow for a universal model of interpreting competence to be developed across different modes and settings.

See also:

COGNITION; COMPETENCE, TRANSLATION; DIRECTIONALITY; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; QUALITY, INTERPRETING; QUALITY, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Albl-Mikasa, M. (2014) ‘Receptivism. An inter-traditional approach to intuition in interpreter and translator competence’, in L. Zybatow and M. Ustaszewski (eds) *Bausteine translatorischer Kompetenz oder Was macht Übersetzer und Dolmetscher zu Profis. Innsbrucker Ringvorlesungen zur Translationswissenschaft VII*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 51–81.

Advocates receptivism, an integrative approach to the study of interpreter competence which effects a paradigmatic shift from constructivism to receptivity, passivity and inspiration and acknowledges the interdependent relationship between intuitive and cognitive processes in interpreting.

Bontempo, K. and J. Napier (2011) 'Evaluating Emotional Stability as a Predictor of Interpreter Competence and Aptitude for Interpreting', *Interpreting* 13(1): 85–105.

Provides insight into the role of personality in interpreter training and career-development outcomes, with a focus on the link between emotional stability and self-perceived competence of 110 sign language interpreters.

Hild, A. (2014) 'The Role of Self-regulatory Processes in the Development of Interpreting Expertise', *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 9(1): 128–149.

Offers insight into the interaction between elements of self-regulatory competence – such as metacognition, emotion regulation, self-observation and self-judgement – and interpreting expertise by investigating the self-regulatory processes of skilled interpreters vis-à-vis less skilled trainees. The findings have implications for interpreter training and lifelong professional development.

Macnamara, B.N., A.B. Moore, J.A. Kegl and A.R.A. Conway, Andrew (2011) 'Domain-general Cognitive Abilities and Simultaneous Interpreting Skill', *Interpreting* 13(1): 121–142.

Provides an analysis of 29 sign language interpreters' simultaneous interpreting skills and suggests the possibility of predicting interpreter skill level based on cognitive abilities and personality traits.

JIEUN LEE

Competence, translation

Translation competence has been the object of both theoretical reflections (Wilss 1996; Risku 1998b; Kelletat 1996; Lesznyák 2007; Plaza Lara 2016) and empirical investigations (Englund Dimitrova 2005:14–15; Göpferich 2008:168–178). Since the turn of the century, several research projects have been launched that focus especially on the measurement and development of translation competence, among them projects by the PACTE group (PACTE 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2011a), the Capturing Translation Processes (CTP) project (Ehrens-

berger-Dow/Massey 2008) and the TransComp project (Göpferich 2009, 2013a). Most empirical investigations follow a contrastive design, analyzing, for example, the translation behaviour of novices compared with advanced translation students or professional translators. In contrast to such contrastive and cross-sectional studies, longitudinal studies that involve the analysis of products and processes of the same individuals at regular intervals during their training and later professional careers, as the in TransComp project, are still rare.

The concept of translation competence

Translation competence is a multicomponential concept. It cannot be reduced to the "basic ability to translate" postulated in bilingualism research to be an innate verbal skill that automatically results from being bilingual (Harris and Sherwood 1978:155; Harris 1978). What has frequently been ignored in the reception of this postulate is that Harris (1978) distinguishes between natural translation and professional translation, and that this postulate only refers to natural translation. With reference to Ljudskanov (1969), Harris (1978:421) sees the difference between these two forms of translation in the fact that translations produced in a professional environment – in contrast to natural translations – must meet social and cultural expectations or norms. The claim of an innate ability to translate in bilinguals has led to the misconception that increasing one's competence in two languages automatically leads to an increase in one's competence to translate between these languages. This conception is now widely rejected (Toury 1984, 1995/2012; Lörscher 1991; Shreve 1997; Englund Dimitrova 2005). It has been replaced with the view that the development of translation competence in the functionalist sense, as the competence to produce *skopos*-adequate target texts which comply with the norms of the target culture, involves what Harris and Sherwood (1978) refer to as the ability to translate, but that this ability is only one component of professional translation competence, which can only be attained through special training and education. Shreve (1997:125) therefore characterizes professional

translation as “a form of constructed translation that can be acquired only by undergoing certain kinds of deliberately sought out communicative experiences”. For Risku (1998b:90, 2004:77), translation competence is a socio-cognitive concept that, in addition to the ability to express oneself in a functionally adequate manner for a specific audience in the target culture in conformance with its prevailing translation norms, also involves social considerations relating to the translator’s role.

Whereas the innate basic ability to translate postulated in bilingualism research falls short of translation competence, the concept of expertise from cognitive psychology marks only the highest level of competence that a person can acquire in a domain and is characterized by “consistently superior performance on a specified set of *representative tasks* for the domain” (Ericsson and Charness 1997:6; original emphasis). What distinguishes experts is that their performance in their domain is continuously outstanding (Ericsson and Smith 1991:2); they are able to solve highly complex problems within their domains (Risku 1998b:89); their knowledge base in their specialized domain is not only large, but has also been restructured and interconnected to a higher degree than novices’ knowledge bases. The high degree of interconnection of knowledge in their long-term memories allows experts to retrieve it more quickly and with more precision and to overcome limitations of their working memories (Ericsson and Charness 1997:15–18). Experts possess superior analytical and creative as well as practical skills; their mental processes have been automatized to a higher degree (Sternberg 1997). Being able to take many aspects into account, experts can plan well in advance and defend their decisions (Ericsson and Smith 1991:25–26). Experts have transformed declarative knowledge in their domain of specialization into procedural knowledge; they learn tactically, i.e., they store and automatize sequences of actions and strategies they need for problem-solving in their domain, as well as strategically, i.e., they have learned how to solve problems in their domain most efficiently. Complex mental problem representations help them in doing so (J.R. Anderson 1990:267–269). These are characteristics that experts from various domains share and that thus can also be expected of translation experts.

In expertise research, acquiring expertise is generally assumed to require at least ten years of deliberate practice in the domain, with regular feedback (Ericsson and Charness 1997:19). The lack of regular feedback may explain why professional translators with more than ten years of professional experience have not necessarily achieved expert status in the sense used in expertise research, as revealed by the findings of the TransComp study reported in Göpferich (2013).

Following PACTE (2002:43), translation competence can be defined as the “system of knowledge, abilities and attitudes required to be able to translate – a system of competencies that interact, are hierarchical, and subject to variation”. There is, however, neither a consensus about the number of dimensions or subcompetencies that make up translation competence or their granularity, nor a consensus about where the borderlines between the subcompetencies should be drawn. The range spans from minimalist approaches (Pym 2003), which take into account only translation-specific competences, to more encompassing conceptions of translation competence, as suggested by the EMT expert group (2009:4). The latter include subcompetencies that are not translation specific but are also required in other professional areas, such as customer orientation, included in the subcompetence ‘translation service provision competence’ of the EMT translation competence model. Kiraly (2000) treats the more encompassing translator competence as comprising social, personal and translation competences. Robert et al. (2016) outline a provisional model of translation revision competence.

Models of translation competence

In his “minimalist approach” of defining translation competence, Pym (2003:489) specifies two skills which he places at the heart of translation competence: generation competence, i.e., the “ability to generate a series of more than one viable target text . . . for a pertinent source text”, and selection competence, or the “ability to select only one viable TT [target text] from this series quickly and with justified confidence”. Although

Pym concedes that translators need a range of additional competences, including linguistic, rhetorical, computer, social and commercial skills, he emphasizes that the “specifically translational part” of translators’ practice “is strictly neither linguistic nor solely commercial” (ibid.). Even if generation and selection are the core translation competences, it has to be conceded that these are complex and comprise subcompetencies which might become relevant in the investigation of the development of translation competence. Furthermore, there is more to translation competence than just accumulating these and perhaps additional subcompetencies. The discourse on the definition of translation

competence is reviewed in Pym (2003), Schäffner and Adab (2000) and Kelly (2005a:28 ff.).

The first translation competence model that does not simply enumerate relevant translation subcompetencies but also attempts to set them in relation to each other was developed by PACTE. According to their model, translation competence is composed of five subcompetencies and psychophysiological components (Figure 1). Based on a critical evaluation of this model, Göpferich (2008:148–157, 2009) developed a translation competence model (Figure 2) as a framework of reference for the three-year longitudinal study undertaken by Trans-Comp, which investigated the development

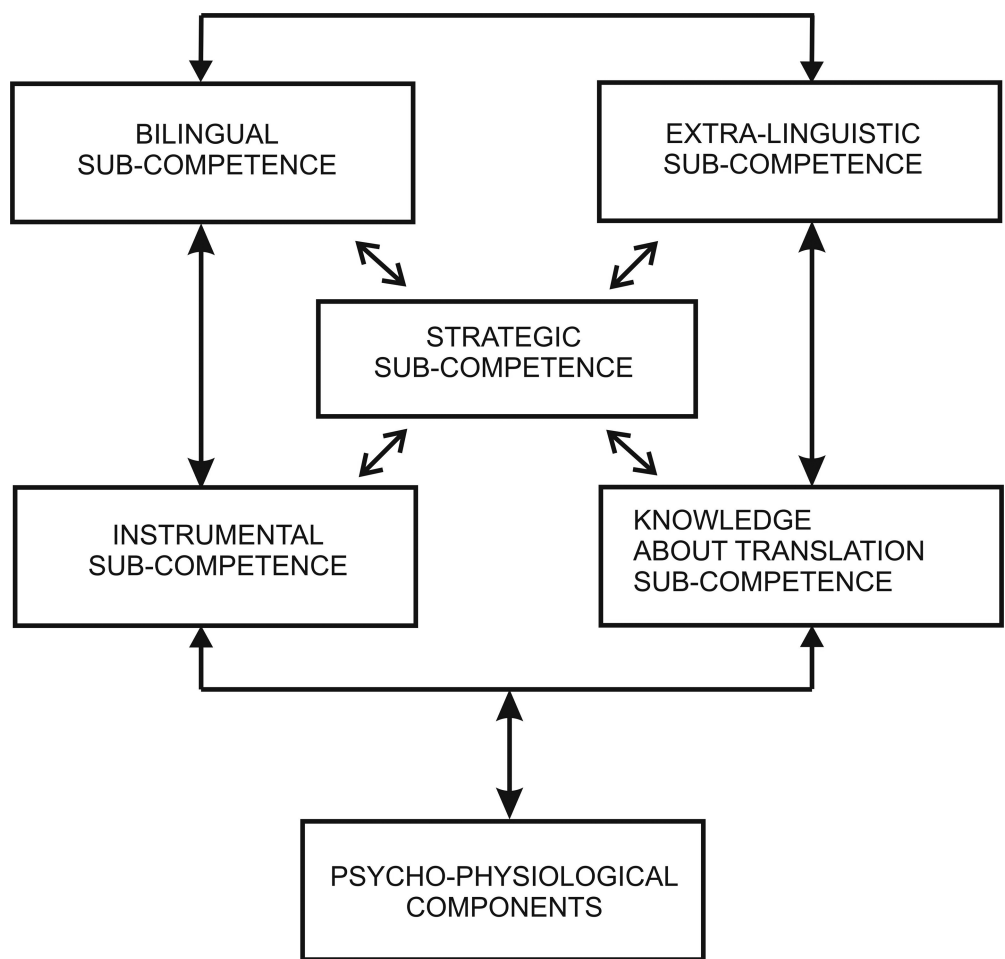


Figure 1 The PACTE translation competence model
Source: PACTE (2002, 2003:60, 2005:610); this figure is reprinted with the permission from John Benjamins Publishing Company from <https://benjamins.com/catalog/btl.4>

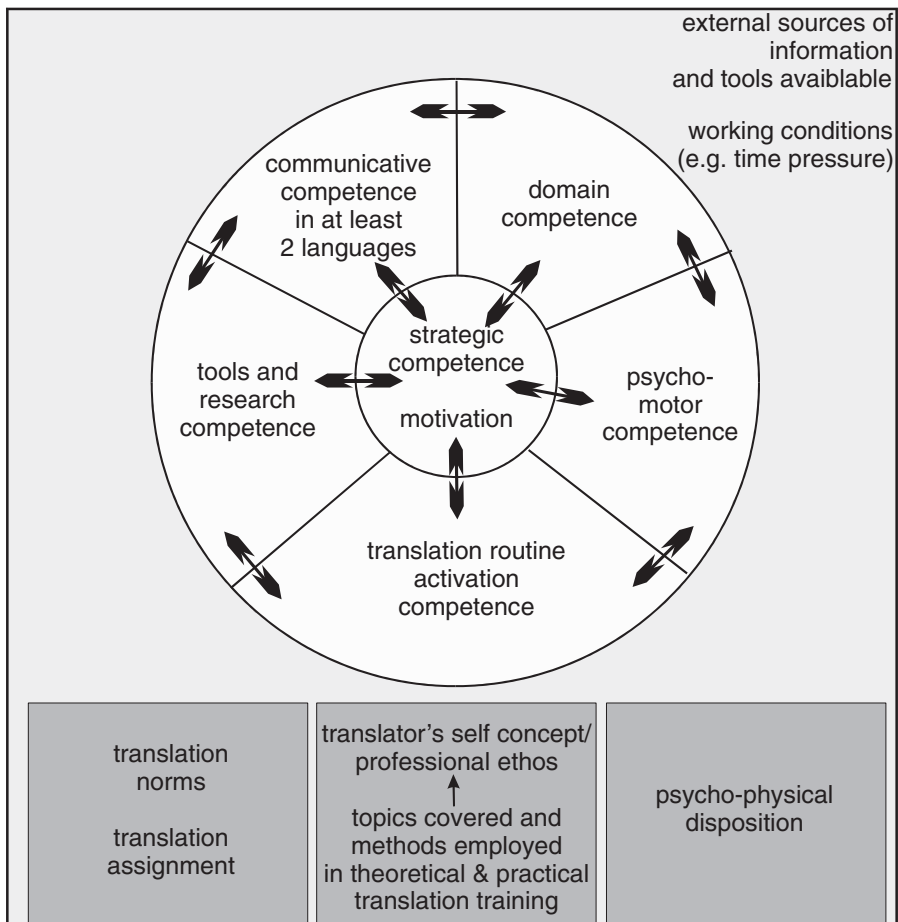


Figure 2 Translation competence model

Source: Göpferich (2009: 21; 2008:155); this figure is reprinted with the permission from Samfundslitteratur Publishers and Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH + Co. KG.

of translation competence in 12 students of translation and compared it with that of ten professional translators (Göpferich 2013; Göpferich et al. 2011).

In Göpferich's model, communicative competence in at least two languages comprises lexical, grammatical and pragmatic knowledge in both languages. Domain competence comprises the general and domain-specific knowledge that is necessary to understand the source text and formulate the target text, or at least the sensitivity to recognize what additional knowledge is needed from external sources of information to fill one's knowledge gaps. Tools and research competence cover the ability to

use translation-specific conventional and electronic tools, from reference works such as dictionaries and encyclopedias, term banks and other databases, parallel texts, the use of search engines and corpora to the use of word processors, terminology and translation management systems as well as machine translation systems. Translation routine activation competence comprises the knowledge and ability to recall and apply certain – mostly language-pair-specific – (standard) transfer operations (or shifts) which frequently lead to acceptable target-language equivalents, for example, transferring English gerunds and participle constructions into German subordinate clauses. In Hönig's

(1995) terminology, this competence could be described as the ability to activate productive micro-strategies. Psychomotor competence comprises the psychomotor abilities required for reading and writing (with electronic tools). The more developed these competences are, the less cognitive capacity is required for reading and writing, leaving more capacity for other cognitive tasks. Strategic competence controls the employment of all subcompetencies. As a metacognitive competence, it sets priorities and defines hierarchies between the individual subcompetencies, leads to the development of a macro-strategy in the sense of Hönig (1995), and ideally subjects all decisions to this macro-strategy. How strictly translators adhere to employing this macro-strategy depends on their strategic competence and their situation-specific motivation, which may be both intrinsic (enjoying translating), or extrinsic (payment, fear of compensatory damages).

The employment of the subcompetencies and their central control are determined by the three factors that form the basis of the TransComp model: the translation brief and translation norms; the translator's self-concept and professional ethos, on which the contents conveyed and the methods employed in theoretical and practical translation training courses have an impact and which form the component of the TransComp model where aspects of social responsibility and roles come into play (Risku 1998b:90, 2004:76); and the translator's psychophysical disposition – intelligence, ambition, perseverance, self-confidence. Translators' psychophysical disposition may influence how quickly their translation competence develops: a critical spirit and perseverance in solving translation problems may accelerate the development of translation competence.

Models of translation competence development

Translation competence development models are still relatively vague. In PACTE's model (2000:104), translation competence acquisition involves the development of the individual subcompetencies outlined in Figure 1, in addition to the development of the integrative competence to fall back on these competencies and

to prioritize them depending on the respective assignment and communicative situation. This is only made possible by a learning competence with specific learning strategies (PACTE 2000). Although aspects of the PACTE translation competence model have been validated empirically (PACTE 2011a), this validation refers neither to the exhaustiveness of the subcompetencies in the model nor to their interaction, but only to the relevance of a number of variables in which the translation behaviour of more competent and less competent translators differ.

A clearer picture of the interaction of different subcompetencies is provided by Risku (1998b), who does not present a translation competence development model but rather two theoretical translation process models. These models visualize the different complexities of translation processes in translation novices and in expert translators, suggesting that the translation processes of the two groups differ in four areas: macro-strategy development, information integration, planning of measures and decision-making, and self-organization, the latter in the sense of self-management and organizing one's learning processes. Whereas the translation processes of novices are characterized as consisting of "signal reproduction and transportation" and focus on relatively small translation units, Risku describes expert translation processes as involving "meaning construction" based on larger translation units and taking into account a larger co- and context (ibid.:260–261). What happens in translators' minds on the way from novice status to expert status is not described explicitly but can be deduced from a comparison of the two models.

Without engaging with individual translation subcompetencies, Kiraly (2013:211) draws on Risku's model and visualizes the complexity of translator competence as "emergence" in a multi-vortex model, criticizing "the dominant reductionist positivist paradigm in translation process research" evident in the models of translation competence suggested to date (ibid.:198). Kiraly's model offers a powerful visualization of the complexity of translation competence development, with its increasing interaction of subcompetencies and clusters of subcompetencies; however, it fails to break up this complexity for analytical and didactic purposes. Other

research in competence-oriented translation research is directed towards the development of a framework of reference for translation competence which specifies levels of translation competence to be achieved in the course of degree programmes in translation and other language-related topics, by analogy to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. They include the five-level framework suggested by Cnyrim et al. (2013), which is also based on Risku's process models.

Translation competence development and Dynamic Systems Theory (DST)

The TransComp study found that certain translation subcompetencies, such as reception competence as part of communicative competence, developed in student translators within the three-year period of investigation, whereas other subcompetencies, such as strategic problem-solving, seemed to stagnate for a longer period of time (Göpferich 2013). Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) allows for the interpretation of these findings and also accommodates the assumptions underlying PACTE's definition of translation competence as well as Kiraly's (2013) conception of translator competence emergence. In DST, competencies or skills are envisaged as sets of variables that are interconnected and thus interact over time (de Bot et al. 2007:8). In the case of translation competence, these variables can be regarded as variables for translation subcompetencies that, in their entirety, make up translation competence. The individual subcompetencies may not develop at the same pace, nor will they always develop in a linear manner. Some may stagnate while others continue to develop. Certain subsystems – i.e., subcompetencies or clusters of subcompetencies – may be precursors to other subsystems in the developmental process, others may develop more or less in parallel. For a specific subcompetence to start developing, it may be necessary for other subcompetencies to have exceeded a certain threshold level. Based on the TransComp translation competence model (Figure 2), which is an effort model that assumes limited working memory capacity (Gile 1995, 1997), it seems plausible to

suggest that the value one variable acquires has an effect on all the other variables. For example, if one subcompetence reaches an advanced level, which may result in automatized performance of the tasks associated with it, working memory capacity is released. This capacity then becomes available for the application of other subcompetencies and their development, including cognitively more demanding complex decisions that require taking into account a wider context, for which there may not have been enough cognitive resources left while other subprocesses still needed cognitive effort.

What complicates the analysis of the development of translation competence in a DST approach is that dynamic systems are nested: every system is always part of a larger system. This nesting or embeddedness makes it difficult to draw a border around the system an investigation focuses on – whether translation competence in a narrower sense as envisioned by Pym (2003) or in a wider sense as modelled by the EMT expert group (2009). Drawing such a border always means ignoring factors beyond the border that may have effects relevant to the system in focus. Another highly relevant characteristic of dynamic systems that complicates their investigation is that they are constantly changing “through interaction with their environment and through self-organization” (de Bot et al. 2007:8). This is visualized in Kiraly's model of the emergence of translator competence (2013:211). He therefore pleads for action research and qualitative case studies as a viable tool for investigating translation competence development, which he argues cannot be fully captured using quantitative methods only (Kiraly 2013:198).

In line with assumptions derived from DST, TransComp showed that as long as a critical mass of recurrent components of the translation process such as typical language-pair specific transpositions has not become automatized, the execution of the respective tasks seems to take up so much working memory capacity that innovative (creative) strategic behaviour is not possible, or possible only to a limited extent. If creative behaviour nevertheless occurs, its results can be expected to be suboptimal because of the lack of cognitive resources for their critical evaluation. For example, Bayer-Hohenwarter (2012:211–212) found that professional translators can

indeed combine high creativity scores with high routine scores, as had been expected. Students, in contrast, tend to be either creative with a low degree of routine or to show routine behaviour with a low degree of creativity, and are more prone to inaccuracies than experts in both cases. Against this background, it seems worthwhile to investigate whether the quality of students' translation products increases once their increased problem awareness is accompanied by a higher level of routine acquired in practical translation courses. Here, it is worth engaging with Jääskeläinen's "developmental hypothesis" (2002:111), according to which problems that become the object of conscious decision-making processes in translation do not decrease in number as a translator's competence increases but change in quality over time (Dreyfus and Dreyfus 1986).

It is also important to consider that translation competence acquisition and language acquisition are interdependent (Bergen 2009). The TransComp findings with regard to comprehension problems, for example, suggest that stagnation in the development of translation competence in a narrower sense may be accompanied by a development, perhaps even an accelerated development, of language competence (Göpferich 2013). This again suggests that the acquisition of any competence always has to be seen against the background of other related competencies whose development may accompany the process.

See also:

COGNITION; COMPETENCE, INTERPRETING; DIRECTIONALITY; PROCESS RESEARCH; QUALITY, INTERPRETING; QUALITY, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Cnyrim, A., S. Hagemann and J. Neu (2013) 'Towards a Framework of Reference for Translation Competence', in D. Kiraly, S. Hansen-Schirra and K. Maksymski (eds) *New Prospects and Perspectives for Educating Language Mediators*, Tübingen: Narr, 9–34.

Uses a five-level framework of reference for translation competence to conceptualize, for example, the development of translation competence during the course of specific BA and MA degree programmes in translation studies.

Göpferich, S. (2013) 'Translation Competence: Explaining development and stagnation from a dynamic systems perspective', in M. Ehrensberger-Dow, S. Göpferich and S. O'Brien (eds) *Interdisciplinarity in Translation and Interpreting Process Research*, Special Issue of *Target* 25(1): 61–76.

Provides an overview of the findings of the TransComp study, a three-year longitudinal study into the development of translation competence whose results are interpreted in light of Dynamic Systems Theory.

Hurtado Albir, A. (ed.) (2017) *Researching Translation Competence by PACTE Group*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A collection of articles that provide an overview of the findings of PACTE's research into the development of translation competence.

Kiraly, D. (2013) 'Towards a View of Translator Competence as an Emergent Phenomenon: Thinking outside the box(es) in translator education', in D. Kiraly, S. Hansen-Schirra and K. Maksymski (eds) *New Prospects and Perspectives for Educating Language Mediators*, Tübingen: Narr, 197–224.

Juxtaposes two-dimensional, supposedly static models of translation competence, rooted in quantitative positivist research paradigms, with suggestions for multidimensional conceptualizations that take the emergence of translation competence over time into account; also outlines implications for translation training.

SUSANNE GÖPFERICH†

Conference and simultaneous interpreting

The history of conference interpreting begins with the introduction of simultaneous interpreting, and the two terms are therefore closely connected in the literature. However, other modalities of interpreting, specifically consecutive and whispered, are also used in conference settings, and simultaneous interpreting occurs in settings other than conferences, such

as multilingual court hearings (Anthonissen 2008; Schweda Nicholson 2010), social fora (Boéri 2008/2009, 2010) and churches (Vigouroux 2010). On the whole, however, the typical settings in which conference interpreting is assumed to take place are “international summits, professional seminars, and bilateral or multilateral meetings of heads of State and Government”, as well as “meetings between chief executives, social and union representatives, [and] at congresses” (AIIC 2012b). Gile (2009a:51) further states that “in Japan, ‘Broadcast Interpreting’ is a recognized branch of interpreting provided by conference interpreters and interpreters with CI training”. Diriker (2015:119) adds that the settings in which conference interpreting takes place “extend to official dinners, press conferences, parliamentary sessions, international tribunals, and even university lecture halls and church services”. What is distinctive about all these settings is their “‘ritualized’ format of interaction” (Pöchhacker 2004/2016:16). While traditionally associated with interpreting between spoken languages such as Arabic and French, it is also worth noting that interpreting between spoken and signed languages is now widely practised in both national and international conferences and meetings.

Following the boom in international meetings after World War II, and with the impact of globalization, simultaneous conference interpreting (SCI) flourished as a technology-assisted solution to the growing demand for efficient cross-cultural contact. Unlike simultaneous interpreting between spoken languages, however, interpreting from spoken to signed languages in conference settings does not make use of sound-proof booths and microphones but involves the interpreter being positioned in a space that is visible to those requiring interpretation.

Research trajectories

From the 1950s and well into the 1990s, simultaneous conference interpreting remained the most visible type of interpreting and the main focus of attention in interpreting research. While research on dialogue and community interpreting placed significant emphasis on the inter-

preter as an active agent of communication in a variety of settings, research on conference interpreting largely remained focused on describing cognitive and neurolinguistic processes (Lambert and Moser-Mercer 1994; Frauenfelder and Schriefers 1997), using psycholinguistic methods to explore issues such as processing capacity and attentional resources (Kirchhoff 1976/2002; Gile 1991), Ear Voice Span (Davidson 1992), working memory (Padilla et al. 1995; Chincott and Underwood 1998) and anticipation (Chernov 1979/2002, 2004). A complementary strand of research focused on linguistic features such as intonation (Daró 1990; Shlesinger 1994), shifts in cohesion (Shlesinger 1996) and anomalous stress (Williams 1995a). In a field dominated by cognitive and psycholinguistic paradigms, and reflecting the general preoccupation with linguistic issues evident in all areas of translation studies at the time, markedly less attention came to be devoted to the position of conference interpreters as professionals working and surviving in sociocultural contexts, and to the interdependence between the presence and performance of conference interpreters and the social contexts in which they operated.

This, however, is not to say that the importance of viewing simultaneous conference interpreting as a form of situated action was never acknowledged by scholars in the field. As early as 1976, B.W. Anderson argued that interpreting took place “in social situations – situations amenable to sociological analysis”, contending that “in any such setting the role played by the interpreter is likely to exert considerable influence on the evolution of the group structure and on the outcome of the interaction” (1976/2002:209). In a paper exploring interpreter roles published two years later, Anderson went on to highlight discrepancies between what interpreters claimed interpreting entailed and what they did in actual situations (Anderson 1978). At about the same time, Kirchhoff (1976a, 1976b) also stressed the importance of considering interpreting as a communicative system that is influenced by a number of linguistic and extralinguistic variables, drawing attention to the role of context in shaping the meaning of utterances. By the early 1980s, scholars such as Stenzl were beginning to call for more observational and descriptive research on simultaneous conference interpreting, stressing its importance as an interlingual communicative task that involves the speaker, the

interpreter and the target-culture receiver in a specific context of situation (1983:48).

Calls to adapt and apply theories and concepts developed mainly in translation studies marked a turning point in research by introducing new notions such as norms and by highlighting the significance of product-oriented investigations. Shlesinger's (1989) pioneering call to extend the notion of norms to interpreting in general was followed by a number of pleas for adopting a more sociologically oriented approach in interpreting studies, one that involves close examination of actual behaviour during interpreting so as to gain a better understanding of the norms that govern it (Schjoldager 1994, 1995a, 1995b; Gile 1998; Diriker 1999; Garzone 2002; Ing-hilleri 2003, 2005b; Marzocchi 2005; Duflou 2007, 2016; Wang 2012).

In a similar vein, aiming to test the viability of applying the functionalist theory developed by Vermeer (1983, 1989) and Holz-Mänttari (1984a) to conference interpreting, Pöchhacker (1994) investigated a real-life SCI event, evaluating the interpreters' output as text-in-situation-and-culture. This was the first study in which simultaneous conference interpreting was approached as complex situated action. Pöchhacker investigated various aspects of SCI at a three-day conference of the International Council for Small Business, transcribing the recordings of original speeches and their interpretations to explore – among other aspects – how interpreters dealt with forms of address and humour. Pöchhacker's pioneering study on real-life interpreting behaviour was followed by several studies conducted by various researchers such as Kalina and Setton, who worked on authentic instances of interpreting and acknowledged the importance of social contexts, though with different aims and from different theoretical perspectives. Kalina (Kohn and Kalina 1996; Kalina 1998), for instance, adopted a discourse-based mental modelling approach and worked on the recordings of a conference on fraud to explore interpreting strategies. She supplemented her analysis of simultaneous conference interpreting strategies with interpreters' introspective comments on their own behaviour, thus complementing studies of listeners' views with those of interpreters in a conference situation. Monacelli (2000, 2004) and Kent (2007) similarly examined the

views of interpreters. Setton (1999), on the other hand, drew mainly on relevance theory and used both authentic and simulated data involving two language pairs – German-English and Chinese-English – to explore the way in which meaning is cognitively processed in conference interpreting contexts. Although he adopted the radically psychological approach of relevance theory, which defines context as a “psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world” (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995:15), his study offered an alternative perspective to the traditional heavy emphasis in SCI research on cognitive processing in the sense of disembodied, decontextualized coordination of processing capacity, and succeeded in piecing together a cognitive architecture which aspires to modelling the dynamic processes of decoding and inference as they take place in the mind of the interpreter. These processes were shown to be constrained and informed by the context, the principle of relevance and the constantly changing model of the situation in the interpreter's mind.

Research themes

A much more varied landscape of research on SCI has now emerged, with several important strands that render the traditional distinction between cognitive and sociological perspectives less relevant and draw on a broad range of methodologies. Interest in the cognitive and neurolinguistic aspects of SCI has not waned (Hild 2011; Timarová et al. 2014, 2015b; Gile 2015; Wang 2016; Hodzik and Williams 2017; Seeber 2017b; Collard and Defrancq 2019), and experimental methods continue to be used productively (Shlesinger 2003; Lenglet 2013). A wide range of studies also continue to focus on linguistic features such as humour (Pavileck and Pöchhacker 2002), hedges (Magnifico and Defrancq 2017), prosody (Ahrens 2005, 2007; Langlet 2013) and style differences among simultaneous interpreters (van Besien and Meuleman 2008). However, this is now complemented with increased attention to the sociological, political and ethical dimensions of interpreting in a wide array of settings, and with the introduction of new methods of research, especially corpus-based methodology. Defrancq (2015), for instance, draws

on a corpus of 32 French speeches interpreted simultaneously into Dutch at plenary sessions of the European Parliament to explore the presumed effects of short EVS on quality. Korpál and Jasielska (2019) use experimental methods to test whether interpreters respond emotionally to speakers' emotional states. Their findings confirm that "simultaneous interpreters do mimic the speaker's physiological arousal . . . and experience similar emotional states". Moreover, the authors suggest that this "emotional contagion may foster communication" (ibid.:15), that "converg[ing] emotionally with the speaker . . . might potentially help [interpreters] to understand the intentions and emotions involved in the source language input" and, importantly, that "physiological arousal in response to the emotionally-laden recording . . . can be understood as socially induced affect" (ibid.:16).

In terms of settings, a number of studies have continued to examine core contexts such as the European Parliament (Beaton-Thome 2010; Bendazzoli et al. 2013; Bernardini et al. 2016; Bartłomiejczyk 2016, 2017), in large part because of the accessibility of data. Most have adopted a corpus-based methodology. For example, Monti et al. (2005) draw on a corpus of simultaneous interpreting in English, Italian and Spanish in the European Parliament to study the impact of directionality and investigate interpreter strategies; they specifically chose the plenary sittings of the EP because of their "quantity and availability" (ibid.:3). Less typical settings that have attracted research attention include multilingual court trials such as hearings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Martin and Ortega Herráez 2013; Constable 2016), church services (Hokkanen 2012, 2017; Balci 2016), the World Social Forum (Boéri 2012b; Lampropoulou 2010) and other activist settings (Sánchez Balsalobre et al. 2010). Interpreting in political press conferences has received particular attention from Chinese scholars (Wang and Chen 2010; Liao and Pan 2018; Zheng and Wren 2018).

Relevant, often overlapping areas of research that have attracted growing attention include the positionings available to and taken up by members of the conference interpreting community in relation to a number of controversial issues, in particular neutrality, activism, political engagement and volunteering for civil society and social movements. Babels, the international net-

work of volunteer conference interpreters which aligns itself with the Social Forum, has received particular attention, from both practitioners and researchers (Boéri and Hodgkinson 2004; de Manuel Jeréz et al. 2004; Hodgkinson and Boéri 2005; Naumann 2005; Baker 2006a, 2006b; Pöchhacker 2006b; Boéri 2008/2009, 2012b).

A number of studies have continued to investigate aspects of the interdependence between the presence and performance of conference interpreters and the larger and more immediate social contexts in which they operate. Diriker (2004), Vuorikoski (2004), Monacelli (2005) and Beaton (2007a, 2007b) all explore various aspects of this interdependence, thus addressing one of the most persistent lacunae in SCI research, namely the lack of holistic conceptions of text, situation, culture and the entire course of action in interpreting settings (Pöchhacker 1995c:33). Diriker (2004) combines participant observation, interviews with conference participants and analysis of recordings at a two-day conference on politics and metaphysics to demonstrate that the behaviour of simultaneous interpreters in actual conference settings is more complex than is generally assumed. She argues that this complexity is most palpable in the relationship between the speaker and the interpreter, who share the same subject position (i.e., the first person singular *I*) in the interpreter's delivery. Vuorikoski (2004) analyzes a corpus of speeches recorded in the plenary sessions of the European Parliament, looking at how rhetorical devices in original speeches are rendered in interpretation. In addition to source speech-related factors such as speech density and rate of presentation, Vuorikoski stresses the importance of affinity with the sociocultural context of the European Union, highlighting "exposure to the EU genre" as a determining factor in shaping the outcome of the delivery (ibid.:183). Monacelli (2005) combines analysis of interpreting data gathered at the Italian Parliament with introspective comments by interpreters to explore self-regulatory (survival) moves of interpreters. Viewing simultaneous conference interpreting as inherently constraining and face threatening for interpreters, she cites distancing, depersonalization and mitigation of illocutionary force as some of the strategies widely used by interpreters in her corpus to ensure professional survival. Beaton (2007a,

2007b) looks at simultaneously interpreted political debates during the plenary sessions of the European Parliament to investigate how certain ideologies are interpreted and whether interpreter-mediated communication in this context is influenced by the interpreter's agency and subjectivity. Based on the analysis of three cohesive devices (metaphor strings, lexical repetition and intertextuality), she suggests that simultaneous interpretation in the European Parliament tends to strengthen EU institutional ideology, and that "the very fact that institutional communication is interpreted is, in itself, ideologically significant" (2007b:293). Beaton-Thome (2010) takes this line of enquiry further by analyzing examples of German/English interpretation from an adversarial debate in the plenary part-session in the European Parliament on resettlement of Guantánamo Bay detainees, in which in- and out-group identities are constantly negotiated. Her study revealed an "intensified use of the inclusive we to refer to *we, the parliamentary community* and *we, the EU*, at the expense of more peripheral identities such as the national, regional and political group", hence "strengthen[ing] the dominant institutional presence, ideology and identity" (ibid.:135; original emphasis).

Growing interest in exploring authentic performances of simultaneous conference interpreting from a sociocultural perspective is also evident in other publications which have appeared since the turn of the century, including Garzone and Viezzi (2002), where a number of papers review theoretical and methodological aspects of approaching SCI as situated action. Duflou's (2016) ethnographic study of Dutch conference interpreters working in the institutions of the European Union, in many ways the counterpart of Koskinen's (2008) ethnographic study of Finnish EU translators, offers a detailed description of the institutional setting in which interpreters are socialized into their profession as well as close analysis of their turn management protocols in the booth. Duflou's study reflects the diversity and sophistication of methodologies now deployed by researchers, the growing interest in studying conference interpreters as communities of practice, and increased attention to their own self-representations and perceptions of their role. Torikai (2010), for example, explores the

awareness of five Japanese interpreters of their role as cultural mediators through life story interviews. Zwischenberger and Pöschhacker's (2010) web-based survey of members of AIIC and Zwischenberger's (2013) survey of both AIIC members and members of the German Association of Conference Interpreters examined participants' own self-perceptions of their role and found that the most common metaphors used were 'facilitator/enabler of communication' and 'mediator/intermediary'. Zwischenberger (2016) argues that these conceptions of role are propagated by AIIC as the hegemon in the field of conference interpreting and proposes a more realistic alternative metaphor of interpreters as "co-constructors of the message" (2016:216). She further suggests that "[a]s the hegemon in the field", AIIC "would have the authority and respect needed to alter the awareness and self-definition of professionals" (ibid.:218), encouraging them to see themselves as co-constructors of messages rather than conduits and mere facilitators of communication. This critical, reflective approach to both the discourse on interpreting and the institutions that exercise control over the profession is also evident in the work of other researchers such as Boéri (2008/2009).

Future directions

An interesting strand of emerging research that merits more attention in the future engages with fictional portrayals of conference interpreters to reflect on issues of identity, positioning and agency. Andres (2014) discusses a number of novels that portray the conference interpreter as "a key figure of modern day global society" and argues that although interpreters "frequently evolve from being secondary characters to becoming main protagonists . . . endowed with tangible physiological, psychological and social features", they are nevertheless portrayed as "accomplices" to the "apathy" and "endless bureaucracy" that characterize international conferences (2014:272). The simultaneous interpreter appears as "a 'follower', a character who does not have a very active role and does not participate in their [conference participants'] 'deeds', but does not offer any resistance either" (ibid.:272–293). In *Prolongations*, Alain Fleischer refers to interpreters as "(reservists) on

standby, unfulfilled and bored, ready to spring into action on demand, like soldiers in a battle. Except that there is no meaningful duty to perform" (ibid.:281). These portrayals, Andres argues, both reflect and reinforce widespread perceptions of interpreters in lay society. Studies on the professional image of interpreters, such as the image held and propagated by the media, reveal similar perceptions in society at large (Diriker 2003, 2009).

Although a number of studies have examined aspects of simultaneous interpreting in the Social Forum, very little research has been done on volunteer simultaneous interpreting for NGOs and human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. Even studies of the Social Forum have so far focused on organizational matters and the ethos of volunteer interpreting in these settings, without connecting these macro-level issues with micro-level analysis of linguistic choices to explore how and to what extent political principles might be actualized in practice. To date, moreover, and with the exception of one article published in the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (Vigouroux 2010), very few scholars in the field have addressed non-professional, volunteer simultaneous interpreting in religious settings (Karlik 2010, 2012; Hokkanen 2012, 2017; Balci 2016; Hild 2017).

Growing interest in exploring the ethics of conference interpreting marks an important point of departure in the discipline and a willingness to discuss the interdependence between conference interpreting, ideology and social contexts. In this respect, the traditional paradigm of conference interpreting has been critiqued for its emphasis on elite settings and participants. In addition to critiques of AIIC (Boéri 2008/2009, 2015b; Zwischenberger 2016), scholars have argued that the profession's origins as a service to the political elites and later connection to "economic, scientific, and cultural elites and the close link between the status of the profession and the status of its users" are responsible for defining "the ethical framework the profession has adopted" (de Manuel Jerez 2010:143) and should now be questioned. Bahadir (2010:125) similarly challenges the values promoted by the "elitist expert spheres of conference interpreting". Donovan (2011a:110) attributes increased attention to questions of positioning and ethics

in conference interpreting to "the emergence of research on court and community interpreting" and the relatively more extensive attention it gives to ethical issues. The nebulous issue of ethics thus seems to be increasingly bringing research on conference interpreting closer to research undertaken in other areas of interpreting and translation studies.

As a profession whose evolution has been closely linked to technology (Baigorri 1999), the rapid pace of technological change is set to play a critical role in the future of the field. While previous research has looked into the technical aspects and performance-related consequences of new technologies, advances in remote interpreting in particular are bound to open up uncharted territories in relation to issues of (in)visibility, professional status, identity and ethics in conference interpreting.

See also:

ACTIVISM; COMPETENCE, INTERPRETING; HISTORY, INTERPRETING; LINGUA FRANCA, INTERPRETING (ELF); MEDIA INTERPRETING; NOTE-TAKING; QUALITY, INTERPRETING; RELAY; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, INTERPRETING; ROLE; TECHNOLOGY, INTERPRETING

Further reading

Dufrou, V. (2016) *Be(com)ing a Conference Interpreter: An ethnography of EU interpreters as a professional community*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

An ethnographic study of Dutch conference interpreters working in the EU institutions which provides a robust model for conducting research that is reflective, focused on the lived experience of interpreters, and combines attention to macro-level settings with an attempt to examine micro-level issues such as turn management protocols in the booth.

Korp, P. and A. Jasielska (2019) 'Investigating Interpreters' Empathy: Are emotions in simultaneous interpreting contagious?', *Target* 31(1): 2-24.

A very original study which adopts an experimental methodology and uses galvanic skin response to measure simultaneous interpreters' affective response to speakers' emotions. Links emotion to empathy and treats the latter as involving both emotional and cognitive

processes and as an important facilitator of communication.

Pöschhacker, F. (2004/2016) *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, second edition, New York & London: Routledge.

Fundamental reading on the evolution and current state of the field which situates conference interpreting in the larger field of interpreting studies by introducing key concepts and models and providing an overview of research findings.

Zwischenberger, C. (2016) 'The Policy Maker in Conference Interpreting and Its Hegemonic Power', *Translation Spaces* 5(2): 200–221.

A critical discussion of conference interpreters' self-perceptions of their role, based on the analysis of large-scale web surveys and interpreted in light of AIIC's position as a hegemon in the field. Represents a new strand of reflective, critical research set to enrich the study of conference interpreting in the future.

MONA BAKER AND EBRU DIRIKER

Conquest

John Keats, in describing his impressions of the English translation of Homer in his 'On First Looking into Chapman's Homer' (1816), compared his discovery of a new, unfamiliar world through translation to the conquest of the New World. The poem centres on the appropriation of foreign lands, moving from travels in "realms of gold" and "goodly states and kingdoms" to the acquisition of cultural treasures, represented in Chapman's "loud and bold" voice as he reveals the true world of Homer. At the climax of the poem, Keats finds himself, having been presented with a new world through translation, in the same position as Hernando Cortez, the Spanish conqueror of Mexico, as he and his men stared at the Pacific Ocean from "a peak in Darien"; interestingly, Darien is located in Panama and was 'discovered' by Vasco de Balboa rather than Cortez. Keats's poem captures a moment of perhaps exceptional lucidity in its equation of translating foreign texts with conquering foreign lands. Yet, the analogy between foreign works being seized upon and adapted into one's signifying systems

and the physical act of conquest can be found in some of the earliest reflections on translation. In his discussion of the best method of translation, Jerome notes with approval that Hilary of Poitiers "did not bind himself to the drowsiness of literal translation, or allow himself to be chained to the literalism of an inadequate culture, but, like some conqueror, he marched the original text, a captive, into his native language" (395/2014:26). Translation as conquest can thus be seen as an act of appropriation in which the difference of the Other is tamed through one-sided textual violence, which often explicitly mirrors the manifestation of actual violence. The text is reduced to manageable terms dictated by the target culture, regardless of the linguistic and cultural components of the source material.

Translation has been repeatedly employed in military campaigns and colonial administration, serving, among other things, to collect information about and manage conquered populations. For example, in discussing English translations of the Sanskrit literature of colonized India, Dodson argues that these texts went through a process of "naturalization", in which the culturally specific is 'sanitized', subordinated to a European norm, thereby inherently limiting the 'artistic achievement' of the colonized" (2007:118). However, translation practices influenced by or overtly serving colonialist agendas do not necessarily have to rely on the textual erasure of the colonized, for the management of conquered populations requires reliable knowledge of their conditions. In *Colonialism and Its Form of Knowledge*, Cohn observes that the British colonial administrators of India held the view that the country they were governing could be known and represented as a "series of facts" – indeed, that "administrative power stemmed from the efficient use of these facts" (1996:4). Through the accurate accumulation of facts, translation was thus employed in the conquest of an alien epistemological space; its capacity for "correspondence could make the unknown and the strange knowable" (ibid.). In his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, Richard Burton explicitly positioned his translation at the service of British imperialist agendas (1885:xxiii). Yet he deliberately employed a literalist translation strategy whose aim was to represent the Arabic original as it is for the accurate gathering of information about the source culture. Here, the

translator's manipulation of the source text was effected through a massive apparatus of paratextual devices (preface, introductions, footnotes and full treatises) through which, as the cultural expert, he asserted his authority over the text and the culture that produced it, making sure it delivered the required data (Shamma 2009b/2014:84ff.). As Philippe Lejeune asserts, paratextual material "controls one's whole reading of the text" (cited in Genette 1997b:141; Tahir Gürçağlar 2011:113). Paratextual devices can be instrumental in conquering the foreign text, moulding it to specific parameters of reception, beyond the textual techniques used in the translation. Hence, as Dodson explains, naturalization was not the only method used in translating India, for translators sometimes preserved the foreignness of the Indian texts, emphasizing their linguistic and cultural alterity (2007:118). Here, too, the foreign is not allowed to stand on its own; it has to be appropriated to the world of the readers through the manipulative mechanism of paratexts. The general purpose and effect of such interventions are the same as in naturalization, i.e. constructing European authority, "whether that authority be of an eminently practical kind for the extension of the structures of rule, or as a cultural authority for the effective representation of the colonised as 'other'" (ibid.:119).

Yet, the colonialist dream of translation as a reliable source of accurate representation is not always tenable; the need for information could expose the vulnerabilities of colonial power. In her study of official translation in the French colonies in West Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Osborn demonstrates how native interpreters, who were the vital and sole channel of communication between the French rulers and the colonized population, could capitalize on their employers' dependence on their informative function "to influence the knowledge, interpretations and actions of their French superiors" (2003:30), thereby disrupting the workings of colonial power, as well as serving their own personal interests. Finally, the two functions of translation in the colonial context – cultural appropriation and information gathering – can be combined. In another study of the cultural translation of sixteenth-century Central America by Spanish missionary Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Castaño (2014) shows that de Sahagún's history, a combination of translation

and ethnographic description, appropriated the native Nahua people into his cultural beliefs and classification of knowledge, and at the same time provided useful material for Christian missionaries and colonial administrators.

A distinction might thus be made between translation in the context of conquest, where any number of strategies may be found effective, and translation *as* conquest, where the act of translation itself is conceptualized in terms of military invasion and subjugation. In the latter case, conquest as textual practice does not have to be a corollary to real-life aggressions, and may be used in cultures which are on the receiving end of violent aggression, as discussed further below.

The ideology of conquest

Rafael suggests that conquest is "the dominant approach to translation in the Western world, as well as in many other places colonized by the West" (2015:83). This practice, whereby entire literary traditions are translated and rewritten "to reflect and augment the authority and order of the translator's world", draws on a logocentric view that presupposes a hierarchy of language and thought in which the former emanates from, and is therefore subordinate to, the latter (ibid.:86). The separation of language and thought, Rafael argues, allows cultural and literary artefacts to be extracted from their original contexts and transplanted unproblematically into the new environment of the conqueror. It is such a conception of language and communication, which strips ideas from any linguistic specificity, that allowed Roman poets, as Nietzsche famously proclaimed, to approach the translation of Greek literature "as an incentive for a Roman conquest" (1882/2014:262). As they transplanted Greek literary works from their historical environments, they struck out the name of the poet and replaced it with their own. In his response to Rafael (2015), Shamma (2015) accepted the centrality of the logocentric principle but maintained that it is not confined to 'Western' practices of translation, in the same way that empires and their translation projects are not confined to western history. His analysis of the methods employed by translators during the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258 AD), which saw the most vigorous translation movement

in the history of Classical Islam, identifies a logocentric mechanism underlying their systematic efforts to appropriate “all foreign works they translated – Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi, Sanskrit – infusing them with Islamic values, and sometimes altering their entire world views” (ibid.:95). A logocentric view stressing that the uniqueness of the Qur’an, the hallmark of its divine provenance, lay in its message rather than in its language was espoused by the Mu’tazilites, a theological school embraced by the caliph al-Ma’mun, the most celebrated Abbasid patron of translation. This separation of the idea and its expression made it possible to integrate the ideology of the universalist message of Islam into translation, identifying parallels to the message of Islam in works from many foreign cultures as all stemming from the same divine source, though the ultimate expression of such truths was naturally to be found in Islam itself (ibid.:95).

While the function of translation as conquest usually involves the assimilation of a literary or intellectual system into the terms of another, it is worth considering the appropriative potential of the opposite extreme – that of denying the possibility of this assimilation by asserting the untranslatability of particular concepts or signifying systems. Such positions, which are concerned with preserving a perfect purity of the ‘original’ during linguistic transfer from the centre of power to its periphery, may demand a more radical form of assimilation, requiring not only that one’s worldview is transformed into the language of the conqueror, but also the adoption of a language other than one’s own, either wholly or in the form of borrowing and transliteration of concepts deemed untranslatable. A case in point is the conceptualization of translation in the Islamic conquests and its continued legacy today. Almost all Islamic theological schools shared an injunction against the translation of the Qur’an, or at least against the use of the translated text as scripture – for prayers, theology and jurisprudence. In this respect, the Mu’tazilites, who were concerned with content rather than form, were in the minority. While acknowledging the message of the Qur’an as its most powerful miracle, later schools of theology, unlike the Mu’tazilites, also emphasized its linguistic *‘i’jaz*, the inimitability of its eloquence and the impossibility of conveying the

intricate subtleties of its meaning in any other language – such subtleties often play a crucial part in resolving fine points of theological and legal interpretation. This reverse ideology of language, which denies the logocentric principle in its insistence on the inseparable unity of word and thought, has continued to prompt Islamic scholars to insist that, while the Qur’an can be translated for the general purpose of allowing non-Arabic speakers – Muslims and non-Muslims – to understand its basic teachings, Qur’anic recitals for religious purposes, *adhan* (the Islamic daily calls to prayer), as well as the prayers themselves have to be conducted in Arabic (Hare 2014:537). Any form of translation, even an overly literal one, is unacceptable for these purposes. Indeed, a very literal translation of the Qur’an has been rejected on the grounds that following the original syntax too closely would result in distortion of the meaning, and would, moreover, for conservative critics, amount to too close a reproduction, which might be considered blasphemous because of the divine origins of the text (ibid.:537).

Resistance and counter-conquest

Claims of complete untranslatability, however, are the exception rather than the rule. In most cases translation remains necessary for conquest to take place at all. At the same time, the very possibility of translation, notwithstanding the risk of appropriation and erasure, may still hold the potential for resistance, and even counter-appropriation, through various forms of textual conquest.

Textual conquest may serve nationalist agendas but does not necessarily accompany military aggression. The transplantation of foreign works may help a growing national literature not only to expand its linguistic and literary repertoire, but also to gain a necessary sense of confidence in the ability of the national language to engage with modern literary genres on a par with more prestigious languages, the latter usually associated with cultures that physically conquered substantial areas of the world. While translation has thus been instrumental to literary and cultural revivals, expanding the repertoire of a national language and providing models for local literary

production, Macura (1990) identifies a more radical function of translation in the nationalist revival of Czech culture in the early nineteenth century. For Czech nationalist intellectuals, translation was not simply a means of linguistic enrichment and the acquisition of knowledge; it was an essential component of Czech culture, which, as Macura puts it, had an “explicit translation-like character” (ibid.:66–67). Translated foreign works, especially literary ones, were needed much less for their informational or aesthetic value than for the creation of new literary forms and scientific disciplines, and for the mere fact that their presence in Czech demonstrated the existence of a “well stratified, complex literary production” (ibid.:67) that could stand on an equal footing with the more established and internationally recognized national literatures of former conquerors and those of other independent nations. For this purpose, translation was practised as an act of deliberate expropriation – translated works, for example, were published only under the names of the translators, which served to prove that Czech possessed the linguistic vitality and resourcefulness this expropriation required. Hence, what mattered to translators was not the content, but the very fact of its adaptation, with Josef Jungmann, a major Czech nationalist, arguing that “the topic, the stuff of the mind, so to speak, is a product of the age” and hence that “it would be absurd to care whether it is original or taken over from elsewhere” (cited in Macura 1990:68). Paradoxically, this somewhat humanist conception of meaning was coupled, as it was for the Abbasid translators, with a belief in the universalist nature of one’s own culture. Thus, in Jungmann’s translation of *Paradise Lost*, the “absorption of the universal human myth by the pan-Slavic myth . . . is an expression of the revivalist belief in the universal nature of Slavism, a constant element in Czech revivalist ideology and an effective antidote to the national inferiority complex” (ibid.:69). In this view, translation is overtly conceptualized as an act of conquest: it is regarded not “as passive submission to cultural impulses from abroad” but as “an active, even aggressive act, an appropriation of foreign cultural values,” “an invasion of rival territory . . . undertaken with the intent of capturing rich spoils of war” (ibid.:68).

The view of translation as a form of counter-conquest, whereby the products of another

culture are hijacked and assimilated in retaliation for military or political aggression, is at the root of the metaphor of translation as cannibalism. Developed first by Brazilian avant-garde writers in the 1920s as a form of “non-Eurocentric historiography” (Vieira 1999:99), it was later applied to translation in the 1980s and 1990s (Guldin 2008). In response to colonialist appropriation, seen metaphorically as an act of devouring their own cultural traditions and erasing their uniqueness, writers and translators such as Haroldo de Campos theorized translation as a counter-gesture in which translation no more served as “a receptacle for European forms and ideas but as a vehicle to consume European ideas and then to reelaborate them in terms of native traditions and conditions” (Gentzler 2012:78). The metaphor of cannibalism was taken up by later postcolonial critics and applied to various contexts and languages. For example, Shakespeare was appropriated and recycled by various cultures for their own purposes (Delabastita 2009:267), a process which was effected “either in the local vernacular or in a hybridized English, in what some critics have termed a cannibalizing form of translation” (ibid.).

Translation as a form of resistance by the conquered can also take more subtle forms. The linguistic and cultural conquest of the Other’s signs is never thorough, and total erasure is practically impossible. In the linguistic transfer from periphery to centre there remain potential sites of resistance, where the cultural and linguistic signs of the conquered can be inserted into the language of power, diversifying it and undermining its claims of authoritative, monolithic representation. While translators during the Abbasid Empire, who were predominantly non-native speakers of Arabic, had to adapt works from their own heritage to the Islamic ethos and its sacred language, they attempted at the same time to leave the marks of their heritage on Islamic culture itself. Their translations were marked by an effort to incorporate significant elements of their native, pre-Islamic heritage, including social and religious practices, historical details and specific terms, into the dominant culture of the empire. Thus, “while they were Islamicized, they also strove to ‘Persianize’ or ‘Hellenize’ Islam” (Shamma 2015:95; Shamma 2009a).

A similar gesture underlies the various textual techniques recommended and practised by

modern postcolonial authors writing or translating into the language of the ex-colonizer. For example, Bandia argues that translation into the ex-colonial language may involve a “deliberate attempt to resist the hegemony of translation by opposing assimilation to the dominant metropolitan language” (2014:148). Resistance, on this account, involves preserving the alterity of the ex-colonized within the language of the ex-colonizer, “refusing to disappear or to exist only as a translated being, or as the shadow of the *metropole*” (ibid:149); similar accounts of resistance as rejection of assimilation include Adejunmobi (1998) and Gamal (2012). The result is a condition of “hybridity”, celebrated by postcolonial critics as a site of uncertainty, polyvalence and dissidence, which fractures the presumed unity and authority of the colonial discourse at its very source (Bhabha 1984:97ff.).

Ultimately, every translation involves a measure of accommodation of difference, for the foreign has to be approximated into familiar signifying systems to be comprehensible at all. But what distinguishes translation as conquest is a pattern of extensive and deliberate exploitation of the original text, an act of violence (and counter violence) that may attend any form of intercultural communication but is particularly visible in the context of political and cultural domination. The investigation of translation as conquest reveals the serious and wide-ranging ramifications of this textual violence: the many ways in which usurping the signs of a foreign text can serve domestic agendas – social and political, as well as linguistic and literary.

See also:

ANTHROPOPHAGY; HYBRIDITY; METAPHORICS; POSTCOLONIALISM; WAR

Further reading

Castaño, V.R. (2014) *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and universal history of the things of New Spain*, Madrid: Iberoamericana & Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert.

An in-depth study of the cultural translation of sixteenth-century Central America by Spanish missionary Fray Bernardino de Sahagún; demonstrates how Sahagún (through a combination of translation and ethnographic description) appropriated the native Nahua people into his cultural beliefs

and classification of knowledge, in the process providing useful material for Christian missionaries and colonial administrators.

Rafael, V.L. (1993) *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Focuses on the role of translation in the Spanish colonization of the Tagalogs in the Philippines, especially in terms of conversion, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and analyzes the ways in which the Tagalogs resisted appropriation into the world of the colonizers by assimilating Christianity and the Spanish ways of life into their own local culture.

Rafael, V.L. (2015) ‘Betraying Empire: Translation and the ideology of conquest’, *Translation Studies* 8(1): 82–93; and responses by Shamma (93–98), Flotow (98–102) and Trivedi (102–106).

A position paper and responses to it that examine conquest in different historical periods and within a variety of linguistic and cultural contexts.

TAREK SHAMMA

Conversation analysis

The services required of interpreters in institutional settings include not only the rendition of other speakers’ talk but also active agency in promoting participation in the interaction. Conversation analysis (CA) provides tools for analyzing the resources which are drawn upon in structuring participatory frameworks (Goffman 1981:124–159) and in accomplishing interpreters’ participation and effectiveness of service in multiparty interactions. CA focuses on spoken language as the most potent tool of social action and on the mechanisms that regulate conversation as they are used to accomplish social goals, providing insights into how interpreters contribute to the construction of participants’ roles and identities by negotiating conversational rights, managing coordination and promoting participation. CA also offers useful explanatory

resources for looking at the linguistic behaviour of participants during encounters in multicultural contexts where non-professional interpreting is involved.

Definition and key concepts

Conversation analysis is a sociological approach to the study of face-to-face human interaction which looks at verbal as well as non-verbal communication practices. It has grown out of the founding work of American sociologist Harvey Sacks (1935–1975) and his colleagues, and is a rigorous empirical approach within the ethnomethodological tradition, which focuses on conduct as the foundation of social order. CA provides a description of the regular mechanisms which make an orderly conversation possible and allow for the co-construction of meaning. It relies on detailed analysis of interactional data, which are carefully recorded, transcribed and annotated, and has developed a very specific set of transcription conventions that take into account not only the linguistic features but also the finest details of an interaction. These symbolic notations are intended to capture verbal phenomena such as overlapping speech, interruptions, pauses and backchanneling; suprasegmental features such as length, intonation, stress and tone; vocal and non-vocal behaviour, including sighs, breath intakes and laughter, gazes, nods and smiles, among other features. Based on the analysis of recordings and detailed transcriptions of naturally occurring conversational exchanges in a variety of social settings, CA researchers have identified three main types of phenomena which structure conversation: turn-taking, sequential organization and repair management (Sacks et al. 1974; Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Maynard and Peräkylä 2003).

Conversational exchanges are highly structured verbal actions whose workings often go unnoticed and whose flow is thus taken for granted; however, they are in fact regulated by conventional procedures whose organization can routinely be observed and reported. Speaker selection is the main mechanism which regulates conversational exchanges, allowing interlocutors to carry out orderly interaction,

negotiating and cocreating meaning, and ensuring that only one interlocutor is speaking at any one time. Sacks et al. (1974) show how conversational turns are allocated through a series of consecutive and recursive options. It is the current speaker who selects the next speaker in the first instance. Failing that, the next interlocutor may self-select and, failing that too, the first speaker may resume speaking. This mechanism is cyclically reenacted at each transition-relevant point, that is, each time a potential completion is projected in the next turn.

The moment at which speaker transition may take place is determined by the participants in a conversation through a series of clues. The transition between one turn and the next may become a relevant option when an utterance can be treated as grammatically complete, when the end of a turn is signalled by intonation, or if an utterance is perceived as completing a sequence initiated by a previous turn. These mechanisms allow for the minimization of pauses and overlaps in conversation (Jefferson 1973). Short overlaps may occur, for instance, when the current speaker does not select the next speaker at a transition-relevant point and two interlocutors self-select at the same time. Such overlaps, however, usually last only very briefly, as one speaker interrupts their turn before completion (Maynard and Clayman 2003:189). Overlaps may also occur when a speaker self-selects and begins to talk without waiting for the end of the current speaker's turn, having projected its completion. When at a transition-relevant point none of the speakers talk, there is a pause in conversation. A long pause can be perceived as a violation of the rules of interaction.

Participants structure their contributions as sequences of actions whose basic form is that of adjacency pairs (Schegloff and Sacks 1973), for instance greeting and greeting, question and answer, invitation and acceptance. Adjacency pairs are characterized by conditional relevance, as conversational turns are understood in light of what has been said and of what follows. Thus, the lack of a reply to a question is understood as meaningful, perhaps as being caused by a misunderstanding of the question, and may initiate a repair sequence. Sequences of turns accomplish specific courses of action, such as accepting or declining an invitation, reaching

an agreement or negotiating a transaction. Each turn potentially represents a completion of the sequence initiated in the previous turn as well as the beginning of a new sequence which is projected on the following turn. Such rules enable the flow of conversation, so that interlocutors can engage in meaningful interaction and reach some kind of understanding on what is being said.

Turns are not allocated in advance; rather, their distribution is locally produced as participants engage in making sense of their own and the other participants' contributions. Utterances and turns do not have a predefined extension; they may consist of a minimal verbal response or a nod, or of a rather extended turn involving multiple utterances. Extended turns, as in the telling of a story, are often prefaced by a pre-sequence in which a speaker negotiates the extended turn and a temporary deferral of the turn allocation system with the other participants, thus preventing them from starting to talk at the first transition-relevant point (Sacks 1974; Jefferson 1978; Schegloff 1980). Participants may contribute to the conversation by interjecting minimal vocal responses and other continuers at possible transition-relevant points. In order to be complete, a story must typically be proposed by the teller and subsequently "accepted by the recipient by recognition of completion and display of understanding" (Schegloff 1984:45).

The first part of an adjacency pair does not only project a second part, but may also present the interlocutor with the option of alternative actions, which have been shown to be routinely structured according to what Pomerantz (1984) calls preference organization. The concept of preference organization does not refer to a psychological inclination, but rather to what is routinely projected as preferred by the first turn in an adjacency pair or other sequence. It refers to the implicit evaluation carried out in the conclusive part of the sequence rather than to the reply favoured by a speaker. Thus, a short pause, when occurring at the beginning of a reply to a yes/no question or an invitation, and even if followed by acceptance, may be perceived as signalling a dispreferred activity, while an indirect expression of disagreement may be perceived as preferred in response to a negative evaluation or judgement.

The turn allocation system provides participants with the resources for accepting, acknowledging or repairing communication problems, thus enhancing intersubjectivity and mutual understanding (Schegloff et al. 1977; Schegloff 1979; Jefferson 1974, 1987). A dispreferred response in a question/answer adjacency pair may therefore open up a three-turn repair management sequence in which the second turn is used by the current speaker to first assess comprehension and then possibly initiate a repair activity in the following turn, or in which the next speaker may either correct the current speaker or ask for repair work, such as a clarification or a reformulation.

Initial work in CA focused on the basic mechanisms which regulate conversation in different settings of ordinary life, looking at how participants in mundane conversational interaction shape their contributions in terms of their relevance to the ongoing conversation. Later research has also investigated communication in institutional and work-related settings, where conversational rights are distributed asymmetrically among participants (Drew and Heritage 1993).

As opposed to other approaches to the study of spoken discourse, CA relies on the notion of locally organized context. Rather than looking at how a given social and cultural environment influences the way speakers behave, it looks at how conversational identities and roles are co-constructed in interaction through systematic methods or practices. CA attempts to explain communicative transactions in the same terms used by participants to reach an understanding about what they are doing as they carry out their everyday social lives. By looking at naturally occurring (interpreted) data in as much detail as possible, CA reveals the resources participants systematically resort to in negotiating and constructing meaning to perform social actions. These can be analyzed not only in terms of the underlying structural organization of talk, but also in terms of the interplay between this underlying organization and recurring patterns of non-verbal behaviour, including body language and interaction with the environment. Goodwin (2002), for instance, shows how coworkers interact with each other verbally but also with visual and written documents and

tools in the accomplishment of their daily work routines.

CA applied to translation and interpreting

CA has informed much research in the growing area of community and public service interpreting, defined as “interpreting performed in health and mental health care settings, at the police and other legal institutions, and in social security and immigration centres” (Wadensjö 2011:15). CA has also been applied to other settings, covering the wider spectrum of socially organized face-to-face interpreter-mediated communicative activities which can be subsumed under the term dialogue interpreting. Public service and community interpreting take the form of a dialogue rather than a one-to-many transaction, in contexts generally characterized as more informal than, for instance, conference and court interpreting. Studies which focus on turn-taking sequences in interpreting events have investigated settings such as healthcare encounters (Bolden 2000; Jakobson 2009), police interviews (Nakane 2007), talk shows (Straniero Sergio 2007), press conferences (Sandrelli 2015) and guided tours (Gavioli 2015b). Community interpreting also extends to contexts in which ad hoc, non-professional interpreters/mediators such as “bilingual relatives or friends or institutional staff” (Baraldi and Gavioli 2012a:2–3) are involved, or even where the role of the interpreter is taken on by different participants in the interaction (Traverso 2012).

A conversation analytical approach may be applied to all contexts of interactive interpreted communication, including sign language interpreting (Roy 2000; Metzger 1999), and ranging from institutional encounters (Biagini et al. 2017b) taking place in business, media, healthcare and legal settings, to informal contexts such as language brokering by family members in everyday life, ad hoc interpreting and translation in conflict situations, and prison interpreting. In as much as, as Wadensjö (2011:16) suggests, “an interactive approach is valid in studies of conference interpreting, no less than in studies of dialogue interpreting”, CA is also relevant to research on modes of interpreting,

i.e. simultaneous and consecutive interpreting, which have traditionally been associated with the conduit model and cognitive processing. On the other hand, since CA relies on spontaneous interactional data, it cannot be applied to the study of translated fictional dialogue, the staple of most AVT research.

One of the first applications of CA in translation studies was Wadensjö’s (1998b) study of interpreting as interaction, in which she discusses the role of the interpreter in public service interpreting as consisting of both relaying what has been said in another language and coordinating the exchange. Wadensjö points out that the interpreter’s task does not simply consist of filling in slots in pre-allocated second turns of talk by providing translated utterances. Rather, a major part of the interpreter’s work consists of the management of talk organization, and includes utterances which do not have a corresponding source language stretch. These often feature in conversational sequences involving two rather than three participants, where the two principal interlocutors orient their contributions toward the interpreter rather than each other, and address metacommunicative issues, including requests for clarifications, reformulations and repairs. Similarly, Davidson (2002), in relation to institutional discourse, discusses interpreted-mediated interaction as a turn-taking system in which interpreters are involved as active participants in the construction of conversational meaning. Davidson (2002:1277) looks at how “conversational common ground” might be constructed by different participants, including interpreters, as they negotiate the meaning of the various utterances produced within an ongoing conversation.

Research drawing on CA is typically based on empirical data from authentic interpreting performances. However, rather than analyzing the linguistic features used to relay propositional content, it focuses on the mechanisms employed to coordinate participation, which is central to the performance of dialogue interpreters. Baraldi and Gavioli (2012a) show how verbal activities which are primarily renditions may also serve the function of coordinating talk, while reflexive behaviour focusing on interactional coordination also contributes to the effectiveness of the translation activity. Thus, renditions not only serve a basic coordinating

function in that it is through them that the interpreter selects a speaker for the next turn, but also often contribute to the unfolding negotiation of meaning, for instance by elaborating propositional content through reformulation or simplification. On the other hand, non-renditions play a function in contributing to the mutual alignment of the parties and in achieving smooth communication or, conversely, in highlighting points of friction deriving from interpreters' loyalties to and affiliations with either party.

Studies discussing verbal practices in interpreted encounters have considered, for instance, the regulatory function of interpreters' minimal response (Gavioli 2012), replies to yes/no/questions (Wadensjö 2010) and evaluative sequences (Zorzi 2012). Gavioli (2012) shows that interpreters/mediators use continuers such as *mhm* and acknowledgement tokens such as *yes* and *no* as feedback to confirm that a sequence involving translation has been successfully concluded and to project the opening up of a new sequence, and as cues to signal a forthcoming transition to translation in doctor-patient interaction. The achievement of coordination through such devices is thus functional to the accomplishment of doctor-patient-interpreter interaction. Wadensjö (2010) examines how interpreters' active agency is instrumental in allowing (or not allowing) defendants to secure conversational space and produce extended answers to formally closed dichotomous questions in courtroom hearings. Zorzi (2012) discusses sequences of and reactions to assessments, with the aim of showing how interpreters negotiate their identity as ratified participants in mediated healthcare encounters.

Other studies have focused on non-verbal behaviour. Mason (2012), for example, investigates gaze direction in immigration hearings and suggests that gaze both reflects and influences patterns of participation. Gaze shifts displayed by interviewing officials, interpreters and interviewees not only have a monitoring function when used to signal attention and manage the distribution of turns of talk, for instance by encouraging interlocutors to go on speaking, but also convey the interpreter's affiliation or disengagement. Wadensjö (2001) considers features of proxemics during interpreter-assisted therapeutic encounters and claims that the position and physical orientation of the participants

affect the management of the interaction and the synchronization of talk. Pasquandrea (2011) examines how, in order to manage multiparty and multitask conversations, Italian doctors, Chinese patients and an Italian interpreter rely heavily on multimodality, drawing on several semiotic resources during a series of medical encounters.

In addition to considering naturally occurring interpreting events in a wide range of professional and non-professional settings, a number of investigations have been conducted on the role of CA in interpreter training. Niemants (2013) uses data collected in training and authentic settings to devise teaching materials, while Davitti and Pasquandrea (2014a) introduce guided sessions involving the discussion of authentic data as a teaching method for raising the students' awareness of interactional dynamics in dialogue interpreting. Finally, Kvam (2014) suggests that CA can be used as a tool for analyzing the interaction between translator and client in the assignment of the translation brief.

CA is sometimes contrasted and sometimes used in conjunction with other approaches to the study of verbal communication, such as discourse analysis and sociolinguistics, symbolic interactionism (Goffman 1981) and Bales's (1950) Interaction Process Analysis (IPA). With respect to interactionist approaches, while Bales's IPA focuses on the functioning and the structure of a small group of participants (Peräkylä 2004), CA and symbolic interactionism share a common interest in the study of "social life in situ and from the standpoint of societal members themselves" (Maynard and Clayman 2003:173). According to Davidson, however, unlike CA, symbolic interactionism and other models such as Clark's (1996) and Hymes's (1972a) tend to "posit the role of the interpreter as that of conveyor of content in a new form" (Davidson 2002:1280).

Research using a conversation analytical approach is hampered by the difficulty of obtaining adequate data. Interpreted interaction in the typical community settings often concerns sensitive matters or is carried out in an occasional manner, as in ad hoc interpreting in conflict situations. However, while video-recorded data, in particular, may be difficult to collect, Mason (2012) argues that even visually impoverished data provide useful material for

furthering research on face-to-face interpreted interaction.

See also:

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; MULTIMODALITY; SEMIOTICS; SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING; SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Further reading

Atkinson, J. M. and J. Heritage (eds) (1984) *Structures of Social Action. Studies in conversation analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Offers systematic coverage of the basic concepts and tools of conversation analysis, written by some of the leading scholars in the field.

Baraldi, C. and L. Gavioli (eds) (2012) *Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A well-thought-out collection of essays which implement a conversation analytical approach and elaborate concepts and tools that may be usefully applied to interpreting research.

Sacks, H., E. Schegloff and G. Jefferson (1974) 'A Simple Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking in Conversation', *Language* 50: 696–735.

One of the first CA studies by its main proponents. Mandatory reading for anyone interested in the application of this approach.

Wadensjö, C. (1998) *Interpreting as Interaction*, London: Longman.

One of the first volumes to apply CA consistently to the study of interpreted communication.

FEDERICO ZANETTIN

Corpora

A corpus is a collection of texts in electronic form that are the object of literary or linguistic study. Today, such collections normally include vast quantities of texts (hundreds of millions, or even billions, of words), that can be searched by means of fast and flexible dedicated software applications known as corpus query tools,

corpus analysis tools or concordancers. While most definitions stress the need for corpora to be assembled according to explicit design criteria and for specific purposes (Sinclair 2004), several corpora collected by crawling the web in more or less opportunistic ways also exist. These are used both for finding out about general language use, and as a baseline against which to highlight features that are typical of specialized corpora.

Corpus linguists insist on the primacy of authentic data, as attested in texts, that is, instances of spoken, written or signed behaviour that have occurred “naturally, without the intervention of the linguist” (Stubbs 1996:4). Corpus linguists thus take an approach to the study of language that is consistent with the empiricism advocated in descriptive translation studies in the 1970s. At that time, scholars became particularly critical of the use of introspection in translation theory (Holmes 1988:101) and of approaches that viewed translations as idealized entities rather than observable facts (Touy 1980:79–81). While Touy conceded that isolated attempts had been made to describe and explain actual translations, he called for a whole new methodological apparatus that would make individual studies transparent and repeatable. It was Baker (1993) who saw the potential for corpus linguistics to provide such an apparatus, and her early work in the area (Baker 1993, 1995, 1996) launched what became known as corpus-based translation studies, or CTS. Researchers in CTS now pursue a range of agendas, drawing on a variety of corpus types and processing techniques.

Corpus creation and processing

Best practice in corpus creation requires designers to make informed decisions on the types of language they wish to include in their corpora, and in which proportions. Design criteria crucially depend on the envisaged use of the corpus but have, in the past, centred on the idea that corpora should somehow be ‘representative’ of a particular type of language production and/or reception. The statistical notion of representativeness is however extremely difficult to apply to textual data, and many commentators now prefer to aim for a ‘balanced’ sample of the language in which they are interested (Leech 2006).

A general-purpose monolingual corpus might thus include both written language and transcribed spoken language, and, within each, samples of a variety of text types, dating from specific time periods. There may also be a trade-off between including fewer but more useful, full-length texts on the one hand, and more numerous but textually ‘compromised’ partial texts on the other (Baker 1995:229–30). The decision must be made on the basis of one’s research purpose: if, for example, the research is meant to shed light on a linguistic feature that is evenly distributed throughout most texts, then text samples might be adequate, whereas if the object of study is a rare feature, or one whose distribution is not stable, then complete texts might be preferred (Kenny 2014:110–11). Once a suitable breakdown of text types, author profiles and other parameters has been decided upon, the actual texts chosen for inclusion in a corpus can be selected randomly, or through more deliberate handpicking. Unless the texts are released with a copyleft licence, permission to include them in the corpus may have to be sought from copyright holders, particularly if the corpus is meant for sharing with other researchers or for sale (McEnery and Hardie 2012).

Depending on the intended uses of the corpus, various levels of contextual, structural and linguistic annotation are desirable. Metadata may be added that describe the genre of texts, name their authors and specify a range of other information. Structural mark-up may be used to indicate the main divisions in a text, such as headings, paragraphs and sentences. Part-of-speech tagging may be employed to assign each word to a part-of-speech category. More complex forms of linguistic annotation include parsing, where words and phrases are assigned a syntactic function, and semantic tagging, which consists in assigning words to concepts such as ‘people’ or ‘geographical names’. The level of mark-up that a corpus is subjected to will have implications for the kind of searches one is able to perform. In a raw text corpus, searches rely exclusively on sequences of characters and only basic statistics can be obtained, such as type-to-token ratio, average sentence length or lexical density. If a corpus is annotated with contextual and structural information, this can be used to restrict queries to specific subcorpora or to

specific text portions. If linguistic annotation is available, queries can be made for parts of speech, syntactic functions or concepts. These different search parameters can be combined to deliver very sophisticated queries (Jones and Waller 2015), and employed as translation aids (Mikhailov and Cooper 2016). Zanettin (2014c) provides an accessible introduction to the creation and annotation of corpora for translation research and practice.

Translation-oriented corpus typology

Several scholars have proposed corpus typologies that are of particular relevance to translation studies (Zanettin 2014c). At a high level of abstraction, corpora can be divided into those that contain texts in a single language – monolingual corpora – and those that contain texts in two or more languages – bilingual or multilingual corpora. Well-known monolingual corpora outside of translation studies are the BYU corpora (Davies 2011), which include the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), a 560 million word corpus covering the years 1990–2017, and many others. In translation studies, the Translational English Corpus (Olohan 2004:59–60) is perhaps the best-known monolingual translational corpus. Corpora may also be characterized by the relationship that holds between their subcorpora, where these exist. Thus, a monolingual corpus for translation research may consist of two subcorpora; one translational, the other non-translational. If the two sets of texts cover the same genre(s) in roughly the same proportions, were published during the same time period and cover the same domains, then we can speak of a monolingual comparable corpus. Monolingual comparable corpora allow systematic investigations of how translated text differs from non-translated text in the same language, and thus are a vital resource in research that seeks to isolate characteristic features of translation (Laviosa 1998a, 1998b; Mauranen 2004; Jiménez-Crespo 2011b, 2013; Delaere, De Sutter and Plevoets 2012; Redelinghuys and Kruger 2015). Likewise, the subcorpora in a bilingual corpus may be related through shared values for attributes such as genre, date and place of publication and domain, among other variables, and thus combine

to form a bilingual comparable corpus. These are especially useful in the education of translators (Zanettin 1998; Looock and Lefebvre-Scodeller 2014) and for contrastive analyses (Altenberg and Granger 2002; Aijmer and Altenberg 2013; Cappelletti and Looock 2013), though they are not without problems: as with monolingual comparable corpora, it can be difficult to ensure comparability between the subcorpora (Bernardini and Zanettin 2004), and searching for “cross-linguistic equivalents” (Altenberg and Granger 2002:9) is not straightforward. Baker (1995:233) has also expressed reservations about their usefulness in theoretical translation studies, claiming that their use is based upon the erroneous assumption that “there is a natural way of saying anything in any language, and that all we need to do is to find out how to say something naturally in language A and language B”.

The subcorpora in a bilingual (or multilingual) corpus may, on the other hand, be related through translation, that is, the corpus may contain texts in one language, alongside their translations into another language (or other languages). Such corpora are commonly known as parallel corpora. Parallel corpora are usually aligned (Ahrenberg 2015); that is, explicit links are provided between units of the source and target texts, usually at the sentence level. This enables bilingual concordancing, where a search for a word in one language returns all sentences containing that word, along with their aligned equivalent sentences in the other language. Parallel corpora exist for several language pairs and for groups of languages. The best-known one is probably the multilingual Europarl corpus (Koehn 2005), which contains the proceedings of the European Parliament. Another is InterCorp, which contains manually aligned fiction texts translated from and into several languages as well as other automatically aligned subcorpora in various genres, including subtitles, journalistic and legal texts (Čermák and Rosen 2012).

A number of variations on the basic design are possible: a bilingual parallel corpus can be unidirectional or bidirectional, for instance. Given that bidirectional corpora such as the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (Johansson 1998) contain source texts in both languages, they can also be used as bilingual comparable corpora, provided that conditions

of comparability obtain. Other parallel corpora may contain, on their target sides, two or more translations into the same language of the same source text, as is often the case in learner translation corpora (Castagnoli et al. 2011), or progressive drafts of the emerging target text (Utka 2004). Parallel corpora have been used widely, for instance in bilingual terminography and lexicography, for the extraction of translation equivalents (Bowker and Pearson 2002; Teubert 2002), as well as for research into translation shifts (Munday 1998a; Cyrus 2009), lexical creativity (Kenny 2014) and translator style. Data-driven machine translation also depends on the availability and exploitation of vast parallel corpora.

Corpus-based translation studies

Early work in CTS pursued the research agenda put forward in Baker's seminal (1993) article, and investigated those recurrent features that make translation different from (or similar to) non-translated language production. Hypothesized typical features, also called universals of translation, include the reported tendency of translated texts to be more explicit, use more conventional grammar and lexis, and be somehow simpler than either their source texts or other texts in the target language. The universal status of the features in question has been questioned by several scholars (Chesterman 2004; Becher 2010), and many, including Olohan (2004), prefer the term ‘typical features of translation’ to ‘universals of translation’. Studies that investigate typical features of translation include Calzada Pérez's (2017) comparisons of translated European Parliament speeches with original speeches from the same setting and with speeches from the British House of Commons, and Hareide's (2017a, 2017b) particularly thorough attempts to verify the unique items hypothesis (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004) and the gravitational pull hypothesis (Halverson 2003).

The search for generalizations has evolved in two diverging directions. On the one hand, the suggestion has been put forward that some of the typical features observed in translation might be generalizable to other kinds of bilingual or contact language use, as observable in

foreign language communication (Kranich 2014). Others have suggested that generalizations should be sought at an even higher level, that of constrained communication (Lanstyák and Heltai 2012). Thus, corpus-based studies have been conducted to compare translated language to non-native (Kruger and van Rooy 2016) and edited language (H. Kruger 2012a), in an attempt to single out shared features as well as specificities of bilingual and monolingual constrained communication.

On the other hand, researchers in CTS have also begun to focus on the distinctive behaviour of individual translators. This development was triggered by an article by Baker (2000) where she proposes a methodology for investigating translator style. Several types of corpora have been used to zoom in on such a slippery research object. Ji (2010), Marco (2004), Winters (2007, 2009) and Wang and Li (2012) adopt a multi-target parallel structure consisting of a source text and two target texts. A more complex corpus is that used by Dirdal (2014), which consists of the fiction component of the *English-Norwegian Multiple Translation Corpus* (Johansson 2007). Dirdal investigates variation in the use of clause building and clause reduction in ten different commissioned translations of the same short story. Analysis techniques range from the basic statistics initially applied by Baker (2000) and others (Walder 2013; Huang and Chu 2014; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2013), to more complex stylistometric techniques such as Delta, applied for example by Rybicki (2012) and Rybicki and Heydel (2013). Rybicki and Heydel (2013) look at the Polish translation of Virginia Woolf's *Night and Day*, which was carried out partly by one translator and partly by another, and the technique they adopt is able to identify the point where the second translator took over. Stylistic studies also combine quantitative methods with discourse analysis (Munday 2008) and other qualitative methods (Saldanha 2011a, 2011b, 2011c), particularly when attempting to contextualize findings beyond the text. As argued by Saldanha (2014), the choice of corpora and analysis techniques reflect different understandings of style in translation and, given the complexity of the object of study, a rigorous investigation requires triangulation based on a composite set of corpus resources, both monolingual and parallel (Huang 2015). Combining corpus resources

is advocated also beyond stylistics research; it is the main principle underlying the methodology of corpus triangulation proposed by Malamatidou (2018), who demonstrates its application by examining the relationship between translation and language change.

While corpus design and exploration techniques have become increasingly sophisticated (Delaere et al. 2012), corpus linguists are also aware that focusing on the corpus alone and adopting a purely descriptive, linguistic approach is not enough to account for the complexities of translation, and that increased contextualization and integration of analytical tools from other areas are needed (Olohan 2004). The integration of corpus and translation process research methods – such as keylogging, screen recording and eye tracking – has been particularly fruitful, and is exemplified in several of the chapters in Lykke Jakobsen and Mesa-Lao (2017). It is worth noting, however, that in some such cases, corpus data are elicited by researchers, and the approach thus departs somewhat from that adopted by corpus linguists who work only with authentic data, as described earlier. As well as integrating multi-method designs, some recent research has also expanded the scope of corpus-based translation studies by integrating data from previously neglected sources, and produced under relatively new conditions. Jiménez-Crespo (2013a), for example, compares the crowdsourced translation of a social media website with similar native websites in Spanish from the point of view of quality. Jiménez-Crespo (2015a) uses data from this earlier study in a subsequent mixed-methods exploration of explicitation given two different production models (translation from scratch vs translation based on preexisting options such as those offered by a translation memory tool) and “a translation modality (web localization) and genre (social networking sites) that did not exist when scholars in TS set off to systematically research general tendencies of translation” (Jiménez-Crespo 2015a:260). The Genealogies of Knowledge project based at the University of Manchester in the UK has further extended the boundaries of CTS by developing a methodology to address the relationship between translation and the construction, negotiation and dissemination of knowledge, enriching the corpus-linguistic perspective with a sociopolitical angle (H. Jones 2019b, in press; Baker and

Jones forthcoming (a), forthcoming (b); Baker forthcoming).

The use of corpora in applied translation studies is another dynamic research area. Studies such as López-Rodríguez (2016), Kübler and Volanschi (2012), Tagnin and Teixeira (2012) and Ferraresi et al. (2010) are among many that demonstrate how corpora can be valuable aids in translation pedagogy, specialized translation, applied terminology and bilingual lexicography.

Going beyond written translation, corpus linguistics has been applied in audiovisual and interpreting research. Both types of text present considerable technical difficulties in terms of corpus compilation and analysis. Compiling requires transcription and often audio or video alignment, as well as manual annotation of contextual, linguistic and paralinguistic features such as pauses and dysfluencies. Bernardini et al. (2018) provide an operational, step-by-step account of corpus building procedures adopted to build interpreting and intermodal corpora, tapping into European Parliament data. However, even when accessing existing resources, corpus-based research in audiovisual translation raises methodological issues that have to do with “the complex semiotic fabric of audiovisual texts, their hybrid nature and multiple codes” (Baños et al. 2013a:483).

Despite technical and methodological challenges, corpus-based audiovisual and interpreting research has been productive. Substantial work has been carried out on interpreting between English and Chinese (Wang 2012; Hu and Tao 2013), confirming the strong interest in corpus studies of Chinese spurred by the pioneering work of Richard Xiao (Xiao 2010; Xiao and Hu 2015). Instances of dialogue interpreting, both authentic and simulated, are included in the corpora described by Pérez-González (2006a), Baraldi and Gavioli (2012a) and Angermeyer et al. (2012). The articles collected in Baños et al. (2013b) attest to the richness of corpus-based AVT studies, covering audio description (Jiménez Hurtado and Soler Gallego 2013) and multimodal analysis of humour in dubbed TV programmes (Balirano 2013) among other topics.

Finally, efforts to create sign language corpora began in Australia in 2004 (Fenlon et al. 2015). These corpora consist of spontaneous

or, more usually, elicited video recordings that are enriched with various kinds of linguistic annotation and are accompanied by a translation into the local written language, giving them the status of bilingual, intermodal, parallel corpora. Fenlon et al. (2015) discuss methodological issues in creating sign language corpora, and Meurant et al. (2016) outline the process of creating the French Belgian Sign Language Corpus, and the policy governing its translation into written French.

As the variety of corpora continues to grow, as do the number of languages and language pairs covered, and given increased ease of access to corpora, in particular access to open-source software such as that provided by the Genealogies of Knowledge project (H. Jones in press; Baker and Jones forthcoming b), CTS looks set to continue offering diverse and rich contributions to translation studies. Consensus in the field, in corpus linguistics in general and in corpus-based cognitive linguistics in particular (Arppe et al. 2010; Biber 2012; De Sutter et al. 2017; Halverson 2018a), suggests that the way forward lies in the continued pursuit of rich contextualization of corpus data, the creation of closer bonds between product and process, the design of statistically sophisticated studies, and the integration of empirical and theoretical perspectives.

See also:

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS; LOCALIZATION; MACHINE TRANSLATION; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, INTERPRETING; TECHNOLOGY, TRANSLATION; TERMINOLOGY

Further reading

De Sutter, G., M.-A. Lefer and I. Delaere (eds) (2017) *Empirical Translation Studies*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Illustrates the current trend towards greater methodological sophistication in the empirical study of translation, including the use of ingenious corpus designs and multivariate statistical methods.

Malamatidou, S. (2018) *Corpus Triangulation: Combining Data and Methods in Corpus-Based Translation Studies*. London & New York: Routledge.

Makes the case for systematic use of triangulation in corpus-based translation studies

and presents an alternative typology of corpora in translation studies.

Olohan, M. (2004) *Introducing Corpora in Translation Studies*, London & New York: Routledge.

Sums up much of the earlier corpus-based research into features of translation and presents several case studies which engage with different sources of quantitative and qualitative data and approaches.

Zanettin, F. (2014) *Translation-driven Corpora*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

A practical guide for those who want to undertake corpus research in translation studies, with substantial exemplification of how to build and consult monolingual and multilingual corpora.

SILVIA BERNARDINI AND
DOROTHY KENNY

Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism has become the subject of widespread debate in the humanities and the social sciences since the turn of the century, calling attention to the key role that translation plays in mediating between different traditions and modernities. Emphasizing a multiplicity of perspectives, rather than the world's unicity (Robertson 1992) or homogenizing trends towards the constitution of a global culture, cosmopolitan competence has been defined as the art of translation and bridge-building (Beck 2006:89). Cosmopolitan processes are seen as taking the form of translations between things that are different, where one culture interprets itself in light of the encounter with the other and constantly undergoes change as a result (Delanty 2006:23, 2009:193–98). In this context, there is an increasing awareness of the significance of multilingualism and translation in negotiating key aspects of the cosmopolitan project, including global democracy (Archibugi 2008; Balibar 2010), human rights (de Sousa Santos 2010), transnational or cosmopolitan citizenship (Balibar 2006), social movements (de Sousa Santos 2005; Doerr 2018) and borders (Balibar 2010).

Affirming the basic mediating role of translation from a cosmopolitan standpoint requires challenging common definitions of translation

as the transfer of a verbal message from one language into another and the adoption of a broader definition of translation as a social relation, as an experience that mobilizes our relationship to others as well as our conception of ourselves. Such understanding of translation as an experience of the foreign can be found in the German tradition, from Goethe and the Romantics to Benjamin, and in the work of contemporary authors such as Berman (1984/1992), Ricoeur (2006), Venuti (1995b/2008), Spivak (1992/2000) and Sakai (1997).

Berman argues that the dynamics of translation start from what is one's own, what is known and familiar, the same, in order to move towards the foreign, the other, and to return again to the point of departure through this experience of alterity (1984/1992:46). This is markedly different from a conception of translation as appropriation because, as Berman points out, an experience of the foreign cannot be achieved through a simple reduction or annexation of the other to what is known and familiar. Moving constantly between the foreign work and the domestic reader, translation asserts the existence of one language among others and serves to question the mother tongue through an exercise in reflexivity and decentring that allows the foreign to appear in its midst. Moreover, according to Ricoeur, the work of translation arises from but must also renounce the dream of a perfect translation that would paradoxically turn us all into language's stateless persons, abolishing both the memory of the foreign and the love of one's own language (2006:9).

The ambiguous role played by translation in mediating between the foreign culture and the mother tongue has been approached in different ways. In Schleiermacher's formulation, it involves a choice between leading the author to the reader or leading the reader to the author (1813/1992). In the most influential contemporary formulation, it is embedded in the choice between what Venuti (1995b/2008) has called domesticating and foreignizing translation. Foreignizing translations, which are doubly interrogative (ibid.:20), construct an image of the foreign that does not deny its fundamental strangeness while also interrogating prevalent conceptions in the receiving culture. The distinction between domesticating and foreignizing translation is fundamental to cosmopolitanism.

For by denying the foreign as foreign, by rendering the foreign falsely familiar and translation transparent, domesticating translations deny openness to the other as other; they deny the experience of the foreign, in Berman's sense. Domesticating translations are not only the most prevalent form of literary translation into English, reflecting the global dominance of this language, but domestication is also the dominant strategy followed in translating commercial information and foreign news, where communicability and accessibility are emphasized. This explains the invisibility of translation in these fields, which has often led social scientists to remark on the speed and spread of global information flows without considering the material conditions that are necessary to produce them. It also reveals the underlying idealism of views that attribute to translation an unproblematic role in overcoming ethnocentrism, such as Beck's notion of translation as "the capacity to see oneself from the perspective of cultural others" (2006:89). What is interesting about translation is not simply the possibility of transcending ethnocentrism, but rather the struggle that is established with cultural ethnocentrism in any translating act, a struggle that confronts ethnocentric demands for intelligibility with respect for the irreducible strangeness of the other. The theorization and practice of forms of translation that attempt to do justice to the difference of a foreign text also point to its significance in debates on aesthetic cosmopolitanism.

Aesthetic cosmopolitanism, world literature and translation

A cursory glance at the existing literature on what has been referred to as aesthetic cosmopolitanism, which is relatively scarce compared with the proliferation of works on other aspects of contemporary cosmopolitanism, reveals that, as Papastergiadis points out, "since the Stoics the spiritual and aesthetic dimensions of cosmopolitanism have been slowly disregarded" (2012:82). Yet, it is precisely an understanding of artistic and literary cosmopolitanism as the world-making capacity of interaction and exchange in the context of intensified cultural contact between different traditions

that can provide a corrective to a concept of cosmopolitanism that is predominantly conceived in moral and political terms.

Translation has been conceptualized as a key element in accounts of the cosmopolitanization of reality in the literary field. Heilbron draws on world-systems theory to provide a structural analysis of the international flows of translated books, approaching translation as a measure of centrality: the more central a language is in the international translation system, the more books are translated from it; conversely, the most central languages tend to have the lowest proportion of translations in their own book production (Heilbron 1999:438–439). Casanova (1999/2004) has shown that literatures are constituted relationally in a highly unequal international field, which she calls the world republic of letters, with translation as a key element of valorization of texts and of diffusion of literary modernity. Casanova is especially interested in what she describes as consecration or literarization: translation affords writers in dominated languages literary recognition and international presence, and allows and reinforces the existence of an autonomous international arena within their national field. For dominant languages it is a way of appropriating works from the peripheries.

Despite the relevance of Casanova's work, her approach tends to conflate cosmopolitan literary projects with market-driven globalization and cannot adequately theorize the role of translation in this context, because it obscures the more substantive dimension of translation as the experience of the foreign (Bielsa 2016:76–79; Cheah 2016). If cosmopolitanism is understood as an ethical and political commitment towards opening ourselves to others, then translation also emerges as a crucial means through which this commitment can materialize. Here, translation's gain is not principally one of facilitating access by new readers to literary works, or of increasing the symbolic value of these works, but of promoting a form of cosmopolitan reflexivity that leads to a reconsideration and expansion of a notion of self through engagement with the difference of the other. Only certain forms of translation that can call into question what is one's own in the light of the foreignness of others make such a gain possible. Domestication, which responds to prevalent market demands and renders translation invisible, con-

tributes to a form of valorization and exchange that could be seen as a loss in cosmopolitan terms. This dimension is not ignored by authors who have called attention to the responsibility of translators into English in the context of a growing market for translations from non-European languages as “a quick way to ‘know a culture’” (Spivak 2005:94).

Goethe’s original formulation of the concept of world literature in 1827 to refer to a new historical epoch in which a market for international literary exchanges appeared (Eckermann 1850:350–351) is useful here. Interrelations and exchanges between literatures are at the centre of Goethe’s conception of world literature, which is thus “less a set of works than a network” (Damosch 2003:3). These interrelations are evident in the intense literary practice of polyglots like Goethe himself, who not only read profusely and reflect on a multitude of foreign works, but also avidly borrow, incorporate and transform elements taken from these works to their own benefit. Literary traditions are shaped by this intensive process of appropriation and transformation of foreign elements in a highly interconnected literary space, while world literature refers to the active coexistence of all contemporary literatures (Berman 1984/1992:56). Moreover, Goethe is interested not only in reading and borrowing from other literatures, but also in finding through the international reception of German works a mirror image of his tradition that is far more revealing because it reflects a vision of self through the eyes of the other, a type of cosmopolitan reflexivity that is explicitly highlighted by him (Eckermann 1850:432; Bielsa 2016:74).

At its core, Goethe’s concept of world literature outlines a notion of cosmopolitanism as translation, because translation both allows and incarnates the international literary exchanges that, for Goethe, have come to define the new modern era. Goethe not only spoke several languages and translated many works, but also particularly welcomed the translations of his own works into other languages, finding his words mirrored and regenerated in the strangeness of foreign tongues. Translated works can recover an original novelty which the originals themselves may have lost; this view of translation emphasizes its impact on the translated culture in terms of regeneration and revival, rather than simply the significance of translation in

mediating foreign works to readers who do not know the language and introducing newness to the translating culture and language. Goethe also specifically called attention to the cosmopolitan potential of the German translation tradition, which sought “to accommodate itself to foreign peculiarities”, thus serving as a vehicle for an experience of the foreign for all contemporaries, as opposed to a narcissistic experience of recognition of the dominant cultural values of one linguistic group (Eckermann 1850:190–191; Bielsa 2016:73–76). Through a self-conscious form of translation that renounces full fluency and demands from readers some accommodation to the author’s strangeness, German can become a privileged language for the acquisition of a cosmopolitan culture, whereas French – or English today – merely represents a more pragmatic choice for everyday travel and exchange.

Walkowitz’s notion of world literature as born-translated literature (Walkowitz 2015) offers an approach that preserves Goethe’s emphasis on interconnection and exchange, while also accounting for the specificity of literary developments in the twenty-first century. For Walkowitz, world literature is born translated not only because it appears in multiple languages and circulates globally from the start but, significantly, because it thematizes and incorporates translation into its production in substantial ways, thus alerting us to works that begin in several languages and several places, generating alternatives to the experience of native reading and challenging the very idea of a national literature as the expression of an imagined community. Unlike Casanova, Walkowitz does not focus on commercialized North American literary fiction that is explicitly written to be translated for circulation in the global space, nor on easy translatability as a mark of this globalized world fiction. She is not interested in the commodification of a world fiction that is especially designed for international circulation but instead values born-translated novels as works that destabilize traditional categories such as original vs derivative and native vs foreign. Born-translated novels “force readers to grapple with partial fluency, register the arrogance of U.S. monolingualism, and invent strategies for incorporating the several languages, geographies and audiences in which they get their start” (ibid.:42).

Multilingualism and translation are thus at the very basis of an aesthetic project that gives literary form to the transnational, exploring forms of self-understanding and belonging that are not premised on the closure of native language and community of birth. Whether with reference to dominant or central languages and traditions (Walkowitz 2015; Yildiz 2012), or in relation to more peripheral and postcolonial literatures (Cheah 2016; Siskind 2014), it is precisely in the conceptualization of a transnational space that is not reduced to a market for exchanging literary goods and in the exploration of the projects and interventions of authors and critics engaged in understanding and remaking the world, that the contribution of world literature to the cosmopolitan imagination is revealed.

Translation and democracy

The issue of linguistic diversity is becoming increasingly unavoidable in political theory in view of the growing relevance of forms of democratic politics beyond the state, as well as new challenges to still prevalent, taken-for-granted notions of cultural homogeneity at the national level. Thus, in reflecting on the possibility of a multilingual democracy, Archibugi (2008:256, 259) refers to Kymlicka's (2001) famous statement that a democratic politics is politics in the vernacular as dangerous and even reactionary, given that monolingual communities are becoming increasingly rare and new demands for democratization are voiced at and beyond the national level. Archibugi proposes an alternative cosmopolitan approach that, from a normative standpoint, maintains that "democratic politics *must* be in Esperanto" (2008:260; original emphasis), thus promoting a shift from a language of identity to a language of communication as a basic prerequisite for promoting democracy in the midst of diversity. Whereas Kymlicka falls prey to an essentialist view of language as the defining property of a community or a nation, Archibugi instrumentalizes language as a vehicle of communication, ignoring the powerful connections between language and subjectivity and the politics of language in the context of globalization. Bielsa (2018) offers a critique of the underlying monolingual vision of these two perspectives.

A more sociological approach is needed that retains a perspective on language as the basic means of socialization and considers the implications of going beyond one's language to communicate with others. Esperanto in Europe (Archibugi 2008:265–266), English in India (Archibugi 2008:267–268; Sommer 2004:96) and Spanish in the Philippines (Rafael 2005) helped to bring people together because they did not belong to any single group. But the use of a lingua franca as a vehicle of democratic expression has important implications that relate to existing power asymmetries between languages and to the specific consequences of adopting and promoting one particular language, which inevitably benefit some and are detrimental to others.

Significantly, Balibar has articulated a conception of translation as the basic instrument for the creation of a transnational public space in a democratic sense, where ideas and projects can be debated across linguistic and administrative borders (2006:5–6). For Balibar, the political significance of the practice of translation lies not in the transmission of content but in the production of "a multilateral and multicultural regime of translations". Translation is conceived as the common idiom of this new public sphere, representing a form of practical universalism, as opposed to the idea of a universalized and simplified use of a shared language such as international English (*ibid.*:6). Benhabib (2002), on the other hand, focuses on the role of what she calls democratic iterations in paving the way for new modes of political action and interaction. Democratic iterations take the form of complex cultural dialogues – or indeed translations – through which "others become hermeneutical partners with us by reappropriating and reinterpreting our institutions and cultural traditions" and initiate self-reflexive transformations on the part of the polity involved (Benhabib 2004:169, 171).

The extent to which democracy amongst diversity is built upon radical engagement with difference through practices of interpreting otherness and of political translation is becoming the object of new critical scrutiny (Godrej 2011; Doerr 2018). Rather than disinterestedness or neutrality, these practices reveal a politics of translation based on resistant action, the advocacy of marginalized social groups and linguistic

hospitality (Baker 2013a; Bielsa and Aguilera 2017; Doerr 2018; Inghilleri 2012). De Sousa Santos calls attention to an underlying epistemological issue that is relevant to these approaches, proposing an ecology of knowledges and intercultural translation as an alternative to a general theory that cannot grasp the infinite diversity of the world (de Sousa Santos 2005, 2010). Whereas political theory has traditionally seen social change as the result of intervention by a privileged historical subject conceived in unitary or homogeneous terms, de Sousa Santos's project entails an alternative conceptualization of political practice as taking place in a porous contact zone where different practices and knowledges become intelligible, without presupposing the unity or destroying the identity of the different parties involved (de Sousa Santos 2005:16–17). In this sense, contemporary cosmopolitanism is post-universalistic (Delanty 2009). The work of translation is conceived as seeking intelligibility and articulation between different experiences of the world, while simultaneously revealing their partialities and shortcomings; as an example, de Sousa Santos proposes a translation between different concerns for human dignity through the western concept of human rights, the Islamic concept of *umma* and the Hindu concept of *dharma* (2005:17–18).

What all these accounts also demonstrate is that, contrary to widespread assumptions born of the monolingual vision (Bielsa 2018), linguistic diversity is not detrimental to democracy. Translation can deepen and strengthen the processes of democratic politics by challenging the transparency and ease of communication that are presumed and celebrated as basic characteristics of community and of democracy in order to make space for heterogeneity. This requires accepting the obscurity of the other as a stranger, the limits of understanding. When translation is considered as the non-transparent medium of democracy, and as non-instrumental, the key is no longer communication but rather confronting the opacity of meaning that results when diverse people attempt to communicate with each other. This is why linguistic hospitality in this context is more important than the practical possibilities offered by the use of a common language of communication such as international English, which in reality erases substantive issues of cultural difference and power inequalities

that bear on the democratic process. As essentially an experience of the foreign, translation can serve as a cosmopolitan democratic means not because it provides a common idiom that we share with others or because it enables the communication of ideas from one language into another, but because it can make us step outside ourselves and meet others in their strangeness, creating new ways of existing and inhabiting a world that we share with strangers we do not understand.

See also:

CULTURAL TRANSLATION; ETHICS; FICTION; GLOBALIZATION; HYBRIDITY; MULTILINGUALISM; POLITICS; POSTCOLONIALISM; WORLD LITERATURE

Further reading

Beck, U. (2006) *The Cosmopolitan Vision*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

A sociological analysis of the cosmopolitan implications of globalization, with an emphasis on cultural mixture, the absence of boundaries and cosmopolitan Europe.

Bielsa, E. (2016) *Cosmopolitanism and Translation. Investigations into the experience of the foreign*, London & New York: Routledge.

An interdisciplinary account of the intersection between cosmopolitanism and translation centred on the lived experience of the stranger, with a thematic focus on world literature, social theory and foreign news.

Delanty, G. (2009) *The Cosmopolitan Imagination. The renewal of critical social theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

An account that links cosmopolitan theory with critical social theory, presenting cosmopolitanism as a critical approach to global issues beyond the limits of Eurocentrism.

ESPERANÇA BIELSA

Critical discourse analysis

With its roots in classical rhetoric, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics (Wodak 2011), and significantly

influenced by social theory, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an analytical research methodology that investigates discursive manifestations of ideological positioning. Its primary aim is “to expose the ideological forces that underlie communicative exchanges” (Calzada Pérez 2003b:2), and to examine the way text and talk are used to legitimize abuse of power, discrimination and inequality (van Dijk 2001:352). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) and Wodak (2011) identify various strands of CDA; of those, the socio-cognitive model proposed by van Dijk and applied in Munday (2007) and Fairclough’s dialectical-relational approach which understands discourse as a sociocultural discursive practice (adopted in Valdeón 2007; Kang 2008; Al-Hejin 2012; Pan 2015; Zhang and Pan 2015) have proved most productive in translation studies.

Definitions and characteristics

Since discourse is a concept with common currency in many fields, its study has generated “many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints” (Fairclough 1992b:3; Baker 2018b). Often text and discourse are used interchangeably, which leads to further confusion (Widdowson 2004/2007). Nonetheless, from multiple understandings and applications of the concept, three main characteristics can be extrapolated. First, discourse materializes in authentic language (Bax 2011); in other words, discourse analysts are only interested in naturally occurring, everyday language use. Second, the study of discourse cannot be based on isolated words and sentences but only on whole texts. Third, discourse analysts take the extralinguistic context in which the interaction occurs into account in conducting their investigations.

As a context-bound approach that focuses on social practices, CDA goes beyond the traditional concerns of sociology and conventional linguistics by examining the relationship between language and power struggles in society. It ultimately sets out to demonstrate how language is used as a form of social control by critically investigating aspects of societal disparities and inequalities as they are expressed, constituted and legitimized by language use, and by reflecting on the way language reinforces such

inequalities on a day-to-day basis (Wodak 2001; Wodak and Meyer 2001; Leung 2006). Viewed as a form of socially conditioned practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997), a given discourse often leads to the reproduction of other discourses that are compatible with it, while also contributing to (re)producing and aggravating unequal power relations, at times manufacturing consent by presenting things and positioning people in specific ways (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). CDA scholars thus argue that discourse is an “instrument of power and control” (van Leeuwen 1993:193); hence, the principal objective of CDA is to ascertain how powerful speakers or groups employ certain discursive structures and strategies in order to persuade their audience (van Dijk 1993). To this end, critical discourse analysts examine the specific but subtle and covert ways in which language plays a crucial role in constructing reality, mostly through the investigation of repeated linguistic behaviour and patterns.

Application in translation studies

CDA has proved influential in widening the remit of translation and interpreting studies by encouraging scholars to understand translation as a sociocultural and political act, to pay close attention to its impact, and to explore how and to what extent it contributes to the construction of powerful discourses in society. Scholars adopting a CDA approach proceed by asking questions about what is translated and for whom, why it is translated into a particular language, who approved the final text before it went to press, and ultimately, what discourse the translation contributes to constructing in the target culture (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010:8; Schäffner 2012b:121–122; Kim 2017:35).

Early work drawing on discourse analysis applied Hallidayan systemic-functional grammar to investigate the experiential, interpersonal and textual functions of linguistic elements in both source and target texts, focusing on features such as modality, voice, nominalization and transitivity. Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive framework (1988a, 1988b), Hatim and Mason (1990a, 1997) and Mason (1994) widened the analytical perspective to examine the sociopolitical

and historical contexts in which texts are produced and received. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive framework stresses that "societal structures can be related to discourse structures only through social actors and their minds" (Kuo and Nakamura 2005:398), while Hatim and Mason's application of discourse analysis in the study of translation and interpreting proceeds by considering translation as a communicative process that takes place within a social context. Hatim and Mason argue that translators negotiate the meanings embedded in a source text and tailor them to a new environment, and pay particular attention to how they "intervene in the transfer process" and how they place their "own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text" (1997:147). Hatim and Mason thus pioneered the study of the communicative, pragmatic and semiotic dimensions of translation and drew attention to its ideational and interpersonal functions (Kim 2013:76–77).

A number of studies that draw on discourse analysis have been undertaken in the field since the pioneering work of Hatim and Mason. Not surprisingly, most CDA-inspired studies have focused on political discourse and the mediatory role of the translator in this context (Lande 2010), and have involved examining ideological clues in the source text and identifying textual and ideological shifts in translations. Most have adopted Fairclough's approach (Schäffner 2003/2014; Valdeón 2007; Kang 2008; Al-Hejin 2012; Maltby 2014; Pan 2015; Zhang and Pan 2015). Van Dijk's model is adopted in Munday (2007) and Wodak's discourse historical approach in Doerr (2017). Occasionally, two models are combined in one study, as in Kuo and Nakamura (2005).

Valdeón (2007), Kang (2008), Al-Hejin (2012), Pan (2015) and Zhang and Pan (2015) all use Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model to examine institutional discourse, taking into consideration the text, discourse practices and sociocultural practices; all examine the role of translation in challenging the "maintenance and legitimation of injustice and inequality in society" (Kuo and Nakamura 2005:395) to varying degrees. Valdeón (2007), Kang (2008) and Al-Hejin (2012) analyze the mediating role played by translation in constructing institutional discourse, particularly media discourse. Zhang and Pan (2015), who also use Fairclough's

model to reveal aspects of institutional power and to argue that translation reinforces the voice of authority, additionally draw on Hallidayan systemic-functional linguistics and focus more on the examination of speech roles, speech functions, modality types and modality orientation. Pan (2015) employs Fairclough's model to examine Chinese translations of English news reports on two events related to China's human rights record, but she also uses appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005) to investigate ways in which evaluative language is deployed to construct and facilitate distinct ideological positioning in news translation.

Schäffner (2003/2014, 2012b) and Munday (2007) focus on the role of translation in constructing political discourse and ideology. Schäffner (2003:41) uses CDA concepts to show the extent to which translators' decisions at the micro-linguistic level impact the "social and ideological context of text production and reception". Munday, who is similarly interested in how ideology is manifested textually in translations and the role of "ingrained lexical behavior" (2007:214) in reproducing dominant discourses, draws on van Dijk's work and emphasizes that shifts may also be the result of "less conscious translation choices at the lexicogrammatical level that pertain to the translator's unique experience of the two languages" (ibid.:213).

CDA lends itself particularly well to the examination of the news genre, and its application to the translation of global news in particular has thus attracted the interest of a number of researchers. This is especially true in Europe, where CDA has flourished, but is also a growing trend in various Asian countries. For example, Kang (2007, 2008, 2010) has worked extensively on news translation in Korea from a somewhat broad discourse analysis perspective, but her 2008 work specifically draws on CDA to examine how North Korea is discursively constructed in the headlines of *Newsweek Korea* magazine articles. Valdeón (2007) also draws on Fairclough's CDA model to examine the ideological implications of lexical choices in BBC and CNN translated reports on the Madrid terrorist attacks in 2004.

CDA has also been applied in interpreting studies. Examples include Pöllabauer (2004), who looks at interpreting in asylum hearings recorded at the Federal Asylum Office in Graz

(Austria); Beaton (2007a) on EU institutional ideology in European Parliament discourse; Beaton-Thome (2010) on simultaneous interpreting between German and English and identity construction and negotiation in the European Parliament; Angelelli (2011), who uses CDA to analyze power differentials and the role of the interpreter in resisting or reinforcing power imbalances in a typical interpreted conversation in a healthcare setting in the US; and P. Chang (2012), who offers an in-depth discussion of manifestations of political ideologies in simultaneous interpreting by students from mainland China and Taiwan, and some of the ways in which national identities are discursively constructed. Nevertheless, detailed studies such as these remain relatively limited in number.

Corpus-based critical discourse analysis

As with any approach to the study of language and discourse, CDA has not been immune to criticism and has been challenged by a number of scholars across different disciplines. One of the most outspoken critics of CDA has been Widdowson (1995, 1998, 2004/2007). Widdowson (1998) critiques the unsystematic selection of short texts, which are then used to support assumptions with no quantitative evidence offered, and with much of the argument hinging on no more than a few words. Stubbs raises a similar concern when he argues that CDA scholars find “what they expect to find, whether absences or presences” (1997:102) due to a lack of attention to issues of methodology. A related criticism of CDA concerns the selection of discourse samples for analysis and a perceived lack of objectivity. As a typically qualitative approach that examines texts in depth, CDA often analyzes short stretches of text – in many cases less than one text, or data fragments – from which it is difficult to generalize to a larger population. CDA also dismisses the impact of an individual’s narrative and linguistic choices by focusing too heavily on the power of institutions and groups and ignoring individual resources and personal forms of exercising power. From a translation studies perspective, Baker (2018b) critiques CDA for its emphasis on abstract structures of

knowledge generated by powerful institutional actors and its lack of interest in individual actors, and hence in issues of resistance and the potential for disrupting the workings of power. She also critiques CDA for its emphasis on repeated patterns, which restricts its application in literary translation since “[b]y definition, much literature deliberately breaks away from recurrent discursive patterns” (ibid.:182).

Linguists such as Stubbs (1997) and Baker et al. (2008) suggest that the limitations of CDA might be addressed by using corpora, arguing that these two approaches can be combined to create a strong synergy through the examination of discursive patterns in a large corpus and interpreting them in terms of the historical and social reality in which they are embedded. Stubbs (1997:111) emphasizes the importance of employing a combined methodology because “varieties of language use are defined . . . by clusters of co-occurring features”, which “entails the use of quantitative and probabilistic methods of text and corpus analysis”. Leung (2006) and Mautner (2009) argue that corpus-based CDA can reduce researcher bias by working with larger volumes of data and by applying both quantitative and qualitative methods, thus revealing “linguistic patterns in [the] construction of discourse on certain socio-political entities and events, which may not be obvious to the naked eye” (Bang and Shin 2010:100). Al-Hejin (2015) adds that a combined approach provides a more exhaustive picture and that quantitative indicators can be employed as entry points for a more qualitative textual analysis.

Pioneers of corpus-based CDA research include Louw (1993), Caldas-Coulthard (1993), Hardt-Mautner (1995) and Krishnamurthy (1996). Other scholars who have since engaged with corpus-based CDA, such as Baker and Levon (2015), have continued to highlight the potential benefits of the integrated methodology. Corpus-based CDA studies investigating news material have flourished, with notable examples including Bang and Shin (2010), Qian (2010), KhosraviNik (2015) and Baker and Levon (2015). Baker and Levon’s study on the discourse of masculinity in news articles is especially innovative in that it demonstrates that qualitative and quantitative approaches can each lead to similar findings on their own, but

when combined can add nuance to the individual findings. The two authors worked independently of each other, one using corpus-based techniques and the other conducting a CDA-informed qualitative analysis. They argue that although the two approaches led to the same set of findings in broad terms, the qualitative analysis “was able to uncover discourses that were linguistically realized in more complex ways” (ibid.:14) – that is, implied rather than overtly expressed – and that are not necessarily realized in patterns that are frequent across the corpus.

Studies using this integrated approach in China examined discursive media representations of the ‘Chinese dream’, a signature slogan of President Xi Jinping (Hou 2017), and Chinese and Australian journalist engagement in hard news reporting (Huan 2016). The study of ideological positioning in news discourse also continues to draw on this combined methodology in South Korea (Bang and Shin 2010, 2012; Kim and Kang 2011; Shin 2015). In translation studies, Munday (2008) has combined corpus-based CDA with stylistics and narratology to examine ideological aspects of translator style. Kim (2013) applied corpus-based CDA to identify discursive shifts in Korean translations of *Newsweek* articles about North Korea. Corpus-based CDA has also been used to study audiovisual translation, for example by Mouka et al. (2015), who investigate what they refer to as “racism”-oriented discourse in films through an analysis of register shifts, using a custom-built annotated corpus. Gu (2018) employs this combined approach in the diachronic analysis of 20 years of press conference interpreting data to examine ways in which China’s discourse on its past actions and accomplishments is mediated in the interpreted English discourse, focusing on self-referential items (*we, China, government*).

Future directions

Although corpus tools can address some of the shortcomings of CDA, the integrated approach has not escaped a range of criticisms levelled against corpus-based studies. First, it has been argued that critical interpretation requires historical knowledge and sensitivity that machines

do not possess (Fowler and Kress 1979). Concerns have been raised over the possibility of computers obscuring important contextual information, for example about the social context in which texts were produced (Hunston 2002), as well as losing non-verbal elements of the texts such as images (Koller and Mautner 2004). These criticisms have shifted the focus towards the study of language in combination with other modes of communication, such as images, gestures, music and even silence (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; O’Halloran 2004; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996/2006), leading to the emergence of a new theoretical paradigm known as multimodal discourse analysis (O’Halloran 2011; Kress 2012; Winston and Roy 2015).

CDA has been employed to analyze new types of data produced through social media, focusing on the construction, promotion and dilution of discourses. Bouvier (2015, 2016), in particular, argues that discourse studies must engage with theories and empirical work on social media to examine how cross-cultural social relations are realized in the rapidly evolving landscape of this new communicative environment. Likewise, McEnery et al. (2015), in a study that looks at the role of social media in constructing discourses and the relationship between the press and social media, show that the investigation of social media data can enhance our understanding of the processes involved in the production and reception of discourse. Focusing on the contrast between the way in which the UK press and social media reacted to the Lee Rigby case (the murder of an off-duty soldier in London in 2013), they argue that “social media and the press are intertwined, with the press exerting a notable influence through social media, but social media not always being led by the press” (2015:237). McEnery et al. further propose that retweeting can be theorized as an important social practice through which a user’s ideological stance is recast and repeated (ibid.:243). Finally, they explain that Twitter data can counter criticisms that corpus-based CDA “focuses too often on the text itself, looking less at processes of production and reception”, since “retweeting can be important in showing how oppositional discourses on Twitter are perceived and either promoted or ignored by users” (ibid.:256).

The importance of digital spaces as a source of data is increasingly acknowledged in translation studies, as evidenced in the growing interest in collaborative translation, crowdsourced translation and fansubbing (McDonough Dolmaya 2012, 2015; Dwyer 2012; Jiménez-Crespo 2017a). However, studies of crowdsourcing and other digitally based translation activities are not corpus based, nor do they examine the processes by which discourse is produced, promoted and challenged through translation in these civic spheres. CDA offers a robust framework for pursuing such under-explored avenues in future translation research. At the same time, given the broader criticisms levelled at it by linguists and translation scholars, including Baker (2018b), it is increasingly having to compete with new approaches such as narrative theory, which have proved more attractive in dealing with individual rather than institutional agency, and hence with questions of resistance and activism.

See also:

CORPORA; IDEOLOGY; INTERTEXTUALITY;
NARRATIVE

Further reading

Al-Hejin, B. (2012) 'Linking Critical Discourse Analysis with Translation Studies: An example from BBC News', *Journal of Language and Politics* 11(3): 311–335.

Proposes three methodological models to link CDA with translation studies, where the discursive construction of Muslim women as submissive and oppressed by BBC News through translation is critically discussed.

Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge: Polity.

Combines linguistic analysis and social theory to investigate the social functioning of language and to demonstrate how discourse constructs and constitutes social relations; also raises the potential of using corpora in CDA.

Schäffner, C. (2012) 'Unknown Agents in Translated Political Discourse', *Target* 24(1): 103–125.

Focuses on political discourse in translation, and argues that concepts and methods from CDA have proved helpful in the study of translation and interpreting strategies.

KYUNG HYE KIM

Crowdsourced translation

The terms crowdsourced translation and translation crowdsourcing (Jiménez-Crespo 2017a:18) refer to a practice that involves Internet users, who may or may not have formal training as translators, collaboratively translating online texts for little or no financial reward. The term(s) can also refer to the translation products generated by crowdsourcing. Crowdsourced translation communities can be open, meaning that any Internet user can participate in the initiative, typically after registering as a user (Mesipuu 2012:34), or closed, where only preselected users are allowed to participate (ibid.:38).

The term crowdsourcing was first coined by journalist Jeff Howe (2006, 2008) to refer to the practice of having “everyday people” collaborate to develop content, solve problems and do research in their spare time (2008:6). Howe mentions translation only in passing (2008:18, 281), but the practice has since become widespread in the translation industry (McDonough Dolmaya 2011b). Given that crowdsourced translation emerged only towards the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century (Jiménez-Crespo 2017a:12), the terminology used to refer to this practice is not fixed, and various terms with overlapping definitions continue to be used, as discussed by Hebenstreit (forthcoming). Perrino (2009:62), for instance, proposes the term user-generated translation to refer to the practice of using Internet services and tools – including user-generated dictionaries, professional translation networks such as Proz.com and Translatorscafe.com, volunteer website translation and online subtitling – to make online content accessible in various languages. Pym, on the other hand, argues that user-generated translation is a misnomer, given that the translators are not, in fact, the users of the final translations (2011b:97). O'Hagan prefers community translation, although she acknowledges that the term is often used in a wider sense to refer to translating public information for immigrant populations, and hence using it in a more restrictive sense to refer to translation in online communities can cause some confusion (2011:13). O'Hagan (2011)

and Perrino (2009) mention that user-generated translation and community translation can involve both professionals and amateurs, an issue also discussed by McDonough Dolmaya (2012), Jiménez-Crespo (2013b:193–197) and Cámara de la Fuente (2015) in relation to crowdsourcing. However, Perrino does not discuss the possibility of users participating for micro-payments, whereas McDonough Dolmaya (2017:12), Anastasiou and Gupta (2011) and Jiménez-Crespo (2013b:197) note that crowdsourcing participants sometimes receive small payments for their tasks, such as when they participate in Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform. Pym's (2011b:97) preferred term, volunteer translation, is not sufficiently restrictive, since it encompasses any form of translation done without financial remuneration, rather than being specific to translation performed for free in digital environments. And, as with user-generated translation, Pym's volunteer translation does not allow for micro-payments that translators might receive for their participation. Crowdsourced translation, then, seems to be the most suitable term: it is restrictive enough to apply only to translation in digital environments; it does not imply that the people participating in a project will be the ones using the translation; and it does not restrict the scope of participants to unpaid volunteers.

Crowdsourcing differs from other forms of online collaborative translation in that it is generally solicited by the content owners. This means that unlike fan translation, where the translations are unsolicited, crowdsourcing does not typically involve copyright infringement (O'Hagan 2011:13). Jiménez-Crespo further suggests that the term crowdsourcing should be reserved solely for top-down vertical approaches, where the translation initiative is controlled by the organization that produced the content, while the term online collaborative translation should be used for horizontal, bottom-up approaches, where the impetus for the project emerges from the community of translators (2017:25). In this view, translations produced for Wikipedia, for instance, would not qualify as an example of crowdsourcing because Wikipedia translation efforts are self-managed by the community of Wikipedians. Nevertheless, Howe (2008) devotes a considerable portion of his book to Wikipedia, arguing that it is one of

many examples of successful crowdsourcing initiatives, while Flanagan (2016:152) argues that translation performed within Wikipedia is an example of user-initiated translation crowdsourcing, distinguishing it thus from what she terms content-owner initiated crowdsourcing, giving the TED Open Translation Project as an example of the latter. Clearly, as Jiménez-Crespo notes (2017a:14), the boundaries of crowdsourcing as a concept are not yet completely defined, nor are the terms used to refer to the practice.

Research themes

Although crowdsourcing is a relatively new development, various aspects of this practice have already been explored in some depth, including participant motivations, translation quality, technological innovations and impact on the translation profession.

Particular attention has been given to the motivations of users who participate in crowdsourced translation activities, including the TED Open Translation Project (Olohan 2014c; Cámara de la Fuente 2015), Wikipedia (McDonough Dolmaya 2012), Facebook and Skype (Mesipuu 2012) and the Rosetta Foundation (O'Brien and Schäler 2010). In terms of scope and representativeness of data, it is difficult to compare the results of these studies. For instance, the number of respondents differs considerably: Olohan (2014c) studied 11 translators, who represent under 1% of all translators in the community; McDonough Dolmaya (2012) surveyed 75 translators, who represent an unknown number (and hence unknown percentage) of translators in the community; O'Brien and Schäler (2010) surveyed 139 translators, representing 54% of all translators in the community; and Cámara de la Fuente (2015) surveyed 177 translators, representing about 1% of translators in the community. The methods used to evaluate the motivations also vary considerably: they include qualitative analysis of blog posts written by TED translators (Olohan 2014c), Likert-scale survey (O'Brien and Schäler 2010) and multiple-choice, closed-ended survey questions (McDonough Dolmaya 2012; Cámara de la Fuente 2015). Nonetheless, researchers who have examined crowdsourced translation in the context of not-for-profit organizations

have frequently found that participants are motivated by various factors, but particularly by a feeling of affinity with the organization's mission and a desire to support it (O'Brien and Schäler 2010; McDonough Dolmaya 2012; Olohan 2014c; Cámara de la Fuente 2015). A sense of belonging is also an important motivator for the Skype translation community, though less so in the case of Facebook (Mesipuu 2012). There is therefore a need for more research in this area – more specifically, research that compares the motivations of participants across multiple platforms and a range of for-profit and not-for-profit initiatives. Such research might also examine whether motivations vary based on the languages from and into which participants translate. Moreover, since translator motivation in free and open-source software (FOSS) projects has been understudied, a focus on these initiatives would be particularly useful for comparing motivations across a wider range of contexts.

The quality of the translations produced via crowdsourcing has also been of interest to researchers. Jiménez-Crespo (2011c) has suggested that crowdsourcing models like Facebook, where end users determine translation quality by voting on suggested translations, offer novel means of investigating translation quality assessment using approaches that had previously been criticized for not being explicit enough to use in translation criticism and for being too time-consuming to implement (*ibid.*:140–42). He argues that the Facebook model, while not drawing directly on Nida's reader-response approach to translation evaluation, implements components from the model (*ibid.*:148). This suggests that the technology that supports crowdsourcing platforms may allow new or previously underdeveloped methods of translation quality assessment to be adopted. In a later study that compared the interactive segments of the Penninsular Spanish version of Facebook with the same segments in social networking sites originally produced in Spain, Jiménez-Crespo (2013a) found that the Facebook website frequently matched the genre conventions of the domestic websites. He suggests that crowdsourcing might be an effective way of producing more natural-sounding translations that closely mimic target-locale conventions (*ibid.*:41). By contrast,

McDonough Dolmaya (2015), who examined a sample of 94 translated Wikipedia articles to determine how the articles are revised, notes that in many of the articles, transfer and language problems (Mosop 2006b) persisted for months or years before being resolved, and that in some cases, the problems were not addressed even after two years. Transfer problems were also less likely to be resolved than language errors. Given that Facebook and Wikipedia are based on very different crowdsourcing models, the divergent results reported by Jiménez-Crespo and McDonough Dolmaya suggest that further research could explore questions such as how the design of the translation platform might affect quality, how the motivations and number of participants might impact quality in a particular crowdsourced translation project, and whether quality expectations might differ from one platform to another. O'Hagan (2017b) takes a rather different approach: instead of directly assessing the quality of the translations, she focuses more specifically on how trust and trustworthiness are integral to translation quality assessment in Facebook's crowdsourced translation platform, arguing that the voting system, which appears to be an "objective quantification of trustworthiness" is actually biased in favour of votes by a 'friend' rather than an unknown user (*ibid.*:39–40).

Researchers have also considered whether and how crowdsourcing impacts the profession. McDonough Dolmaya (2011b) and Drugan (2011) pursue this question from the perspective of ethics. McDonough Dolmaya explores three ethical issues related to crowdsourcing: remuneration, the visibility of participants and the profession, and the effects of crowdsourcing on minor languages (or languages of limited diffusion). Arguing that the ethical implications depend not only on whether a project is for-profit or not-for-profit, but also on how the project is organized and publicly described, she acknowledges that crowdsourcing can increase the public visibility of translation and minority languages but notes that many initiatives publicly depict translation as a low-skill task and exploit the participants' sense of commitment to other users in the target community (2011b: 106–107). Lenihan (2011), whose research focuses specifically on the metalanguage of

Facebook's Irish language translation application, echoes the latter point by highlighting the importance that Irish and Welsh users placed on having Facebook in their language and noting that they encouraged others to participate in the translation efforts (*ibid.*:53). Drugan (2011), on the other hand, focuses on the codes of ethics developed for crowdsourced translation projects as well as other online collaborative translation initiatives, including volunteer communities. In a conclusion that aligns with the findings of research into the motivations of crowdsourcing translators, she suggests that non-professional codes place greater emphasis on shared values and ideals than professional codes (*ibid.*:121).

Rather than engaging with the ethical implications of the practice, Flanagan (2016) addresses the question of how crowdsourcing may be affecting the translation industry by studying the blogs of 48 professional translators to determine how these bloggers depict crowdsourcing. Most of the 64 blog posts in Flanagan's study focused on negative aspects of crowdsourcing, with only ten posts expressing positive views and ten discussing both positive and negative elements of crowdsourcing. The bloggers Flanagan studied addressed various issues, including whether the subject-matter expertise of the crowdsourcers helped them resolve translation challenges, whether the bloggers are likely to support crowdsourcing in not-for-profit contexts, and whether high-quality translation is possible in a crowdsourcing model. Flanagan concludes that the blog posts under study indicate that crowdsourcers and professional translators can exist without competing with one another (*ibid.*:164).

Given that research in this area has largely been qualitative, the question of crowdsourcing's impact on the profession could be explored further through quantitative approaches, including surveys of professional translators to determine, for instance, how often they participate in crowdsourced initiatives and under what conditions. Studies of the efficiency of the crowdsourcing process, based on a qualitative assessment of the various platform designs and translation submission and evaluation processes, could also help demonstrate whether certain aspects of crowdsourcing methods can be adopted in professional translation contexts.

Future directions

A wide range of issues related to crowdsourced translation have either not been explored at all or have been explored to some extent but merit more sustained attention. In particular, little attention has been given to the discourse of crowdsourcing, that is, the language used in crowdsourcing initiatives to encourage participation and to describe translation. The work undertaken by Lenihan (2011) in relation to Facebook's discourse suggests that this is an area rich in sociopolitical implications. Research in this area might also engage with current debates in the discipline over the metalanguage of crowdsourcing and persistent terminological inconsistencies.

The implications of crowdsourcing for translator training is another area that deserves closer scrutiny. Although some work has examined the pedagogical implications of the rise of fan translation networks and online social networking platforms (O'Hagan 2008; Desjardins 2011), less attention has been given specifically to crowdsourcing platforms and the ways in which they might be incorporated into translator-training programmes. Brunette and Gagnon (2013), who experimented with incorporating Wikipedia into a bilingual revision course, lauded the platform's capacity to track revisions and incorporate collaborative discussions, which points to some potential advantages for both instructors and students. The same advantages are discussed by Babych et al. (2012) in relation to a collaborative translation platform they adapted specifically for training purposes. Some of the features Babych et al. mention – such as automated suggestions to students about additional resources and problematic passages, and the ability to consult with specific agents – illustrate how the technological innovations offered by crowdsourcing platforms can help supplement instructor feedback and improve self-learning in the context of social constructivist approaches to translator training.

There is growing interest in how knowledge is disseminated in online environments, and the role that technology plays in crowdsourced translation. Shuttleworth (2018), for instance, in his study of nine language versions of the Wikipedia article on the assassination of Boris

Nemtsov, explores questions about translation flows and knowledge provenance in the collaborative encyclopedia. H. Jones (2019a), using the English Wikipedia article on Tokyo as a case study, focuses more specifically on how the production and dissemination of knowledge is shaped by the consensus and dissent that coexist in online collaborative spaces such as Wikipedia. O'Hagan (2017b) is more interested in the effects of the technologization of translation via crowdsourcing. With Facebook's crowdsourced translation platform acting as a backdrop to the study, O'Hagan focuses specifically on issues such as the erosion of translator autonomy due to the platform's design.

Knowledge dissemination in crowdsourced platforms is closely related to two other topics that are likely to generate more research in the future: the first is the question of whether access to knowledge can be more fairly distributed (Anastasiou and Schäler 2010; Lenihan 2011), and the second is how translation and language policies can shape translation production and dissemination in crowdsourcing environments. Along these lines, McDonough Dolmaya (2017) explores how a fair and efficient translation policy might be developed for Wikipedia; however, since crowdsourcing initiatives vary greatly in terms of platform design, participant profiles and motivations, considerably more work needs to be done in this area. Exton et al. (2010:81), for instance, suggest that crowdsourcing could address some of the shortcomings in mainstream localization practices, where decisions about which language communities to target are based largely on the financial return on investment. In their view, crowdsourcing allows users to engage in the localization process and gain access to information they would otherwise be excluded from. Exton et al. therefore propose a "micro-crowdsourcing" model for software localization, where users would gain free access to the software in return for translating elements of the system and its documentation (2010:82); this suggestion however raises a range of ethical issues, as discussed by McDonough Dolmaya (2011b). Alternative or reimagined crowdsourcing models could help address the existing gaps in knowledge distribution, and translation studies research can help identify specific areas where improvements can be made. This aspect of crowdsourcing can benefit from and feed into

existing research on translation and activism in online spheres (Pérez-González 2010).

Finally, future research might explore the different forms that translation takes in crowdsourced contexts. For instance, H. Jones (2018b) notes that translation activities in Wikipedia have thus far been studied from a very narrow perspective, one in which translation and original writing are separated as distinct processes. The focus has been on how Wikipedia users translate articles from one Wikipedia language version to another, either partially or in their entirety. But as H. Jones argues, translation is also involved during the drafting and editing stages, when sources from one language are summarized, paraphrased and translated by multilingual Wikipedia editors writing articles in a different language. Given the broader debate over the definition of translation in a variety of other contexts (Jiménez-Crespo 2017a:12), there is a clear need for future scholarship to reconsider how translation is conceptualized in the context of crowdsourcing.

See also:

COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION; DIGITAL AND ONLINE CONTEXTS; QUALITY, TRANSLATION; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Further reading

Jiménez-Crespo, M. (2017) *Crowdsourcing and Online Collaborative Translations: Expanding the limits of translation studies*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Defines crowdsourced translation, discusses its history and related issues such as quality, copyright, activism and ethics. Various forms of online collaborative translation are explored, including volunteer and paid crowdsourcing, fansubbing and romhacking. O'Hagan, M. (ed.) (2011) *Translation as a Social Activity: Community translation 2.0*, special issue of *Linguistica Antverpiensia* 10.

Focuses on crowdsourcing and online collaborative translation in the context of both non-profit organizations and for-profit companies.

Susam-Saraeva and Pérez-González (eds) (2012) *Non-professionals Translating and Interpreting*, special issue of *The Translator* 18(2).

Explores various contexts in which translation and interpretation are performed by

people who are do not have professional training in the field, with several articles focusing on crowdsourcing and volunteer translation.

JULIE MCDONOUGH DOLMAYA

Cultural translation

The term cultural translation has a surplus of meanings. In popular speech, it is often used to mean something like mediation. For instance, according to Ethan Zuckerman, founder of the Global Voices blogging site, cultural translators are “‘DJs. . . [or] skilled human curators’ who can speak the language of the West and of other cultures at the same time” (quoted in Mayberry 2010). In academic speech, it might appear to mean the substitution of cultural referents in a form of translation “oriented towards the target culture, what may be called reader-oriented or ‘domesticating’ translation” (Trivedi 2007:282). But the ways in which scholars have used the term are not quite so straightforward, and its competing uses can be polarizing. For some, cultural translation is a form of “alchemy” that “opens up a space of the national in-between, the gold of hybrid and mobile identities amid the current catastrophes of war and terror” (Longinovic 2002:5). For others, it “spells . . . the very extinction and erasure of translation as we have always known and practised it” (Trivedi 2007:282).

Such polysemy notwithstanding, it is possible to find patterns among the term’s uses (Conway 2013; Pym 2010a). They appear, for instance, along disciplinary lines. British social anthropologists were the first to speak of cultural translation – or translation between cultures – in the 1950s. They used the term as a metaphor to refer to efforts to translate – that is, render meaningful – a foreign cultural community for a domestic audience. Postcolonial scholars, on the other hand, began to speak of cultural translation in the 1990s, in an attempt to develop a vocabulary to describe the effect that immigrants and other outsiders had when they entered a different national community – when they were translated into a new place. Patterns also appear among the works that scholars cite: Talal Asad’s

essay in *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986) is a frequent touchpoint in anthropology, while Homi Bhabha’s (1994a) book *The Location of Culture* plays a similar role in postcolonialism. Finally, patterns appear in the ways scholars relate cultural translation to translation in a more conventional sense, as interlingual translation (Jakobson 1959). In anthropology, cultural translation often, but not always, involves interlingual translation; in postcolonial studies, interlingual translation need not take place at all.

Anthropology and postcolonialism

Within British social anthropology, Godfrey Lienhardt was one of the earliest and most influential scholars to use translation as a metaphor. In a radio broadcast in the early 1950s, he argued that

[t]he problem of describing to others how members of a remote tribe think [appears] largely as one of translation, of making the coherence primitive thought has in the languages it really lives in, as clear as possible in our own.

(Lienhardt 1954:97)

For him, the anthropologist’s task consisted in observing and explaining the social structures, manifest in rituals and customs, that shaped how communities operated and how their members made sense of the world. As anthropologists engaged in this task, they puzzled, for instance, over how to represent informants’ ideas when, from the anthropologist’s perspective, they seemed absurd or nonsensical. By and large, however, they did not turn their analytical lenses back on themselves. They failed to see that their idea of translation was grounded in an ethnocentrism that took western modernity as its unacknowledged point of reference. If anthropologists felt they could see what their informants could not, it was because they perceived themselves as objective, or at least outside of culture in the sense in which the word applied to the people they studied. They thus failed to see that their observations were distorted by the fact that, in the words of Edward Said (1989:219–220), the “native point of view . . . is

not an ethnographic fact only, is not a hermeneutical construct primarily or even principally; it is in large measure a continuing, protracted, and sustained adversarial resistance to the discipline and the praxis of anthropology.”

The publication of *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986) marked a turning point in the way anthropologists talked about cultural translation. The critique it presented built on ideas that had been developing in the years leading up to its publication, but what set it apart from earlier debates was its sustained critique of the methods of anthropology and the strong case it made for increased reflexivity. Asad’s chapter proved especially influential because of the way it drew together previously disparate ideas under the rubric of cultural translation, and because of its call to examine the “asymmetrical tendencies and pressures in the languages of dominated and dominant societies” (1986:164). Asad argued that anthropologists had a responsibility to write in such a way that the people they wrote about could contest how they were depicted, an argument that contemporary anthropologists have taken a step further by drawing attention to the ways in which anthropologists themselves change in their encounter with their informants: producing a cultural translation means “co-creating text [or] producing a written version of a lived reality, and it is in this sense that it can be powerfully transformative for those who take part” (Jordan 2002:98).

Cultural translation is a more controversial term in postcolonial studies. It has captured many scholars’ imagination because, as they see it, it provides a way for “legal and illegal immigrants, refugees, asylum-seekers as well as itinerant academics” to resist hegemonic forces, usually in a national context (Longinovic 2002:6). Scholars of translation studies object to this metaphorical use of the term because, some argue, it distracts researchers from translation as a practice.

The most prominent scholar associated with the term in postcolonial studies is Homi Bhabha (1994a), who uses cultural translation as a tool to analyze Salman Rushdie’s *Satanic Verses*. Bhabha evokes the etymology of *translation*, from the Latin *translātus*, the past participle of *transferre*, meaning to carry across; interestingly, this sense remains current in mathematics, where *translation* refers to the transposition of a shape to

a new set of coordinates. According to Bhabha, migrants are translated into a new community when they move from one place to another. He borrows an idea from Walter Benjamin, who identifies an “element in a translation which goes beyond transmittal of a subject matter. . . [an] element in a translation which does not lend itself to translation” (Benjamin 1968:75). Bhabha sees migrants playing a similar role in their “culture of the ‘in-between,’ the minority position, [which] dramatizes the activity of culture’s untranslatability” (Bhabha 1994a:224). In other words, migrants introduce an untranslatable foreignness into the realm of the familiar, thus calling the distinction between foreign and familiar into question. Cultural translation thus holds the potential of resisting hegemonic, fixed notions of identity, especially in multicultural societies in Europe and North America.

Critics of this use argue that cultural translation is a faddish term for English-speaking academics, many of whom are monolingual and have little experience with translation in a more conventional sense. According to Trivedi, this use of the term poses a threat for those who write in languages other than English. In this respect, cultural translation undermines the very practice upon which it appears to be modelled: “if literary translation is allowed to wither away in the age of cultural translation, we shall sooner than later end up with a wholly translated, monolingual, monocultural, monolithic world” (Trivedi 2007:286). A lengthy iteration of this debate took place on and off the pages of the journal *Translation Studies* in 2009 and 2010. Buden and Nowotny (2009) describe a test that applicants for German citizenship must pass; this includes questions about “German history, the German Constitution, civil rights, the German juridical and political system, German culture, sport, national symbols” (ibid.:197). In effect, these questions provide a definition of what it means to be German by “drawing a clear boundary line between German and non-German. . . . By answering most of these questions correctly, one is in the literal sense culturally translated into ‘being German’ and consequently provided with a new political identity” (ibid.). The journal published 11 responses to this initial intervention by Buden and Nowotny in the same issue and in two more that followed. These addressed a wide range of topics, including the

implications of enlarging the field of translation studies, the power imbalances inherent in migration and social integration, and the social and historical biases of treating translation as a form of carrying across when other traditions foreground “notions of difference or mediation” (Chesterman 2010a:104). The author of one particularly forceful critique, Anthony Pym, chose not to publish his response in the journal, opting instead to post it directly on the web. In a broadside against “bad philosophy in translation studies”, by which he means airy pronouncements about translation unsupported by empirical observation, he echoes Trivedi’s critique of Bhabha: “I am appalled that [Buden and Nowotny] are apparently unable to break ‘cultural translation’ down in terms of appropriate distinctions (like the one between translations as products and translating as a process)” (Pym 2010b:7). Pym also found Buden and Nowotny’s approach tendentious in that, he argues, it tells a tale with clear villains (the authors of German citizenship tests) and heroes (the immigrants who triumph against them).

Beyond the Asad/Bhabha dichotomy

Other, later understandings of cultural translation posit two arguments. First, it is possible to move past the Asad/Bhabha dichotomy, as Maitland (2017) characterizes it; and second, attention paid to cultural translation need not detract from translation as a form of reexpression. It is not a zero-sum game. The two arguments are related: it is possible to overcome past dichotomies precisely by returning to interlingual translation as a model.

These approaches take as their starting point the fundamental contestability of meaning. For instance, Conway (2017) starts by observing that words and other signs have a material aspect, as sounds that travel from a speaker’s mouth to a listener’s ear, and a subjective aspect, consisting of what these sounds evoke for the speaker and listener. In a conversation, speakers must constantly account for how people before them have used a word. This act brings about a subtle change in a word’s subjective dimension: each speaker must account for how a prior speaker used a word in ways the prior speaker did not.

The change is typically incremental, involving a gradual building up of meaning through repetition in different contexts, one immediate example being the way ‘cultural translation’ is likely to evoke a richer set of associations for some readers at the end of this entry than it did at the beginning. At times the change is dramatic, as when one person communicates something life-changing to another, who must then make sense of a new configuration of his or her semiotic universe. Either way, a word or any other sign is not identical to itself from one use to the next because its subjective dimension changes. Seen from this perspective, communication, even in everyday conversation, becomes a series of transformations and substitutions, where with each use a more developed sign takes the place of a less developed one. Two conclusions follow from this observation. First, there is always a gap between what a word evokes for a speaker and what it evokes for a listener. The gap cannot be overcome, but it can be reduced through a series of approximate substitutions as people ask questions, rephrase statements and try to explain what they mean. This process is one of cultural translation. Second, interlingual translation can shed light on cultural translation because it is characterized by a similar logic: a translator substitutes a word or series of words in one language for a word or series of words in another. In effect, interlingual translation is a specific type of substitution, and because it is so well studied, it can occupy a place of analytical privilege for understanding cultural translation.

A second approach takes this position a step further. Maitland (2017) grounds her analysis in the field of translation studies by drawing on the hermeneutic theories of Paul Ricoeur (2006) and George Steiner (1998), both of whom challenge ideas of interpretive authority. Maitland argues that all any reader has is a text, which takes on an independent existence once the author releases it into the world. No one – not the author, not tradition – has the final say about what it means. Instead, interpretation is “an argumentative practice” that takes the form of “a guess which must be validated by others and which has the aim of terminating in comprehension” (Maitland 2017:134). For Maitland, cultural translation becomes “a gesture of interpretation – of contested understandings of the objects of human experience that suffuse the

practice of everyday life in the social sphere and the attendant gestures of thoughtful reflection and analysis this entails" (ibid.:53). It is imbued with an ethical dimension: this gesture of interpretation is "accompanied by a simultaneous gesture of desire – to occasion different behaviours and different ways of thinking and acting within an identified audience" (ibid.). Cultural translation consists in a critique of ideology where those in positions of power "undertake a journey of understanding across a distance, and . . . achieve a heightened sense of the fallibility of their own presumptions to knowledge as a result" (ibid.:147). If meaning can always be contested, they, like everyone else, must articulate, defend and validate their hermeneutic guesses (ibid.:151).

Maitland offers the concrete example of the Britain First Facebook site and Twitter feed, which satirize Britain First, a nativist movement whose vision of Britain includes neither Muslims nor immigrants. Britain First defends an identity rooted in a historical narrative of racial and religious purity, taking hegemonic notions of Britishness to their logical extreme. Britain First mocks Britain First by mimicking its content in ways that make it appear absurd. In 2014, for instance, it posted an image of Ray-Ban sunglasses – titled 'Muslimic Ray-Bans' – with a halal sticker. The caption read, "Ray-Ban have been forced to make 'halal' sunglasses. SHARE IF YOU THINK THIS IS A DISGRACE!!!!" (Maitland 2017:144). The purpose of the satirical post, signalled by its mangled lexicon (Muslimic), emphatic capitalization and copious exclamation points, was to cast the claims of Britain First in a new light. In effect, Maitland argues, this satire forces readers who agree with Britain First to step outside themselves and see their statements as if through someone else's eyes. This journey of understanding across a distance becomes a catalyst for the critique of ideology that cultural translation can bring about. Britain First, if its satire succeeds, weakens hegemonic notions of identity by forcing people who cling to them to reflect on their interpretations of history, rather than proceed as if these interpretations were self-evident. It might even result, Maitland suggests, in people changing their behaviour and ways of thinking.

This approach, too, suggests ways in which interlingual translation can serve as a model

for examining cultural translation. The journey Maitland describes resembles that of translation as an experience of the foreign in Berman's terms. For Berman, translation

starts from what is one's own, the same (the known, the quotidian, the familiar), in order to go towards the foreign, the other (the unknown, the miraculous, the *Unheimliche*), and, starting from this experience, to return to its point of departure.

(1984/1992:46; original emphasis)

Translators have a long history of making this journey possible. They have developed professional norms and are practised in committing their interpretation of a text to writing and defending it. Scholars of translation in turn have developed a large body of theoretical literature that examines this practice. To make the insights of this literature valuable for cultural translation, it will be necessary to identify who acts as a cultural translator and in what contexts. But with a clearer sense of this role, cultural translators, too, can develop norms and scholars can refine their explanations of the journey they make possible.

Future directions

Ideas of cultural translation have evolved as scholars in different fields have adopted and adapted the concept. This evolution has been characterized by a constant turn to the question of ethics and intercultural contact. Anthropologists examined how the way they represented others also perpetuated colonial relationships of power, and postcolonial scholars asked how the "migrant culture of the 'in-between'" (Bhabha 1994a:224) weakened hegemonic structures of dominance and the forms of oppression that supported them. Later approaches take as their starting point the idea that cultural translation "must also have as its primary objective nothing short of the transformation of human hearts and minds" (Maitland 2017:53).

What these developments call for is continued refinement of the concept of cultural translation. Scholars and practitioners have developed powerful conceptual tools for describing translation, and these may be developed further to support the investigation of the broader phenomenon of

cultural translation. The question of ethics may be a productive place to start, ensuring, among other things, that translation in the conventional sense is not emptied of all meaning. Indeed, future research has the potential to demonstrate that interlingual translation holds the very real potential to improve scholars' understanding of the different ideas they have placed under the rubric of cultural translation.

See also:

COSMOPOLITANISM; ETHNOGRAPHY; HYBRIDITY; MIGRATION; THICK TRANSLATION

Further reading

Conway, K. (2017) *Little Mosque on the Prairie and the Paradoxes of Cultural Translation*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Discusses how the producers of a popular television show about a mosque in rural Canada translated Muslims for non-Muslim viewers, demonstrating the influence of a commercial broadcasting system on cultural translation by identifying a paradox whereby producers erased visible signs of difference in the name of diversity.

Geertz, C. (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected readings*, New York: Basic.

A key text that has influenced the fields of anthropology and cultural studies; although it does not speak of cultural translation as such, it discusses techniques to address the paradoxes that arise when scholars explain how people from other cultural communities make sense of the world.

Maitland, S. (2017) *What Is Cultural Translation?*, London: Bloomsbury.

Draws on the hermeneutical approaches of Paul Ricoeur and George Steiner to develop an approach to cultural translation that challenges and synthesizes past approaches, arguing for an application of the idea grounded in the practice of interlingual translation.

Papastergiadis, N. (2012) *Cosmopolitanism and Culture*, London: Polity.

Explores the aesthetic dimensions of cultural translation by examining avant-garde art collectives, placing the emphasis on situations where power between groups coming into contact is distributed in radically uneven ways.

KYLE CONWAY

Culture

In the English-speaking world, *culture* is a “top look-up” (Merriam Webster 2014), supporting Raymond William’s (1976/1985:25) comment that “[c]ulture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language”. Until the eighteenth century, however, culture – in Europe at least – referred exclusively to the humanist ideal of what was considered civilized in a developed society. A second meaning of culture emerged with the rise of anthropology, the study of *anthropos*/humankind. The focus was originally on studying the way of life of so-called primitive peoples, but now includes the study of “dispersed networks in cities or institutions [or] intercontinental migrant communities” (Erikson et al. 2001:162). Merriam-Webster’s (2014) own online analysis of the spike in interest points to a more sociological understanding of culture: “a kind of academic attention to systematic behaviour [which] allows us to identify and isolate an idea, issue, or group”. With the development of disciplines such as cultural studies, a distinctly different meaning has emerged, with culture being understood as an ideological force operating on society (Jenks 2005). Hence, depending on the definition adopted, culture may be an expression of excellence, a way of life classified by others as key, characteristic or even exotic, or something to problematize and be wary of. It may be formally learned, unconsciously shared or function as a site of conflict. To complicate matters further, anthropologists themselves now seriously question “the old idea of ‘a people’ possessing ‘a shared culture’” (Erikson et al. 2001:162).

Most translation scholars accept that the meaning of a text is context dependent, that some form of cultural filter (Katan 2009a; House 2016:75–76) operates during translation; and that a professional translator should have (inter) cultural competence (Kelly 2005a:74; EMT 2009), which Katan (2009b:284) defines in terms of the translator’s ability to perceive and handle difference (Tomozeiu et al. 2016). At the same time, there is much resistance by professional organizations to practitioners mediating texts, i.e. taking the responsibility for, and dealing with, the inevitable refraction between one reality and another (Liu and Katan 2017). This resistance is

particularly noticeable where the interpreting or translating takes place for the benefit of community outsiders, such as tourists or immigrants.

Different understandings of culture

Various understandings of culture can be presented as hierarchical frames or levels, each one (to some extent) embedded within larger frames. This hierarchy is based on the Theory of Types (Bateson 1972), which allows for each of the competing types of culture to be linked to an aspect of translation theory and practice. The levels themselves (referred to as technical, formal and informal) are based on E.T. Hall's popular anthropological iceberg model, the Triad of Culture model (1959/1990), which divides understandings of culture into what is visible (above the waterline), semi-visible and invisible. This iceberg metaphor parallels Freud's own iceberg theory involving three levels of the mind, which move from the conscious to the unconscious (McLeod 2015). The types, or frames, below the waterline are progressively more hidden but also progressively closer to our unquestioned assumptions about the world and our own (cultural) identities. A further dimension of hegemonic forces operates on the iceberg itself, as each level also reflects a different way in which society impinges on learning: technically, through explicit instruction; formally, through trial-and-error modelling of others; and informally, through memes, the unconscious inculcation of principles and worldviews in society. The extent to which a translator should intervene – i.e. interpret and manipulate rather than operate a purely linguistic transfer – will be negotiated in accordance with beliefs about the translator's role and the extent to which context should be taken into consideration.

The first cultural frame, or level, is at the tip of the iceberg and coincides with the humanist concept of culture. The focus is on the text, and on straightforward extratextual references. At this technical level, any associated hidden values are considered universal. Translation courses that engage with culture routinely focus on this area of "cultural knowledge" (Tomozeiu et al. 2016:253), what Newmark (1981:184–185) calls "the cultural value" of translation. Indeed

the bylaws of the International Federation of Translators (FIT 2011) similarly assume that the value of translation is that it contributes "to the spread of culture throughout the world". Culture here is a thing to be imparted, such as literature, religion, philosophy and science (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012). Although spreading the new ideas might be perceived as an affront or as the wielding of hegemony rather than as enlightenment, at this level, the main concern of translators is to mediate the culture-bound referents for the new readership to reduce possible culture bumps (Leppihalme 1997). The assumption, at this level, is that once the culture-bound reference is made manifest in the translation, the communicative effect (efficacy) and the more psychological communicative affect will be context-independent.

Eugene Nida, a Bible translator, was a pioneer in this field. He highlighted the fact that new readerships would be unable to make manifest the culture-bound references of a text written 2000 years ago if a formally equivalent approach were used. He suggested, instead, a dynamic (or functional) equivalence approach, which "tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his [or her] own culture" (1964:159). Later work along these lines has been undertaken by scholars of audiovisual translation (Chiaro et al. 2008; Pedersen 2011; Ranzato 2016). Most work focuses on how to account for cultural references, which Pedersen divides into intralinguistic and extralinguistic, the latter termed ECRs. The intralinguistic include the translation of idioms, proverbs, slang and dialects, while ECRs include – following the European Master of Translation's intercultural competence descriptors – "[k]nowing how to grasp the presuppositions, the implicit, allusions, stereotypes and intertextual nature of a document" (EMT 2009:6). EMT (2017:6) later reclassified this competence, as "Language and Culture", and made it "the driving force behind all the other competences", though the cultural descriptors are no longer defined.

Since Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), various scholars have offered a plethora of strategies to compensate for lack of equivalence (Ranzato 2016), from word level to pragmatics and beyond (Baker 1992/2018). Pedersen (2011:101–102) usefully classifies intervention in terms of degree. Minimum intervention includes

retention, specification and direct translation, while more marked intervention includes generalization, substitution and omission. Intercultural mediation (IM) (Katan 2013; Pöchacher 2008; Garzone and Archibald 2014; Taibi and Ozolins 2016) begins at this level of marked intervention. For Katan (2016a), IM represents the degree to which the translator uses her cultural insider skills to interpret and account for the intended meanings and likely reception of the text. The degree of intervention and the risks involved increase as we move down to the levels below the waterline, and to where the textlinguistic cues are more context dependent.

Hall's second, formal level of culture derives from anthropological definitions of culture, which focus on normal or appropriate practices. Vermeer's definition of culture, the "standard among German-speaking translation scholars" (Snell-Hornby 2006:55) focuses on this formal level: "the totality of norms, conventions and opinions which determine the behaviour of the members of a society, and all results of this behaviour (such as architecture, university institutions. . .)" (1990:9, trans. Snell-Hornby 2006:55). This is also the level of translation norms, for which Toury (1995/2012:63) is best known (Chesterman 2017:167–183). Toury also calls norms "performance 'instructions'", defining them as "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what would count as right or wrong, adequate or inadequate". Toury's definition follows the same tripartite iceberg model outlined here: values guide norms that in turn shape performance. Here, the translator's focus of interest moves from encyclopedic knowledge to culture-specific discourse preferences.

At this formal level, anthropologists, linguists and translation scholars have investigated "cultural grammars" (Duranti 1997:27; Goodenough 2003:5), defined by Wierzbicka (1996:527, 2003, 2006) as "a set of subconscious rules that shape a people's ways of thinking, feeling, speaking, and interacting". These and their associated scripts form an integral part of the ethnography of communication, which has also been studied at discourse level, particularly in the field of second language learning, under the umbrella term of contrastive (now intercultural) rhetoric (Connor 2011). Cultural grammars have also been referred to as cultural

conceptualizations, which Sharifian (2017) subsumes under the term cultural linguistics.

Translation, at this formal level, is sometimes referred to as pragmatic translation (Kübler and Volanschi 2012), though most research has focused on discreet units, generally using parallel and comparable corpora to investigate functional equivalences (Zanettin 2014b; House 2016; Manca 2016; Levisen and Waters (2017) – a focus not generally consonant with pragmatics itself. Culture-bound multimodal features of discourse, such as in museum brochures (Cranmer 2016) or soundscapes in audio guides (Fina 2017), are also being investigated at this level. 'Accessibility' is the key issue here, which amateur, untrained 'natural' translators, mediators and cultural informers are often more aware of and willing to account for (Katan 2016a, 2016b).

Hall's third level of culture, referred to as informal or out-of-awareness, closely parallels Freud's concept of superego (McLeod 2015), the area of conscience and of affect. Culture here is a more or less shared context (Malinowski 1935:51–52), a *weltgeist* (world spirit) and *weltanschauung* (worldview); a model or map of the world (Korzybski 1933/1958) which the interculturalist Hofstede (2001) reinterprets as mental programming. The most systematic treatment of culture for translators, according to Tymoczko (2007/2014:224), explains this programming as "a system of congruent and inter-related beliefs, values and strategies" that guide action and interaction (Katan 2004:26). This mentalist and symbolist understanding of culture is perhaps best exemplified by the ethnographer Geertz, who defines culture as "webs of significance [a community] has spun" (1973:5). Many of Geertz's ideas are now mainstream in translation theory, and Blumczynski (2016:136) argues that he is the ideal translation scholar's alter ego. Another ethnographer who is often appealed to in the literature (Nord 1997:24; Pedersen 2011:47; Munday 2012a:2; House 2016:33) is Agar, who talks of "languaculture" and "rich points" (1994a: 60; 1994b:232), where terms "loaded with associations" (2015:20) are lost through technical level translation. These rich points are also what Levisen and Waters (2017) call cultural keywords, the site of Sapir-Whorf's linguistic and cultural relativity, Sapir (1929:209) famously purported that "[n]o two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be

considered as representing the same social reality". This does not mean that translation is impossible, but that language is an integral part of the cultural filter (Katan 2004:29), and that mediation (or IM) should take place to ensure that translation is mindful of both effect and affect. At this informal or out-of-awareness level, culture is truly thick (Geertz 1973) in that even a single term or action has a potential series of effects and affects related to the particular webs spun. Appiah (1993/2012) introduced the idea of thick translation, which a number of translation scholars have taken up (Hermans 2003; Sakellariou 2011). Appiah suggests reducing refraction by explaining the loads of associations through largely extratextual footnotes, glosses and annotations. The result, however, can lead to what Carbonell i Cortés (2004:34) calls "academic foreignising", where emotively felt shades of meaning are made technically clear but at the same time lose their affect.

Apart from a languaculture's affective orientation towards particular lexical associations, cultures distinguish themselves through their adherence to more general core values (or dimensions and orientations). Interculturalists, such as E.T. Hall, who coined the term intercultural communication (1959/1990), have attempted to isolate communication orientations based on the core values of a community, usually defined in national terms. The classification of orientations produced by, for example, Hofstede (2001) on the basis of quantitative psychometric research has been used to account for particular translation and interpreting choices (Katan 2004; Katan and Straniero 2001; Cucchi 2015). These core orientations foster norms which may clash with imposed formal-level translation norms. Bennett (2013), for example, argues that translation into a globalized (Anglo) academic style contributes to what she calls epistemicide, the stifling of other cultural knowledge(s) and epistemologies. In literary translation, affect can similarly be lost. Spivak (1993:180) famously noted how Third World writers lose their individual culture, and the alterities they write about, through a homogenized translation, "so that the literature by a woman in Pakistan begins to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan". The need to safeguard a culture's particular constellation of values against this

Anglo-American (and male) driven homogenization is stressed by many (Baker 2013a; Flotow and Farahzad 2017). Venuti originally proposed foreignization (1995b/2008, 1998a) as the only ethical translation strategy, but later accepted mediation as the realistic approach, given that a text's "distinctive linguistic features are the support of meanings, values, and functions specific to its originary culture, and these features do not survive intact, without variation, the move to a different language and culture" (2013:3).

From culture to cultures

Culture then has traditionally been viewed in terms of an identifying entity – whether it be a cultureme, a way of acting or a value – which through translation may be protected, distorted or lost. This is what House (2016:34) calls "old thinking about culture". The new thinking arrived with the upsurge of postmodern cultural studies, which problematizes any form of essentialist modelling, and suggests that neither the language nor the location of one's birth and/or upbringing uniquely determines one's culture. This renders the concept of culture more complex, leading Vertovec (2007) to argue for adopting the term super-diversity, which encapsulates well the world of the twenty-first century, where countries traditionally imagined as almost fossilized in terms of people, language and ways of life are now being reimagined to encompass people with multiple-origins, fully including members of transnationally connected immigrant groups, as well as groups linked through cultural globalization. Indeed, culture here emerges as whatever it is (apart from the language) that connects a particular text and reader(ship). Translating thus cannot be reduced to a priori static models of culture. It is a dynamic process, and the effect/affect is unpredictable because "the meanings of the translated text are constructed and negotiated by the multiple agents involved" (Kershaw and Saldanha 2013:9). Canagarajah (2013a) goes further, suggesting that we are all translanguaging, and that therefore it is through the language we use at any given moment – such as English as a lingua franca – that the webs of significance can be studied. Cultures here are not just dynamic but

fleeting. Indeed, Street argues that “[c]ulture is a verb”, meaning that culture is an active (and contested) process of meaning-making (1993:25). This is culture as a sociological phenomenon, with the implication that ethnic and national factors will have less effect on writing and translating than the conventions of the genre or the repertoires that are familiar to the particular social/professional grouping addressed. This grouping has been theorized as a community of practice by some (Wenger-Trayner and Beverly 2015) and as a small culture by others (Holliday 1999), in both cases avoiding the essentialist assumptions that underpin the literature on large cultural groupings. Nevertheless, Chinese scholar Li suggests that “[t]he world is not as free-flowing as postmodernists would like us to believe” (X. Li 2008:16). Her analysis of writing and preferred academic essay topics shows that Chinese writers are adapting to this particular small culture genre like “a glacier” (ibid.).

Two other fundamental differences distinguish this cultural studies approach from the old thinking model. First, whatever was considered normal or ordinary in culture is now understood as the result of competing forces that privilege or suppress one or another set of values. At best there is negotiation within a set of complex cultural systems that are constantly jockeying for power. At worst, there is only survival of the most powerful. In translation studies, scholars drawing on polysystem theory (Evan-Zohar 1990a), postcolonial theory (Orsini and Srivastava 2013) and narrative theory (Baker 2006b) all focus on this more reflective level of culture. Today, we can speak of a translation culture or regime (Pym 2006), composed of forces in society within which translators are located as they participate in constructing the world. At this broader, reflective level, translators acknowledge that texts, and they themselves, are carriers of ideologies (Hatim and Mason 1997:147), with translation as an activity being regulated by societal forces (Wolf and Fukari 2007; Angelelli 2014b). The translator operating at this level is no longer a detached mediator; and once power relations are taken into account the idea of translators being located in-between cultures can be seen as naïve (Tymoczko 2003/2014; Batchelor 2008) or “suspect” (Baker 2006b:41). Indeed, translators

at this informal level must decide if they are working for the weaker, more vulnerable “community” or for the dominant “system” (Leanza 2007:29). The ideal translator for a number of scholars becomes “an ethical agent of social change” (Tymoczko 2003:181), and an activist engaged in renarrating the world (Baker 2006b; Tymoczko 2010b). This view clearly clashes with the current professional translator association view of culture as fully working within ‘the system’, and has led to practitioners, especially in Public Service Interpreting and Translating, feeling that they are located in “zones of uncertainty”, where they are unsure “as to how to ‘occupy’ particular social spaces they come to inhabit” (Inghilleri 2005a:71).

It should be remembered, however, following Bateson (1972), that no level invalidates any of the other levels, and all understandings are useful. Ultimately, culture, at whatever frame-level it is envisaged, is that web of significance which locates a text, a translator and a reader within a particular set of contexts, understood in terms of place, community, idea or ideology.

See also:

COSMOPOLITANISM; ETHNOGRAPHY; GLOBALIZATION; HYBRIDITY; MIGRATION; THICK TRANSLATION; TRANSLATABILITY

Further reading

Hall, E.T. (1959/1990) *The Silent Language*, New York: Anchor Books.

A key text by the author who coined the term intercultural communication and popularized the iceberg theory metaphor; introduces the Triad of Culture and explains them in detail with practical examples, including how each level is taught, learned or acquired.

Katan, D. (2004) *Translating Cultures. An introduction for translators, interpreters and mediators*, London: Routledge.

Details current understandings of culture and their relevance for the translating professions, and explains cultural dimensions and how they impinge on texts.

Kuper, A. (1999) *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

A lively account of how culture and similar terms have been understood in academia

from the period of German and English romanticism to the rise of cultural studies.

Tymoczko, M. (2007/2014) *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators*, London: Routledge.

Calls for a more enlarged understanding of translation to include translating culture;

highlights the limitations of Katan's volume; and extends the discussion outside the largely Eurocentric anthropological model to include self-reflexive theoretical perspectives.

DAVID KATAN

D

Deconstruction

The issues considered most basic to translation theory, such as those of signification, meaning, interpretation and intention, are also core to the most influential thinking of the western philosophical tradition. Deconstruction puts basic elements of this philosophical, or metaphysical, tradition into question, particularly the conceptualization of meaning as a presence that can exist outside or before language, and that can be transferred unchanged between languages. At every point, therefore, deconstruction is involved with the concerns and the processes of translation.

The term deconstruction was coined by Jacques Derrida in the late 1960s as part of his larger engagement with and critique of the western metaphysical tradition and, in part, as a reply to contemporary practices of structuralism. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s Derrida's critique focused strongly on issues of language and translation. Deconstruction is not a method that offers a theory or a strategy of translation; rather, deconstructive reading involves a thorough rethinking of the linguistic, semantic and political operations entailed in translation. Such reassessment repositions translation with respect to the 'original' and to language more generally. Directly and indirectly, the challenges posed by deconstructive readings have altered understandings of the cultural, institutional and political conditions in which translation occurs.

The works of Derrida, still the most influential figure associated with deconstruction, consistently discuss the problem of philosophy as one of translation (1982/1985:120):

What does philosophy say? . . . What does the philosopher say when he is being a philosopher? He says: What matters is

truth or meaning, and since meaning is before or beyond language, it follows that it is translatable. Meaning has the commanding role, and consequently one must be able to fix its univocality or, in any case, to master its plurivocality. If this plurivocality can be mastered, then translation, understood as the transport of a semantic content into another signifying form, is possible. There is no philosophy unless translation in this latter sense is possible.

A deconstructive critique shows that philosophy in this sense is not possible, that it necessarily must fail. Meaning is an *effect* of language, not a prior presence merely expressed in language. But it does not follow that neither philosophy nor translation are possible at all. On the contrary, the work of deconstruction shows that the *limit* of language, which prevents pure meaning and total translation, is also precisely what makes translation possible in the first place, since this limit ensures that meaning can never be absolute, closed off or shut down. Deconstruction rethinks many issues crucial to translation, some of which will be discussed here under three topics: *différance*, *text and writing* and *iterability*.

Différance

Pursuing the implications of Ferdinand de Saussure's observation that "in language there are only differences *without positive terms*" (de Saussure 1959:120; emphasis in original), Derrida notes that a signified concept is never present, or a presence, in and of itself; rather, "every concept is inscribed in a chain or in a system within which it refers to the other, to other concepts, by means of the systematic play of differences" (1972c/1982:11). Nonetheless, Derrida points

out, the foundation of the western metaphysical tradition is built upon sets of binary oppositions such as presence/absence, man/woman, active/passive, original/repetition, identity/difference. The oppositional contrast between the terms relies upon the presumption that each term is self-identical; exceptions therefore are marked as perversion. The first term in each opposition occupies a superior position in a hierarchized and deeply institutionalized system that masks the history of its own constitution (Derrida 1967/1974). Deconstruction upends these binaries, demonstrating that the privileged terms derive their meaning and their importance from their relation to and suppression of the subordinated terms. The point is not simply to reverse these relations but to expose the methods of domination. This understanding quickly became important in much feminist theory. "The 'deconstruction' of a binary opposition", Johnson writes, is "not an annihilation of all values or differences; it is an attempt to follow the subtle, powerful effects of differences already at work within the illusion of a binary opposition" (1980:xi). Identities are not essential but are *performed* through signifying repetition, an understanding that opens the possibility of subversive forms of repetition, particularly through translation (Arrojo 1994; Godard 1990; Spivak 1992, 1994, 1999). Discussing translators such as Adrienne Rich and theorists such as Judith Butler, Bermann finds that "in the process of opening to new and deauthorized fields of knowledge, beyond the bounds of given cultural norms, translation will inevitably lead to a critical relation with power as disparate traditions join in contested fields" (2014:295).

Such mobility is made possible by the systematic play of differences that generates meaning. This play is both spatial and temporal. It is spatial not because the sign marks the place of some positive presence but because it marks differential relations. It is temporal because signification cannot refer directly to the present: it can only make meaning with respect to already constituted relations among signifiers, and in its very constitution it is necessarily open to future relations. Pursuing meaning is therefore not a matter of revealing a content that is already 'there'; on the contrary, it is a relentless tracking through an always moving play of differences. For this reason, Derrida often speaks not of the

signifier, but of the trace. Each element of discourse is "constituted on the basis of the trace within it of the other elements of the chain or system" (Derrida 1972b/1981:26).

In order to express the differential movement of language succinctly, Derrida coined the neologism (or, more precisely, the neographism) *différance*. The French verb *différer* has two meanings, roughly corresponding to the English 'to defer' and 'to differ'. The common French noun *différence*, however, retains the sense of 'difference' but lacks a temporal aspect. Spelling *différance* with an *a* evokes the formation in French of a gerund from the present participle of the verb (*différant*), so that it recalls the temporal and active kernel of *différer* (Derrida 1972c/1982:8–9). *Différance* is not a concept and cannot be assigned a meaning, since it is the condition of possibility for meanings, which are effects of this systemic movement, or play of differences. The implications for translation are important: since meaning cannot precede *différance*, there can be no pure, unified, static original and no absolute division, let alone a hierarchy, of original and translation. Indeed, the original relies upon translation for survival. This is not an argument for an 'anything goes' approach. On the contrary, it demonstrates the importance of scrupulous attention both to the *singularity* of a text's particular historical and rhetorical conjunctions, and to a text's *generality* (see below), its openness and its participation in the mobile weave of differences. Translation, Homi Bhabha points out, is "the performative nature of cultural communication" – action, rather than proposition. The "time" of translation consists in the movement of meaning that "puts the original in motion to decanonise it, giving it the movement of fragmentation, a wandering of errance, a kind of permanent exile" (Bhabha 1994:228, de Man 1986).

It is easy to see, then, why deconstruction has been important for postcolonial approaches to translation (Bhabha 1994; Spivak 1992, 1994, 1999). It is well established that colonizers used translation as a tool of domination (Baer 2014; Bassnett and Trivedi 1999b; Niranjana 1992; Tageldin 2011). Always aware of this history and attuned to the risks of translation for minority languages, many postcolonial theorists nonetheless welcome the potential of the performative nature of translation (in Bhabha's sense) to

decentre the authority of a source text in the dominant language, to disrupt or challenge its guiding assumptions and to displace its representations of the colonized.

Text and writing

Following through on the implications of *différance*, Derrida uses some terms, such as *text* and *writing*, in a revised sense. Language performs as part of an open weave with the social, cultural, political, sexual, familial, economic, etc., so that everything meaningful to us participates in the play of differences, or 'general text' (Derrida 1988). No sign – whether a body part taken to indicate gender, a skin colour taken to indicate race or a title taken to indicate status – gives access to a 'real' presence that can be experienced outside an instituted system of differences. Likewise, the boundaries between categories, whether between natural languages such as English and French, between races or genders or even between the linguistic and non-linguistic, do not precede but emerge with such an instituted system.

Every identity is therefore both *singular* and *general*. On the one hand, each language or culture has a *singular* way of meaning due to its particular set of differential relations, and this singularity precludes perfect translatability (Derrida 1988, 1979; de Man 1986:73–93). On the other hand, the boundaries of any given language or culture are in the first place constituted as relations to other languages and cultures, and therefore participate in a *general* code, or 'text'. This generality precludes the possibility of absolute singularity and total untranslatability. The important point here for translation is that translatability and untranslatability are not mutually exclusive, nor are they poles on a scale of relativity. Singularity and generality are mutually constitutive, and their structural interdependence allows for meaning and at the same time prevents both total translatability and total untranslatability. The *limit* of any language is both a boundary and a structural opening to its outside. Just as this structure makes translation between languages possible, it also makes possible new translations of identities such as race, gender, culture or ethnicity.

Derrida also stresses that there is no clear-cut boundary between speech and writing as

it is conventionally understood. Contravening a long tradition that posits speech as natural and writing as a derived system that simply represents speech, Derrida points out that the structure of signification in general depends upon characteristics typically associated with writing: "If 'writing' signifies inscription and especially the durable institution of a sign, writing in general covers the entire field of linguistic signs" (Derrida 1967/1974:44). This 'writing in general' (*écriture*) thus corresponds to the revised sense of textuality, or the 'general text', discussed above. Signifiers, as de Saussure had shown, are not 'natural' but arbitrary and conventional: they are always and can only be instituted, and thus the phonic signifier, like the graphic, relies upon the durable institution of a sign and its *iterability*, which guarantees translatability.

Iterability

The verb *iterate* is defined as "to say or perform again; repeat" (*American Heritage Dictionary*). It derives from the Latin *iterum*, 'again', and is also related to *iter*, 'journey' or 'route'. This conjunction is useful for thinking about the implications for translation of Derrida's work on the structural interrelation of the *singularity* and the *generality* of every text. If, as discussed above, each element of discourse is "constituted on the basis of the trace within it of the other elements of the chain or system" (Derrida 1972b/1981:26), then these elements rely for their meaning upon their own repetition of past usages, which accrue a fairly stable history. This repetition, after all, is what enables the production of dictionaries. Without this stability, interpretation and translation would not be possible at all. Nonetheless, each repetition must also be different from all the others, since each occurs in a new context and therefore produces its effect within a different set of systemic relations. The same repetition that builds stability, then, also builds up a history of differences, so that this stability always offers multiple routes for meaning, and is thus always capable of being destabilized. Every meaning effect is *disseminated* throughout the entire system, which we can think of as innumerable routes, or pathways of differential meanings.

This dissemination guarantees that every sign and every text is *iterable*, or repeatable, differently. As Derrida puts it,

This has to do with the structure of a text, with what I will call, to cut corners, its iterability, which both puts down roots in a unity of a context and immediately opens this non-saturable context onto a recontextualization.

(1992:63)

It may seem a statement of the obvious to say that signifiers or texts can always be repeated: of course words, phrases and actions can be repeated or cited, plays can be restaged in new circumstances, etc. The structure of *iterability*, however, shows that ideas about correct and incorrect translation, like translatability and untranslatability, are fully interdependent. This is not to suggest that anything goes, but rather to point out that the conditions that make mistakes possible are the same conditions that make meaning possible in the first place.

It may help to return to the connections of *iter* to both repetition and travel, and to think about the dissemination of meaning as similar to a postal system. The conditions that make it possible to address and to deliver a letter – for example, numbers and letters of the alphabet can be rearranged and transposed; streets intersect; multiple routes and detours facilitate travel – are the same conditions that make mistakes possible. In order for a letter to be written and addressed, it must already be implicated in a differential system full of detours, so that it always may not arrive. Again, this may seem obvious: we all know that our letters may not arrive, just as our ‘intended meanings’ may be misunderstood. Conventional wisdom labels such events as errors or exceptions that somehow escape or break the rules of the system. Deconstruction reverses this assumption, positing that detours and multiple pathways *constitute* any system that enables meaning; they are not accidents belonging to its outside, but are the conditions of possibility for signification, and for translation.

Derrida therefore points out that the decisions involved in translation are not mere choices between predetermined options, in which case they would not really be decisions at all. They are decisions in the strong sense: that is,

they are made in the face of undecidability. Decision-making “positively *depends upon* undecidability, which gives us something to decide” (Caputo 1997:137; emphasis in original). Because meaning cannot be *predetermined*, translation must ‘respond’ to its source by deciding in this strong sense, and thus entails ethical responsibility. The translator’s decisions are not dissociable from other kinds of political and ethical delimitations about what is possible or permissible in a language or culture. Indeed, in responding to a text *as* foreign, translation simultaneously defines the ‘same’ and the ‘other’, and puts itself in an ethical relation with this ‘other’. Translation, then, enacts the problem not only of philosophy, but of ethics. This is why deconstructive critique is at every point fully involved with the concerns and the processes of translation, with the hierarchical systems in which translation has historically been immersed, and with the conditions that make an ethical response possible.

See also:

ETHICS; HYBRIDITY; INTERTEXTUALITY; PHILOSOPHY; PURE LANGUAGE; TRANSLATABILITY

Further reading

Davis, K. (1997) ‘Signature in Translation’, in D. Delabastita (ed.) *Traductio: Essays on Punning and Translation*, Manchester: St. Jerome, 23–43.

Explores the limits of translatability and the singularity of language through the challenge of translating a pun.

Davis, K. (2001) *Deconstruction and Translation*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Explains how the work of the French philosopher Jacques Derrida reframes many practical and theoretical problems of translation, including the relationship between source text and translation, translatability, and a translator’s ethical responsibility.

Derrida, J. (1985) ‘Des Tours de Babel’, trans. John Graham, in J. Graham (ed.) *Difference in Translation*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 209–248.

Taking the form of dialogue with Walter Benjamin’s ‘Task of the Translator’, this is one of Derrida’s earliest and most extensive discussions of the originary multiplicity of language and the necessity of translation.

KATHLEEN DAVIS

Descriptive translation studies

The descriptive tendency in translation studies emerged in the 1970s and 1980s among scholars and students of comparative literature as a reaction against the prescriptively oriented and linguistically inspired approaches to translation that were prevalent at the time. The first programmatic statement calling for a kind of translation studies that would focus on empirical data rather than on normative expectations, and on explanation rather than on criticism and evaluation, dates from 1953, when James McFarlane (1920–1999), then a lecturer at the University of Durham, published his essay ‘Modes of Translation’. Literary scholars, McFarlane argued, had demonstrated that literary works could yield more meanings than one, and so, if individual translations of literary works reflected one interpretation among others, how could critics of translation insist on absolute standards of accuracy? Instead of making impossible demands on translation, McFarlane suggested, we should assume that “translation is as translation does” and examine “what translation is and can be rather than what it ought to be but never is” (1953:92–93). This would result in an approach that would be “diagnostic rather than hortatory” (ibid.:93). It would raise issues of a philosophical, aesthetic, psychological and ethnographic as well as of a linguistic nature.

McFarlane’s essay went unnoticed at the time, but it was picked up in the early 1970s by the American poet, translator and scholar James Holmes, who had settled in Amsterdam. Holmes (1924–1986) was in touch with several translation scholars in western and central Europe and in Israel who were thinking along similar lines. Holmes himself wrote about different options available to poetry translators, discussing choices that could be made but refraining from prescription. The Czech scholar Jiří Levý (1926–1967) had compared translating to decision-making in formal games, and sought to understand individual translations as reflecting different national or historical poetics and conventions (Levý 2011). The Slovak Anton Popovič (1933–1984) saw translation as negotiating different sets of conventions in the donor

and receptor cultures, leading to inevitable shifts in meaning (Popovič 1976). In Belgium, comparatists like José Lambert and André Lefevere (1945–1996) studied translations in their historical contexts (Lambert 1985; Lefevere 1982). The Israeli scholars Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury (1942–2016) were theorizing literary translation in their own way: Even-Zohar (1990), by developing a multilayered model of literature known as a *polysystem* that accommodated traditionally marginalized elements such as translations or popular fiction, and Toury (1995/2012) by attempting a general theory of translation based on resolutely empirical principles.

The descriptive paradigm, as it is understood in translation studies today, came about in three steps. The first was Holmes’s essay ‘The Name and Nature of Translation Studies’ (1972). Now often regarded as marking the beginning of the modern discipline of translation studies as such, the essay mapped the field in broad terms, but it did more than that. It assigned applied studies and criticism, approaches that Holmes recognized as being “of use” (1972:77), a secondary place only, and instead foregrounded theoretical and empirical studies, which Holmes argued were “of light” (ibid.) in that they provided illumination, or insight, into the nature of translation. The second step was a series of three workshop conferences held in Belgium and Israel between 1976 and 1980, during which the main protagonists met and discussed their ideas. The proceedings of these conferences appeared as special issues of specialized journals or with marginal publishers and did not attract much attention. This changed with the publication, in step three, of several books: first *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985b), which featured a programmatic introduction and a series of case studies by various hands; then Lefevere’s essay collection *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), and finally Toury’s *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995/2012), a revised and expanded version of a relatively slight work which had first appeared in 1980. Together these books provided a theoretical positioning, a polemical edge, methodological reflection and a wealth of examples and case studies, enough to establish the viability of the descriptive approach as a research paradigm. As

publications and personal contacts grew over the years, other researchers joined in.

Descriptivism was by no means the only new line of thought in translation studies in the 1970s and 1980s. The German scholars Katharina Reiß, Hans Vermeer (1930–2010) and Christiane Nord elaborated an emphatically functionalist model of translation in opposition to purely linguistic approaches. Their work led to *skopos* theory and to theories of translational action. Also in Germany, at the University of Göttingen, researchers began producing, from the mid-1980s onwards, a series of case studies along historical and descriptive lines, mostly with respect to translation into German from the eighteenth century onwards (Frank 1989; Kittel 1992; Kittel and Frank 1991; Lönker 1992; Poltermann 1992; Schulze 1987).

As the descriptive paradigm interacted with these other developments and diversified internally as well, it grew into a pragmatic, functional and contextualizing research model, a significant component of what has been called the ‘cultural turn’ in translation studies (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990). Toury’s own methodologically strict approach, sometimes referred to by the acronym DTS (for Descriptive Translation Studies), is part of this movement; however, descriptive research as such shows a much greater variety and range. A great deal of historical research into translation, for instance, is descriptive and explanatory in nature without explicitly affiliating itself with descriptive translation studies.

Describing translation

Even at the time when it was launched, the term descriptive translation studies covered only part of what the approach was about. The label was devised in contrast to prescriptive approaches, and highlighted the desire to steer clear of subjective value judgements and criticism, opting instead for contextualizing accounts. But the approach was functionalist from the start, as it tried, in addition to describing and recording phenomena, to explain them. Some, like Toury, who went further than most in aiming for objectivity, were after general or even universal laws, on the model of the sciences.

The fundamental and antiessentialist idea that “translation is as translation does” (McFarlane

1953:92) meant that little time was wasted on formal definitions. Holmes (1988:23–24) recalled Ludwig Wittgenstein’s idea of family resemblances to suggest we recognize translations because they share features with other translations. Tymoczko (2007:83–90) later elaborated this notion as a means to study and compare concepts of translation in different cultures and eras.

Rather than getting lost in definitions, researchers turned to questions that might allow for answers, questions such as “*who* translated *what*, *when*, *why* and *in what way*, and *why* in this particular way?” (Kittel 1988:160; Frank 1989:6; original emphasis). Questions like these directed attention away from the source text as the yardstick by which to measure the quality of a translation and, instead, toward the translation itself and its environment. They also opened the way to research projects on the history of translation.

Apart from these broadly historicizing projects, efforts were also made to develop replicable models capable of capturing the way translations relate to their source texts. The most determined attempts in this respect were made by Kitty van Leuven-Zwart and Jelle Stegeman. Working on narrative texts, van Leuven-Zwart (1989, 1990) relied on both narratological and linguistic theories to develop a systematic model to catalogue a wide array of small-scale semantic shifts between original works of fiction and their translations. The accumulation and patterning of these micro-shifts, she argued, resulted in a macro-shift, the overall impression a reader receives of a translation as somehow different from that made by the original. For all its impressive detail, the model never managed to keep subjective interpretation out of the cataloguing of individual shifts, and it remained unable to determine at what point the set of micro-shifts triggered a macro-shift. This problem led Stegeman (1991) to focus on readers rather than texts. He worked with questionnaires in two languages to enquire into reader responses to particular passages in the original and in translation, arguing that original and translation would be equivalent if no difference was registered in the responses to them. This attempt, too, was commendable but ultimately unsuccessful. The questionnaires enquired about certain features but not others, and thus provided only a very coarse mesh. In

addition, as instruments to measure translational equivalence the questionnaires themselves were compromised because they had to be used in two languages without there being any certainty that the translated questionnaires were equivalent to the source questionnaires. The issue of a satisfactory protocol to describe the relation between translations and their originals has remained unresolved.

Norms and laws

Descriptive studies fared better elsewhere. Investigating multiple translations and the historical conditioning of the production and reception of translation, researchers noticed regularities and patterns in the work of individual translators and within genres, periods and groups of translators. A key concept that emerged in this context was that of translation norms, which proved useful in that it was able to link the personal and the social dimensions of translating. The concept had already been employed by Levý and Popovič, but Toury (1995/2012:53–69) gave it prominence. He interpreted it primarily as a certain pressure exerted on individual translators urging them, whenever a choice had to be made, to opt for certain solutions in preference to potential alternatives. Since norms reflected prevailing social and ideological values, they allowed the broader societal context of translation to come into view. If Toury read norms primarily as constraints restricting or directing the translator's choice, others, like Chesterman (1993) and Hermans (1996b), saw them as regulating communicative interaction, a matter of reciprocal expectations shared, to some extent, between translators, their peers and their audiences. Viewed in this light, norms provided a tool to historicize translation and a key to distinguish different translation poetics.

One consequence of the interest in norms was the overhaul of the idea of equivalence. Toury hollowed out the traditional notion of equivalence by claiming that treating a text as a translation of another text already implied the assumption of an equivalence of sorts; he argued that it was the researcher's task to document the precise nature of this equivalence as shaped by the norms that impinged on the translation in question (1995/2012:61). Thus, the traditional

approach to translation was turned on its head: instead of seeing equivalence as something translators aspired to but only rarely reached, it was now posited as the corollary of all translation.

The idea of translation norms had its limitations. It tended to be static and inherently conservative. It also led to the uneasy realization that, if translation was norm-governed, and if the study of translation involved the researcher engaging in acts of translation as part of working across languages, then these acts of translation, too, must be governed by norms. This awareness threatened the separation between object-level and meta-level which descriptivism had taken for granted, and it invited the conclusion that not only translation but also the academic study of translation constituted a cultural practice. While some early descriptivists had envisaged their work as being purely empirical and non-evaluative, and therefore also value-free and perhaps even objective, these assumptions now had to be jettisoned.

At the same time, because norms can only be observed across a sizeable number of translations, they led to the investigation of larger bodies of material. Toury saw this as an opportunity to discover universals of translation, which he termed laws, with the proviso they were merely probabilistic in nature. He phrased two such laws: translations tend, more than original texts, to conform to prevailing linguistic and stylistic usage; and translations tend to show linguistic interference from the source language (Toury 1995/2012:259–279). The tension between the search for universals of translation on the one hand and, on the other, norms of translation that were thought to anchor individual translations and concepts of translation in particular cultural and historical environments, remained unresolved. Other researchers found a use for the concept of norms in working on larger historical corpora. One project, at the University of Leuven (Louvain, Belgium), traced the changing forms and functions of translation in France in the first half of the nineteenth century (Lambert 1988; van Bragt 1995). Projects carried out at the University of Göttingen were concerned with German literature and drama from the eighteenth to the twentieth century and typically used the metaphor of the comet's tail to describe the relations between an original and its successive and often

interdependent translations (Frank 1989; Kittel 1992).

Diversification and transformation

Over time, individual researchers went their own ways and pursued their own interests. André Lefevere's intellectual journey was symptomatic in this respect. He came up with the notion of rewriting, a broadly conceived term which comprised the production of such things as summaries, sequels, anthologies and film adaptations as well as translations. It allowed him to foreground the social and historical significance of these various modes of textual processing and recycling for the transmission of and participation in culture. Leaving polysystem theory behind, he developed his own model of the mechanisms governing literary life, including translation. The model's three key concepts were: poetics, or the idea of what literature should look like; patronage, an umbrella term for those whose material resources enable literary production; and ideology, the prevailing set of beliefs about a society's values. By emphasizing the role of poetics, patronage and ideology, Lefevere could also claim, provocatively, that language is the least important factor in translating (Lefevere 1992).

As descriptive and historical research continued to account for translations with reference to their social and cultural habitat, sociological theories gained more prominence. Towards the end of his life – he died at the age of 50 – Lefevere had already begun to invoke the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In Canada, Gouanvic (1997) and Simeoni (1998) were using Bourdieu's work more systematically. The turn towards sociological explanation has gained considerable strength since then. Later scholars such as Inghilleri (2005b) and Meylaerts (2008) have drawn on Bourdieu, the latter in an attempt to supplement the idea of norms with that of the translator's agency. Other sociologists have made appearances as well: Hermans (2007) and Tyulenev (2012) have sought inspiration from Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory, and Buzelin (2005) from Bruno Latour's actor-network theory.

The paradigm spread and diversified in other ways, too. While early descriptive work had been rooted, by and large, in literary studies and in West European culture, screen translation and other multimodal forms of communication soon began to receive attention as well (Delabastita 1989), as did some cultural traditions outside the European ambit (Paker 1991; Hyun 1992). If these developments accelerated around the turn of the twenty-first century, this was due not only to the growth of the paradigm but also to criticism, especially from postcolonial angles, and to the increasing internationalization of translation studies as such.

The postcolonial critique concentrated on descriptivism's Eurocentric outlook and on the way descriptive studies tended, for instance, to equate literatures with nation-states and to construe inter-literary relations as relations among equals. The postcolonial focus on the imbrication of translation in processes of subjugation, exploitation, inequality and resistance brought home the descriptive blindness to questions of politics and power differentials. As the descriptivists broadened their horizons to encompass the multiple roles, contexts and contingencies of translation, they absorbed the criticism and, in many cases, modified their premises. Tymoczko, for one, wrote on oral traditions, marginalized literatures, postcoloniality and political agency, and explored ways of studying translation in a globalizing world (Tymoczko 1999, 2007).

From today's vantage point it seems fair to say that descriptivism has entered the mainstream of the academic study of translation to such an extent that it has ceased to exist as a distinct school or line of thought. It has been transformed and assimilated into the many different trends that make up the current international scene.

The descriptive moment in translation studies occurred roughly in the 1980s, when the new paradigm presented the right kind of message at the right time. It helped stimulate academic research into translation and contributed to establishing the modern discipline of translation studies as such. Its strength lay in its openness and antiessentialism, its willingness to treat concepts and theories as no more than heuristic tools. It spawned a wide array of case studies and, in so doing, valorized translation as

a historical and cultural force. Perhaps its key contribution was that it empowered researchers to study translation as they might study other cultural goods or phenomena. It made it possible to appreciate translation as an index of cultural identity.

See also:

GENETIC CRITICISM; NORMS; POLYSYSTEM THEORY; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES; REWRITING

Further reading

Hermans, T. (1999) *Translation in Systems. Descriptive and systemic approaches explained*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

An accessible and critical account of descriptive translation studies.

Lefevere, A. (1992) *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, London & New York: Routledge.

A spirited presentation of Lefevere's version of the descriptive model, with an assortment of case studies.

Toury, G. (1995/2012) *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A reworking of a book first published in 1980, this expanded version offers a comprehensive picture of early descriptivism, together with case studies.

THEO HERMANS

Dialogue interpreting

Having first appeared in Wadensjö's (1993) and Tebble's (1993) pioneering studies, 'dialogue interpreting' (DI) is now a well-established designation for a highly productive research field in interpreting studies. Many labels have competed with DI over time, with attempts at differentiation and classification being made by several authors, including Pöchhacker (2011c) and Ozolins (2014). Instances of 'dialogue interpreting' being used synonymously with 'community interpreting' or 'public service interpreting' are still found in the literature. Both in the title and introductory chapter

of their book, Tipton and Furmanek (2016) treat the three expressions as interchangeable. Though excluding business, tourist, sports, military and entertainment domains from their discussion, they nevertheless acknowledge that DI is increasingly used to encompass a much wider range of settings beyond the legal, social care and educational ones. The prevalent approach today is to consider DI as the overarching term for a variety of non-conference interpreting activities, as initially suggested in the two seminal volumes edited by Ian Mason (1999b, 2001b). The only other label with comparable potential for inclusiveness is 'liaison interpreting' (Gentile et al. 1996; Alexieva 1997; Erasmus et al. 1999). The ascendance of DI to the detriment of the latter is the result of a shift in theoretical perspective in interpreting studies which has brought to the fore the dialogic nature of many interpreter-mediated encounters, and has come to be known as the "dialogic discourse-based interaction (DI) paradigm" (Pöchhacker 2004:78–79). Highlighting the core notion of dialogue entails a number of significant shifts in perspective (Merlini 2007). Whereas with 'liaison interpreting' emphasis is placed on the connecting function of the interpreter, and consequently on the centrality – both physical and metaphorical – of 'the person in the middle', what is foregrounded in DI is interaction itself. More specifically, the type of interaction in focus is one which involves all the participants in the joint construction of the communicative event. The first implication is thus that interpreters are revealed as active social agents on a par with primary speakers. Secondly, the latter are no longer cast in the role of passive recipients of a service but are seen as codeterminers of communicative success or failure. Thirdly, though bilingual communication remains largely dependent on the interpreter's verbal contributions to the exchange, increased attention is paid to directly accessible features such as body language and prosody, which may offer interlocutors complementary or alternative cues for sense-making and rapport-building. And lastly, as pointed out in Tipton and Furmanek (2016:6), through the concept of mutuality (*dia-*), speech (*-logos*) is not only refocused on the interpersonal dimension but "calls for an openness to the Other in order to understand oneself".

Dialogue interpreting: definitions and core concepts

The scope of DI as a field of research has broadened considerably in terms of settings, participation frameworks, interpreting modes and research design (Dal Fovo and Niemants 2015; Biagini et al. 2017b). The striking multiplicity of such diverse communicative occurrences as medical consultations, welfare encounters, parent-teacher meetings, police investigative interviews, court hearings, broadcast press conferences, business negotiations and tourist guides' presentations raises the fundamental issue of identifying the common traits that can hold all of these events together and allow for a coherent research perspective to develop in the field.

According to Mason, as a type of encounter DI is "interpreter-mediated communication in spontaneous face-to-face interaction" (1999a:147). In his later review of the concept, Mason (2009b) lists four fundamental characteristics of DI: dialogue, entailing bidirectionality; spontaneous speech; face-to-face exchange; and consecutive interpreting mode. As argued in Merlini (2015a), if this set of traits were to be strictly complied with – though Mason himself presents cases of deviation – several interpreting events which are widely held to fall within the DI domain would not qualify. Among these are signed language interpreted interactions, the object of some of the earliest and most authoritative studies on DI (Roy 1996, 2000), and media interviews, given that the usual mode of delivery in both types of encounter is simultaneous rather than consecutive. Drawing on Pöchhacker (2012) and asserting that DI should not be tied to a specific interpreting mode, Sandrelli (2017:180) has coined the expression "simultaneous dialogue interpreting". For face-to-face encounters, many settings in which the shared communication space is virtual rather than physical, such as telephone or other remote forms of interpreting, would equally fall outside the boundaries of DI according to Mason's definition.

In light of the above, two defining traits seem to underlie the vast array of DI events and at the same time delimit the scope of DI as a field of research: the dialogic discourse format of the

event, discussed further below, and the conversation and discourse analytical research perspective adopted to analyze it. This approach to conceptualizing interpreter-mediated communication has supported a shift towards investigating the social dimension of interpreting (Pöchhacker 2006a) and has rapidly grown into a cohesive body of research with a clearly marked identity of its own. Early foundations for adopting the conversation and discourse analytical approach were laid by Wadensjö (1993a) and Tebbel (1993), independently of each other. Assuming that whatever is attained or unattained in communication is a collective activity that requires the active involvement of all participants, they suggested investigating both the interlocutors' turn-by-turn contributions to the exchange at a micro-analytical level through data recording and transcription, and the interpersonal and socio-institutional dimensions at a macro-analytical level. The following revised version of Mason's original characterization of DI might then be proposed to capture not only the scope of DI as a phenomenon but also the remit of DI research in its current state of development: 'conversation and discourse analytically investigated communication in interpreter-mediated dialogic interaction'.

Research on DI has moved away from a monologic view of communication which presupposes that meanings are the products of individual speakers and exist as predetermined and complete entities in their minds. Whereas monologism construes communication as a 'from-to' process, dialogism sees it as a 'between' process, where the speaker's sense-making activity depends on the listener as coauthor, as well as on the relevant contextual elements (Linell 1998). Meanings grow out of vague thoughts and are gradually developed as utterances are formulated, becoming shared knowledge only when all parties to the interaction mutually provide evidence that they have established a shared understanding. In this theoretical framework, Linell argues, the Gricean principle of cooperation – which invokes an idealized speech situation characterized by consensus between complicitous interlocutors – should be replaced by the more practical concept of 'coordination', defined as the "co-accomplishment of concerted activities by conversational partners" (1998:74).

Coordination is one of the key concepts invoked by Wadensjö (1998b), who demonstrates that interpreting in real face-to-face talk goes well beyond the activity of translating texts and includes the simultaneously performed function of coordinating the utterances of primary parties. The most basic form of coordination is implicit in the linguistic bidirectionality of dialogue interpreting events and in the principle that the interpreter's renditions occupy every second turn at talk; in the consecutive mode, it is simply by speaking in either language that interpreters select the next speaker, thus managing the flow of conversation. The turn-taking routine of Speaker 1 – Interpreter – Speaker 2 – Interpreter – Speaker 1 – Interpreter – etc. is, however, a rare occurrence. Primary parties may, for instance, have some knowledge of their interlocutors' language(s) or simply grasp the gist of an utterance and reply directly, making the interpreter's turn superfluous. Or they may address the interpreter as the responder (intending the utterance for the interpreter's use only), thereby initiating radical changes in footing (Wadensjö 1998b; Merlini and Favaron 2005; Pöchhacker 2012). Interpreters themselves may carry out explicit coordination moves through non-renditions – such as requests for clarification, comments on their own translations, invitations to start or continue talking, interruptions or overlapping turns, etc. – which alter the turn-taking order. Investigations of authentic DI data have revealed, in particular, the high frequency of monolingual dyadic sequences, which may or may not be subsequently summarized by the interpreter into the other language for the benefit of the excluded primary party.

Compelling insights into how the core concept of coordination connects with those of intercultural mediation, participation, agency and empowerment have been offered by Baraldi and Gavioli (2012a). Drawing on both conversation analysis and social systems theory, they suggest reconsidering Wadensjö's implicit vs explicit coordination in terms of a basic vs reflexive perspective, thereby overcoming the rigidities of a sharp distinction between renditions and non-renditions. Basic coordination is the intrinsic mechanism by which participants in talk shape their actions and react to others' actions in ways that allow them to make sense of such actions. Reflexive coordination, on the other

hand, is a metacommunicative activity whose aim is to resolve communication problems by, for instance, clarifying, expanding, repairing, questioning or formulating understanding of the meaning of conversational actions. As it facilitates the achievement of a shared perspective, reflexive coordination largely coincides with intercultural mediation, the lack of fit to be remedied in this case being a distinctly cultural one (Pöchhacker 2008). Seen from this angle, the outcome of successful mediation consists in the emergence of new cross-cultural dimensions built on the perception of diversity as mutually enriching rather than disconnecting (Tipton and Furmanek 2016; Merlini 2016). Significantly, however, the interpreter/mediator's active participation in the interaction may also thwart the agency of primary participants, rather than foster it. As a consequence, the latter are disempowered rather than empowered, and cross-cultural adaptation discouraged rather than encouraged (Baraldi and Gavioli 2007).

Research topics and future directions

Despite the stark contextual dissimilarities of the various settings involved, interest in interpersonal dynamics has been a constant throughout the history of research on DI. Recognition of interpreter agency as a fundamental tenet of DI has also initiated a debate on the twin themes of role and professional ethics. Valero-Garcés and Martin (2008) raise a number of relevant questions concerning how practitioners shape their role in light of wide cultural gaps, power imbalances, urgency of communication needs and, not least, lack of adequate training; whether they perform one role or several roles; and who defines what is normative vs non-normative behaviour. Reviewing a wide selection of both generic and sector-specific codes of ethics, Ozolins (2015) notes how the focus on neutrality and invisibility has reinforced the conduit or machine-type model of interpreting. The clash between these codes of ethics and the interpreter's extensively documented involvement in interaction explains why DI researchers have generally been highly critical of professional codes and their practical applicability (Angeleselli 2004b:20–21; Wadensjö 2004:119–121).

Alternative ways of conceptualizing codes and roles are examined by Ozolins and lay the foundations for a teamwork trust-building ethical approach that may go some way towards addressing unresolved issues in interpreting ethics. In addition to the concept of positioning (Mason 2005; Merlini 2009), a most interesting evolution of the notion of role that is specific to DI is that of role-space, as theorized by Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014). Rejecting the traditional rule-based definition of professional conduct, the authors suggest plotting interpreter behaviour onto a three-dimensional space generated by three axes – conversational alignment, interaction management and presentation of self – that delineate the field of manoeuvre in any particular interaction. Discussion of role in DI continues and is likely to remain highly topical (Kaczmarek 2016; Krystallidou 2016; Biagini et al. 2017a).

Training issues continue to attract significant attention. Featuring strongly in all successive proceedings of Critical Link conferences right through from the inaugural one (Carr et al. 1995), discussion of DI training needs and programmes was however severed from the findings of empirical research on interpreter agency for a long time. One of the most important attempts at remedying this shortcoming is *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* special issue on DI education (Davitti and Pasquandrea 2014b). Spearheaded by Angelelli (2008b), the shift from interpreter training to interpreter education has consolidated into a learner-centred pedagogical paradigm, drawing on the tenets of dialogic pedagogy (Lefstein and Snell 2014). The sixth volume of the Critical Link series recognizes the distinction by devoting an entire section to the topic ('From interpreter training to interpreter education', Schäffner et al. 2013:285–337). The same paradigm explicitly underpins the studies by Tipton and Furmanek (2016) and Cirillo and Niemants (2017); the latter draws a clear-cut distinction between training and education. Merlini (2017), argues that whereas training implies practical-only learning, with a limited focus on specific skills and narrowly defined objectives, education pursues the higher goal of equipping students, intellectually as well as socially, for a profession by expanding their capacity of autonomous and flexible judgement.

Increasing scholarly attention is now being directed at non-professional practice. Rather than assuming that professional interpreters are universally superior to non-professional ones, researchers have started to provide evidence-based findings on how different types of interpreters facilitate (or indeed compromise) communication in specific interactional contexts (Hsieh 2014:89). Heralded by the first Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation conference held in Bologna/Forlì in 2012, researchers acknowledge that focusing on professional practice alone is no longer sufficient to address the complexity of real-life situations. Antonini et al. (2017) make a thoroughly argued case for researching non-professional practice as a way of raising professional practitioners' awareness of market conditions and, even more importantly, as an ideal vantage point for investigating personal development and social inclusion processes. Although the volume was intended to cover both oral and written language brokering, with the exception of one contribution all authors focus on DI practices as performed either by children or by adult bilingual staff and service users' family members, in settings as varied as hospitals, churches, museums, schools and prisons.

The concept of face is pivotal in dialogic interaction, as evidenced in Berk-Seligson's (1988) seminal study on court interpreting. And yet, relatively little use has been made of politeness as a model of strategic message construction in DI settings. Most studies have focused on adversarial contexts (Hale 1997b; Krouglov 1999; Mason and Stewart 2001; J. Lee 2013; Gallez 2015), with only a few investigating face-threatening, face-saving and face-enhancing behaviour in the context of supportive interactions in healthcare, educational and welfare settings (Merlini 2013a; Delizée and Michaux 2017). Closely connected with the rapport-building function of politeness strategies is the issue of affiliation. Although the basic equation between professionalism and emotional detachment was historically placed at the very core of interpreting ethics, analyses of real-life DI practice have revealed a tendency among non-professional and professional interpreters alike to reject affective neutrality and opt for affiliative moves (Baraldi and Gavioli 2007; Ciliberti 2009; Zorzi 2009; Zorzi and Gavioli 2009; Baraldi 2012). The sociopsychological

construct of empathy, whereby the objective (interactional) and the subjective (dispositional) dimensions of conversational behaviour are combined in a multifocal, interdisciplinary analytical framework, has also been gaining ground in the discipline (Merlini 2015b; Merlini and Gatti 2015).

As gaining permission to video-recorded institutional encounters is becoming less difficult, a rapidly expanding avenue of enquiry is the multimodal analysis of DI events to account for meaning-making embodied resources, beyond verbal ones, such as positioning in space, posture, gesture, facial expression and gaze orientation. Decades after Lang's (1976) work on interpreting in Papua New Guinea showed how gaze can signal involvement or exclusion, and following on from Wadensjö's (2001) discussion of the interpreter's physical placement in relation to primary speakers, an increasing number of studies are focusing on the interplay between non-verbal language and artefact manipulation, attention-giving and seeking, turn-taking coordination, conversational alignments, and ultimately reciprocal perceptions of status, power and identity (Pasquandrea 2011; Mason 2012; Davitti 2013; Davitti and Pasquandrea 2017). Broadening the scope of DI beyond the traditional environment of shared physical space, scholars have also started investigating provision in remote modality, shedding light on participants' management of and adjustment to the visual ecology afforded by videoconferencing technology (Pöchhacker 2014; Warnicke and Plejert 2016; Braun 2017; Licoppe and Veyrier 2017). Over and above their impact on DI professional practice, digital technologies are also being explored in terms of their pedagogic potential, with volumes being entirely devoted to digital education in the context of interpreter training (Ehrlich and Napier 2015). As Pöchhacker (2015:74) observes, the sustained trend towards the technologization of interpreting will increasingly call upon researchers to keep up with digital innovation, while addressing the critical issue of the dehumanizing effect of virtual space on a practice that has been performed face-to-face for thousands of years.

Research on DI is also beginning to engage with the fictionalization of interpreters. From

her initial interest in the literary depiction of conference interpreters (Kurz 1987), Kurz has shifted her attention to characters in novels and films who operate in strongly asymmetrical DI settings (Kurz 2014). Her work demonstrates how transfictional interpreters act as negotiators, advocates, gatekeepers and manipulators, featuring as central agents in the mechanics of literary plots. The research undertaken by Todorova (2014), Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf (2014) and Probirskaja (2016), on the other hand, focuses on DI in colonial and military settings, with Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf expanding the fictional angle to include photography and documentaries.

Finally, while the tools of conversation analysis, pragmatics and interactional linguistics are likely to remain popular, critical discourse and corpus-based analyses are increasingly being undertaken to account for the ideological dimension of mediated talk (Martin 2016). A number of authors are also experimenting with eclectic approaches, applying multi-construct analytical procedures to observe the same data from shifting and complementary theoretical angles (Gallez et al. 2017).

See also:

ASYLUM; COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; CONVERSATION ANALYSIS; HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; LEGAL INTERPRETING; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; ROLE; SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Further reading

Baraldi, C. and L. Gavioli (eds) (2012) *Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Focuses on the organizational dynamics of DI events and explores the connections between coordination, participation and mediation, illustrating how shared understanding is negotiated and accomplished in interaction.

Biagini, M., E. Davitti and A. Sandrelli (eds) (2017) *Participation in Interpreter-mediated Interaction*, Special Section of *Journal of Pragmatics* 107.

Broadens the scope of DI beyond face-to-face, consecutive interpreting, offering a state-of-the-art account of a variety of participatory constellations arranged along a multimodal continuum: from monolingual

to multilingual, embodied to disembodied and physical to virtual communication.

Cirillo, L. and N. Niemants (eds) (2017) *Teaching Dialogue Interpreting. Research-based Proposals for Higher Education*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Presenting one the widest overviews of DI settings to date, the volume takes as a point of departure the notion of interpreter education (as opposed to training), solidly anchoring it in the literature on dialogic pedagogy, and successfully bridging the gap between professional practice and research findings.

Mason, I. (ed.) (1999) *Dialogue Interpreting*, Special Issue of *The Translator* 5(2).

A classic work. Mason's introduction provides the earliest comprehensive theorization of DI, which paved the way for subsequent developments in the field.

RAFFAELA MERLINI

Directionality

In current English academic discourse, the term *directionality* is usually used in research on translating and interpreting into a translator's or interpreter's non-native language, which is often at least implicitly contrasted with translating and interpreting into the native language. The term is used in Pym (1992) and was picked up six years later in an earlier edition of this encyclopedia (Beeby Lonsdale 1998); the title of the entry, 'Direction of translation (*directionality*)', reveals a certain uncertainty about whether the new term would survive. And even today, publications relevant to this area of research might not mention the term. Nevertheless, research on *directionality* can often be identified by searching for terms related to a translator's or interpreter's non-native working languages – such as non-mother tongue, L2/L3/. . . , non-primary, non-dominant, B/C, second/third/. . . passive or foreign language – or by looking for labels "at the level of the communicative event" (Pöchhacker 2016:21), including, in English, inverse, indirect, pedagogical, prose and service translation (Stewart 1999:48; Kelly et al. 2006:59), forward translation, which is limited to neurolinguistic and psycholinguistic bilingualism research

(de Groot et al. 1994; García 2013), and bidirectional, relay or retour interpreting (Pöchhacker 2016:21). Another term encountered in the literature, which seems to be gaining more currency, is mentioned by Crasborn, who describes four scenarios of third-language interpreting, one of which is interpreting between a spoken and a signed non-native language (2009:8). Beeby Lonsdale (1996:58–59) and Kelly et al. (2003a) discuss *directionality*-related terminology in languages other than English.

Attitudes towards translating and interpreting into the non-native language

Early academic publications that treat the issue of *directionality* (but without using the term) do so in passing and are dismissive of translating and interpreting into the non-native language(s). Well-known scholars such as Ladmiral (1979:50) and Newmark (1981:180) stressed the futility and undesirability of the practice, especially as a professional, paid-for service (Pokorn 2005:30–34). The underlying assumption is that only a native speaker or native signer of the target language – defined as someone born into a certain language community and having acquired its native language since birth – has the appropriate *lingua-cultural* competence to guarantee high-quality performance into that language. This assumption is frequently also expressed as a requirement for the translator or interpreter to have native intuition, sensitivity or feelings; these terms often appear together alongside Romantic notions such as fluency, the natural and the authentic (Dollerup 2000b:63). More tangibly, native speaker competence in the target language is equated, for instance, with knowledge of the correct collocations (Newmark 1981:180), or the correct use of grammar (Donovan 2004:210), appropriate style (Pedersen 2000:109) and natural idioms and fixed expressions (Baker 1992:64–65).

While critical periods and age influence second language acquisition and learning, (applied) linguistics research reveals a picture that is more complex and less unequivocal about both natives' and non-natives' *lingua-cultural* competences (Pokorn 2005:6–23; Dewaele 2009; Birdsong

2013; Granena and Long 2013; Hulstijn 2015; Hyltenstam 2016). This complexity may account for the well-recognized need to improve translation and interpreting students' lingua-cultural competence in their non-native language(s) (Leube 2002; Burbat and Möller Runge 2007) as well as in their native language(s) (Best 2002; García-Izquierdo 2015) and future working languages (Nord 2002; Pérez-Luzardo 2015). Given that opposition to translation and interpreting into the non-native language(s) originated in geopolitically dominant, officially monolingual language communities, the influence of the powerful, enduring Romantic narrative that "the hidden essence of the target language is not attainable by any foreign speaker" (Pokorn 2005:26; Prunč 2000:8–9, 2003:82–83) seems to be at play. This narrative also posits that monolingualism, or having a single native language, is the norm (Pokorn 2005:2–6), when the reality is that the majority of the world's countries and people are bi- or multilingual, a scenario which allows for native speakership to be understood according to a number of different criteria (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:12–20; Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow 2008) that are not mutually exclusive. This challenges simple attempts to ascribe (non)native status to the languages of multilinguals such as translators and interpreters, and the perhaps misleading expectations derived from such attempts, whether these expectations are positive or negative. In addition, not every translation aims to achieve naturalness of expression and produce a domesticated, fluent version of the source text (Venuti 1995b/2008), thus obviating potential advantages that native speakers of the target language might enjoy. Another reason for denying the usefulness of non-native translation and interpreting might be the assumptions underlying a particular theoretical approach: for example, the logic inherent in the interpretive approach (Seleskovitch 1984) allows only for word-based, and thus inferior-quality, interpreting into the non-native language (Seeber 2017a:325). Furthermore, to ensure their continued authority and prestige, native speakers might be interested in perpetuating the distinction between natives and non-native, and the old hierarchy of native over non-natives translation and interpreting (Pokorn 2005:1; Kościuczuk 2016:5–9). The unquestioning belief in a special and privileged

status of mother tongue competence to the disadvantage of others is known as native-speakerism (Apfelthaler 2008; Holliday 2006; Swan et al. 2015).

Following the early scepticism towards, or outright dismissal of, translation into a non-native language, some scholars began to wonder whether and under what circumstances translators and interpreters could (be taught to) work into a non-native language. Some argued that non-native speakers and signers of the target language, who are native speakers of the source language, are at an advantage in terms of comprehending the source text (Stewart 1999:59–61; Kelly et al. 2006:58); the Soviet school had made a similar point in relation to interpreting (Bartłomiejczyk 2015:109). Prunč, moreover, makes the case that non-native speakers of the target language are better suited as translators of texts meant for an international audience of other non-native speakers (2000:11; Stewart 2000:217; Gorton 2012:80–81). Relying on similar reasoning, Jenkins (1995:82) favours translation classes into the students' non-native language taught by a non-native speaker of that language. Jenkins (*ibid.*:74) and McAlester (1992:296–297, 2000:237) accept non-native translation as a viable practice, but strongly suggest that the initial draft translation should be revised by a native speaker of the target language. Dollerup (2000b:68), in turn, argues that the initial translation should be done by a native speaker of the target language and the revision by a native speaker of the source language. A number of scholars such as Jenkins (1995:74) and Snell-Hornby (2000:38) do not object to non-native translation as long as the translator limits her- or himself to highly conventionalized text types and those where accuracy is more important than stylistic expression and form. Dollerup's (2000b:69) total dismissal of non-native translation of literary works is shared by many (Snell-Hornby 2000:38). Translation into a non-native language is considered appropriate or normal in postcolonial societies (Campbell 1998:11–12), however, and in communities where a language of limited diffusion is used (McAlester 2000:229; Pokorn 2005:x–xi) and native speakers of the target language are not readily available.

The logic behind the arguments in defence of translating and interpreting into the non-native

language is not always compelling, because some – for instance, those relating to source text comprehension – are underpinned by the same essentialist assumptions about native speakers' presumed superiority on the production side. Empirical research, as in Pokorn's study of Slovene-English literary translation, does not support the claim that English native speakers show superior command of the target language, nor that Slovene native speakers are better able to understand the source text (2005:104–105). According to Lorenzo (2003:93, 95), directionality is only one factor among many, and no fundamental difference exists between translation into or out of the native language once the translator has reached a certain level of competence (Lorenzo 2003:95; Kościuczuk 2016:19). Bartłomiejczyk (2015:110) makes similar arguments in relation to interpreting. Translators can rely on their general translation competence, irrespective of translation direction (Lorenzo 2003:98, 103–104), and no separate competence specific to non-native translation needs to be postulated. Some of the effects and perceived difficulties might be more characteristic of a particular language pair (Riccardi 1996; Schreiber 2004) rather than the result of the interpreter's or translator's (non)native status, especially in typologically distant languages (Goldman-Eisler 1972; Gile 2005; Chabasse and Dingfelder Stone 2015:85–88). Pokorn (2005) and Feltrin-Morris (2008) further demonstrated that literary translation into a non-native language is more common than generally believed, and that the resulting translations can be of high quality. Perhaps the most important lesson to be learned from this research is the realization that it makes little sense to investigate non-native translation in isolation of established concepts such as norms, strategies and competences, and without considering their interdependence (Pokorn 2005:97–106).

Directionality as a research theme

Following the publication of sporadic earlier studies, research on directionality gained critical mass around the turn of the millennium: this period saw the publication of the first monograph (Campbell 1998), first entries in reference

works (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997; Beeby Lonsdale 1998; Delisle et al. 1999) and various articles or chapters in edited volumes (Godijns and Hinderdael 2005) and journals, as well as the completion of PhD theses (Pokorn 1999, published in English in 2005; Martínez Melis 2001). The first conferences dedicated to the issue of directionality, in Ljubljana in 1997 and Granada in 2002, produced two edited volumes (Grosman et al. 2000; Kelly et al. 2003c).

As a reaction to earlier negative views of non-native translation, the turn of the century ushered in a slew of much more nuanced, emancipatory works; publication titles often reflect these explicit calls for challenging the status quo and acknowledging the achievements of non-native speakers by using emancipatory vocabulary and/or playing with the partly still prevailing (Pym 2016) negative image of the practice (Stewart 1999, 2000; Pokorn 2000a, 2000b; Lorenzo 2002; Lim 2005; Kearns 2007). Similarly, many of the terms typically used in directionality research are challenged for marking translation into a non-native language as deviant from the norm and inferior (Kelly a 2005:131; Stewart 2009; Pym 2011b:84), ignoring the complex reality revealed in more recent research. One aspect of this new reality is that non-native translation and interpreting is a much more common practice than was previously known or acknowledged (Kelly et al. 2003b; Whyatt and Kościuczuk 2013; Piróth 2016; Schmitt et al. 2016:267–269). The degree of pervasiveness of non-native translation in professional practice may be influenced by various factors such as the ideological or political environment, the interpreting mode, setting or modality (Pöchhacker 2016:21–22), and the specific configuration of the relevant market segment or translation culture (Prunč 2000), with its particular norms, values and conventions.

Once the debate about the legitimacy and usefulness of doing research on non-native translation and interpreting had subsided, new topics began to come into focus. Among the flurry of studies looking into translators' and interpreters' cognition, some have explored the issue of directionality. For instance, Pavlović and Jensen used oculometry to explore the influence of translation direction on cognitive load (2009); this study was replicated in Temizöz (2009, 2014), who also investigated the difference

between task difficulty as measured by task time and by eye tracking. Other studies of this kind include Ferreira et al. (2016) and da Silva et al. (2017). Chang tested and corroborated the predictions of the Revised Hierarchical Model by measuring cognitive load in sight translation and interpreting with eye tracking (2009, 2011) and fMRI (2011); another study into cognitive load in sight translation and interpreting is Chmiel and Mazur (2013). How translation and interpreting direction affects processing in the brain is also explored by Petsche et al. (1993), Tommola and Helevä (1998), Price et al. (1999), Rinne et al. (2000) and Proverbio and Adorni (2011). García (2015a) discusses evidence that the two translation directions are subserved by independent neurofunctional routes. Potential differences in editing and self-revision between the two translation directions were investigated by Fonseca (2015) and Temizöz (2009), the latter with reference to translator confidence and self-perception. Other topics covered by directionality process research include translation and interpreting strategies (Lörscher 1992; Bartłomiejczyk 2006; Chang and Wu 2014), decision-making and problem-solving (Pavlović 2010; Obdržálková 2016), pause patterns (Mead 2000; Alves Ferreira 2010), time distribution (Malkiel 2004; Buchweitz and Alves 2006; Alves Ferreira 2012a, 2012b; da Silva et al. 2017), segmentation (Alves Ferreira 2012a, 2012b), recursion (Buchweitz and Alves 2006; Ferreira 2014) and working memory (Opdenhoff 2012; Wang 2016). García (2015b) offers a comprehensive overview of directionality-related processing effects in word translation, as do Hatzidaki (2013) and Schwieter and Ferreira (2013). Separate process and/or competence models for non-native translation have been postulated by Krings (1986), Campbell (1991, 1998), Wakim (2010), Neunzig and Grauwinkel (2007) and Wimmer (2011). Drawing on a host of data, the PACTE group reports its overall findings explicitly separated according to translation direction (Hurtado Albir 2017).

The (lack of) difference in the self-perception of translators working only into their native language versus translators also working into a non-native language is reported by Hunziker Heeb (2016). A great number of (questionnaire) studies offer insight into translators' and interpreters' own attitudes towards working into a non-native language, including their own pre-

ferred direction, if any (Al-Salman and Al-Khanji 2002; Bartłomiejczyk 2004; Pavlović 2007; Gorton 2012; Audeoud and Haug 2013; Nicodemus and Emmorey 2013). Pokorn (2005) and Jamoussi (2015) provide fascinating accounts of the rarely investigated larger cultural impact that non-native translation has had, what drives it and how it is supported by actor networks.

A much-investigated topic in directionality research is quality, in terms of errors (Chodkiewicz 2016), accuracy (van Dijk et al. 2011; Nicodemus and Emmorey 2015), accent/articulation quality (Cheung 2013; Nicodemus and Emmorey 2015), usability (Suokas et al. 2015), quality perceptions (Opdenhoff 2013) and postediting (Sánchez-Gijón and Torres-Hostench 2014). Similarly, corpus research has been conducted on the identifiability and the textual features of translations produced by non-native speakers of the target language, for example by Pokorn (2005), Dong and Lan (2010) and Huang (2015). There has also been a rise in the popularity of research into translation and interpretation of international speakers and/or for an international audience and the impact of *lingua francas* such as English in this context (Stewart 2013; Chang and Wu 2014).

As far as training and education are concerned, Pokorn (2009, 2016) has investigated the pros and cons of employing (non)native teachers at different stages of training by examining their teaching strategies; Kelly et al. (2006:68–72) and Stewart (2008) consider the implications of multilingual and thus multidirectional classrooms as a consequence of increasing mobility and globalization; Stewart (2011) discusses textbooks for teaching non-native translation; and various scholars have presented proposals for improving the teaching of translation and interpreting into a non-native language (Roiss and Weatherby 1998; Stewart 2008; Brander and Opdenhoff 2014; Rodríguez-Inés 2014; Vigier Moreno 2016).

Future directions

Research on directionality started out as an almost separate sphere where many of the concepts and criteria from mainstream translation and interpreting research were curiously absent and prescriptive statements reigned supreme.

Today, driven by empiricism, it has adopted a much more descriptive discourse, albeit often with a somewhat emancipatory message, to ensure that non-native translation and interpreting – and their protagonists – receive the objective, fair treatment they deserve. The general goals, topics, methods and theoretical frameworks of directionality research have converged with those of other areas of translation studies, to the benefit of the discipline as a whole as well as non-academic stakeholders given the potential impact of its findings and its responsibility to address the needs of the wider society.

To safeguard the validity of its findings, research on directionality should, like other areas of research in the discipline, continue to improve its methodologies and overcome its weaknesses. The generalizations extrapolated from studies in this area are not always justified by the evidence, and ways need to be found to obtain results that can be generalized to larger and different populations. In quantitative research, when replication is attempted, the findings may turn out to be spurious due to underpowered original studies and misapplication of statistical concepts. Other issues include low ecological validity, lack of blinding when analyzing data from natives vs non-natives (Pokorn 2005:107–17), and other more general concerns about the evidence base (Liu 2011; Balling and Hvelplund 2015; Carl and Schaeffer 2017:55–56). Most surprisingly, it is often not clear what the criteria for assigning study participants to the native/non-native group are. This could be improved by using standardized instruments, as suggested by Muñoz (2009) and found in Blasco (2015) and many psycholinguistic studies of bilingualism.

See also:

COMPETENCE, INTERPRETING; COMPETENCE, TRANSLATION; LINGUA FRANCA, TRANSLATION; QUALITY, INTERPRETING; QUALITY, TRANSLATION; TRAINING AND EDUCATION, CURRICULUM

Further reading

Apfelthaler, M. (2018) *A Comprehensive Bibliography of Translation & Interpreting Directionality*, [Online], Available at <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.4960595>.

Provides an exhaustive, annually updated list of research relevant to investigating translation and interpreting directionality.

Bartłomiejczyk, M. (2015) 'Directionality', in F. Pöchhacker, N. Grbić, P. Mead and R. Setton (eds) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*, London: Routledge, 108–110.

Offers a succinct overview of the main issues and parameters related to directionality in various types of interpreting, and provides valuable references to seminal texts and other relevant entries of the same volume.

Ferreira, A. and J.W. Schwieter (2017) 'Directionality in Translation', in J.W. Schwieter and A. Ferreira (eds) *The Handbook of Translation and Cognition*, Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 90–105.

Offers an excellent overview of directionality research, well beyond the cognitive approach, and features illuminating discussion of translators' profiles, touching on issues of identity and directionality-related preferences.

Pokorn, N.K. (2005) *Challenging the Traditional Axioms: Translating into a non-mother tongue*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A groundbreaking monograph based on the author's PhD thesis; presents a seminal study of literary translation into a non-native language, combining pioneering conceptual work with descriptive translation analysis and a survey on reader response.

MATTHIAS APFELTHALER

Dubbing

Dubbing involves the replacement of the original soundtrack with a target-language soundtrack in films, television series, advertising, videogames and other products destined for the screen that contain speech embedded in a multimodal context. With the advent of talking movies at the end of the 1920s, it was introduced as the main or only transfer mode for foreign films, mostly in countries that were large enough to sustain its high costs of production and were led by authoritarian regimes. Dubbing allowed such regimes to uphold their political ideology and protect their national language and culture (Danan 1991; Gutiérrez Lanza 1997; Mereu 2012). But it also ensured the accessibility of mass media to illiterate viewers. It remains popular in many parts of the world, despite the

introduction of complementary and new forms of audiovisual translation as a result of globalization, the spread of digital technologies and increased media consumption. These are drastically reshaping the space that professional dubbing dominated until recently.

Implications of multimodality

Early scholarship placed much emphasis on the visual dimension of screen products and the need for harmonization between image and sound (Fodor 1976; Whitman-Linsen 1992; Herbst 1994). Synchronization was at first studied from two perspectives: as a question of matching the dialogue with mouth, lip and jaw articulation, and as isocrony, or the correspondence between the onset and offset of speech and visible articulatory movements. Given that synchronization is not restricted to the articulation of speech but also applies to facial expressions, gestures, body movements and setting, the many restrictions that impact the process of dubbing earned it the label of constrained translation (Mayoral et al. 1988). This approach was later revisited by Zabalbeascoa (1996), who supplemented the focus on restrictions with a discussion of priorities to account for the translation act in context.

As modelled by Chaume (2004b), dubbing is part of an intricate, dual-channel multi-semiotic whole characterized by a considerable layering of signifying modes that are co-deployed and interact on screen. They include the linguistic, kinetic, iconographic, acoustic, musical, photographic and cinematic codes, all requiring in-depth investigation to identify the different roles they play in the production and reception of meaning. A full appraisal of multimodality as a constitutive dimension of dubbing would involve two additional interconnected considerations. First, communicating various aspects of the meaning of an audiovisual text may require integrating image and sound into the dubbed dialogue by means of visual-verbal compensation and inter-semiotic and intercultural explicitation (Taylor 2013; Pérez-González 2014). Second, the many meaning-making resources that combine in the original and translated gestalt of the multimodal text can only be investigated together to fully understand translational

choices and appreciate their ensuing impact. In order to describe, explain and evaluate the role of the various semiotic codes and the interrelation between them, traditional frameworks such as polysystem theory thus need to be complemented by different methodologies, including multimodal analysis and theoretical insights from film studies, discourse and conversational analysis and pragmatics.

Starting from these premises, several research issues have been addressed in the literature. The multimodal dimension of audiovisual humour has been systematically explored by Zabalbeascoa (1996) and Chiaro (2004a, 2008), who highlighted the various dimensions and knowledge resources implicated in the complex transfer of humour and in the achievement of a similar effect in dubbing. In the case of language-specific puns, cultural references and metaphorical phraseological units (Sanderson 2009; Rodríguez Martín 2015), Martínez Sierra (2009) has shown how visuals can compensate for difficulties involved in rendering such linguistic phenomena verbally. A similar area that reflects the interdependency between verbal and non-verbal elements is deixis, which creates intermodal cohesion and draws viewers' attention to specific items of the sensorial world. As Baumgarten (2008) and Pavesi (2013) have demonstrated, translation impacts the relationship between the visual and the verbal: in reconnecting the spoken discourse to visual elements through deixis, dubbed texts may express different degrees of explicitness and iconicity, with implications for the overall narrative as well as the target audience's viewing experience.

In addition to the visual semiotics of the audiovisual message, research has recently engaged with the translation of the vocal elements in the oral text (Mateo 2014). Changes in voice quality, including tension, roughness, vibrato and breathiness, are bound to have an impact on characterization (N. Armstrong 2004): with the new performance, cultural and gender stereotypes may be altered, while significant shifts may take place in characters' projected personality, moods and feelings (Bosseaux 2015; de Marco 2016). The acoustic aspect of translated speech and its emotional, cultural and narrative dimensions represent a new frontier in dubbing research that investigates revoicing empirically, as in Sánchez Mompeán's (2016)

study of the connotative meanings carried by intonation patterns in original and dubbed sitcoms.

Multimodality thus remains a critical area of research in dubbing. The multimedia FORLIXT database of audiovisual material and dialogue transcriptions offers a pioneering tool for carrying out empirical, corpus-based research on the entirety of the meaning-making resources deployed in the filmic text (Heiss and Soffritti 2008; Valentini 2013). By and large, however, corpus-based investigation of multimodality in dubbing is currently hampered by the paucity and complexity of the methodological resources available, rather than by the lack of suitable theoretical approaches to the multimodal transcription and analysis of audiovisual translation (Taylor 2016).

The verbal code

Another important strand of research on dubbing engages with the issue of screen language, or what Chaume (2001) has called prefabricated orality, which is designed to meet the requirements of both diegetic and extra-diegetic communication. The language of dubbing, also labelled fictive orality or dubbese, may be described as a self-standing, culture-specific variety of “language written to be spoken as if not written” (Gregory 1967:191–192), and has been widely investigated in terms of translational norms and strategies (Pavesi 2005; Baños and Chaume 2009; Martí Ferriol 2010). Goris’s (1993) study of the French dubbing of American films was the first to draw attention to the influence of standardization, explicitation and naturalization of aspects of the verbal code on the translation product.

Fundamental to any characterization of dubbed language is the issue of naturalness, construed as either alignment with spontaneous conversation in terms of its recurrent features and sequential organization, or compliance with idiomaticity and target viewers’ expectations. This dual perspective on naturalness in dubbing derives from the double layeredness, or the horizontal and vertical dimensions of audiovisual communication (Pérez-González 2007b; Romero-Fresco 2009b), which takes place on screen

between characters and off screen with the audience simultaneously. In a series of empirical studies carried out on Italian and Spanish dubbed films, researchers such as Pavesi (2008) and Baños (2014) have pointed out that target-language orality tends to be represented by means of selected, often conventional, spoken language markers that evoke colloquiality. The conventional naturalness of dubbing is further evidenced by increasing approximation to the syntax of speech (Ghia 2014), increased use of informal and taboo lexis (Valdéron 2015b) and strategic use of speech acts and conversational routines (Bruti 2013; Bruti and Bonsignori 2016). The creation and exploitation of spoken corpora such as the Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (Freddi and Pavesi 2009; Pavesi 2014) have been central to the detection of regular features such as interjections, swear words, pronouns, vocatives and phrasal verbs, thus allowing more accurate descriptions of dubbed languages (Matamala 2009; Zamora Muños and Alessandro 2016; Baños et al. 2013; Pavesi et al. 2014). As shown in Baños’s (2014) study of Spanish dubbese, translated dialogue is less similar to spontaneous speech than non-translated audiovisual dialogue, although conversational lexis and phraseology typically compensate for the lack of impromptu phonological and morphological traits.

Other register-specific features of the languages of dubbing include style inconsistencies, recurrent phraseological expressions and calques, in particular from English, given the (pre)dominance of American products imported worldwide (Gómez Capuz 2001; Gottlieb 2014). The unnaturalness of some language used in dubbing has sometimes been attributed to hurried translations, but other research has ascribed it to strongly conventionalized forms of dubbese established in given national traditions (Flotow 2009b). While naturalness is generally acknowledged as a key factor in triggering the suspension of disbelief or psychological immersion, the narrative, aesthetic and entertainment functions of the dubbed text are more relevant to the hedonic quality of the audiovisual experience. These functions strongly relate to the translation of verbal dexterity, including puns and wordplay, verbal humour, intertextuality and other expressions of creativity. On screen,

moreover, verbal ingenuity often combines with aspects of visual semiotics and cultural-specific references that pose additional challenges for translators, with implications for the overall quality of the dubbed product.

In terms of the representation of group identity and geographical and social stratification through speech, audiovisual translation research has also addressed the issue of language variation (Armstrong and Federici 2006; Ramos Pinto 2009). Different strategies may be deployed to resolve the tension between the meanings associated with the original screen dialect on the one hand, and the different social connotations and interpretations communicated by the choice of a given target language variety on the other. Some scholars have argued that regional and local varieties, as well as sociolects, are inevitably neutralized in dubbing, especially when there is a strong bond between speakers' local parlance and certain social classes and groups (Whitman-Linsen 1992; Pavese 2005). Other researchers have argued that dubbing is a creative process, and that translators can find or even invent dialects, sociolects or idiolects capable of conveying the original meaning by drawing on the full resources of the target language, as illustrated by Ranzato (2010) in her study of the Italian localization of Cockney; similar studies feature in Armstrong and Federici (2006) and Ranzato (2017). On closer inspection, research on different national traditions does confirm that dubbing professionals can be resourceful in re-creating the sociocultural palette of the original texts by resorting, for example, to marked voice quality and highly informal and colloquial speech (Malinverno 1999; Herbst 1994; Heiss and Leporati 2000). Queen (2004) observes that while stylistic variation tends to be erased in German dubbed films, the African American English (AAE) used by young African American male characters embedded in street culture is rendered in a distinctive urban youth style that systematically sets them apart from other social and ethnic groups. Drawing on the distinction between domestication and foreignization, Travalia (2012), however, argues that the neutralization, and hence artificiality, of dubbed language are congruent with the distance of the world portrayed on screen, making the audiovisual product more acceptable to target viewers.

The ideological dimension

As early as 1990, the year that marked the rise of research on dubbing in Europe, Delabastita highlighted the central gatekeeping function of this audiovisual translation modality. While cultural references are a challenge in all translations, in dubbing they are "most acutely the sites of ideological interference" (Fawcett 2003:153). Drawing on an extensive, diachronic database of television series, Ranzato (2016) found that dubbing professionals frequently opt for straightforward borrowings and standard literal translations, at the same time toning down the wording of culturally sensitive references. These choices result in an overall simplification and narrative impoverishment of the audiovisual product, aligning it more closely with the sociocultural norms of the target audience and providing opportunities for political and ideological censorship.

Díaz Cintas (2012a:285) distinguishes between technical manipulation and ideological manipulation. However, although often the outcome of a deliberate intervention by patrons or by translators self-censoring their own output, in both cases resulting in a shift in the source text's orientation, 'manipulation' or ideologically motivated intervention may also be a subconscious response to political or social pressures. Research has examined the way in which both the manifest and surreptitious ideological discourses in source texts are mitigated, unmasked or strengthened by translators (Díaz Cintas 2012b; Chaume Varela and Richart Marset 2014–2015; Díaz Cintas et al. 2016). Intervention often involves the omission or replacement of words or phraseological units that relate to sensitive areas such as politics, religion, ethnicity, race, gender or sexuality (Martínez Sierra 2014–2015; Di Giovanni 2017). De Marco's (2006) study shows how sexist language may be intensified in the Italian and Spanish dubbing of British films. Manipulation may also impact broad sociopolitical and identity issues. Barambones et al. (2012) argue that Basque television adopts translation policies that restrict the types of programme being dubbed into Basque and marginalizes spoken vernaculars, while Mereu (2012) has documented the Fascist regime's systematic intervention in film translation in Italy. Between 1927 and 1943, censorship commissions in the country scrutinized

the content of dubbed foreign products and demanded the editing or removal of certain elements in dialogue and visuals, such as suicide notes and some country flags, which were considered offensive and threatening to moral decorum and the popular national image.

Increased multilingualism and multiculturalism have encouraged research on linguistic and cinematic realism and on the representation of dimensions such as ethnic identity. Studies in this area suggest that the effacement or stereotyping of ethnic and non-native voices may flatten or distort the representation of otherness in dubbing (Salmon Kowarski 2000; Petrucci 2015). In polyglot cinema, language in general as well as specific languages become part of the film's narrative, performing both a diegetic and extra-diegetic function in terms of story line, character portrayal, point of view and authenticity (Mingant 2010; Meylaerts and Șerban 2014; Monti 2014). Several studies of multilingual films have examined the translation modes and dubbing strategies deployed to reflect language differentiation in audiovisual media (Heiss 2004; Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011; Minutella 2012). While arguing for the need to preserve the diversity of voices by means of strategies such as exoticization, compensation and the subtitling of additional languages spoken in a multilingual film, these studies confirm that shared norms are lacking even within individual dubbing traditions, where normalizing strategies and reductive solutions tend to dominate but are applied inconsistently. Multilingual audiovisual products thus continue to pose a challenge in the context of dubbing, as evidenced by studies such as de Higes-Andino (2014), who found that the various languages spoken by the immigrants in Ken Loach's (2007) film *It's a Free World* . . . are underrepresented in the Spanish dubbed version. At the same time, most original foreign speech tends to be dubbed into an interlanguage. The characters' immigrant background is hence homogenized and indexed by a non-standard, learner variety of the target language.

Researching audiences and processes

With the growing centrality of the multimedia environment, audiences have increasingly adopted an active role in audiovisual transla-

tion (Pérez-González 2014). Viewers are not only becoming increasingly involved in the production of dubbing translations, but their role as consumers is now also receiving more attention from scholars. Using focus groups and questionnaires, Fuentes Luque (2003), Bucaria and Chiaro (2007) and Antonini and Chiaro (2009) pioneered the empirical investigation of audience perception and comprehension of dubbed cinema and television products, focusing on challenging features such as verbally expressed humour, cultural references and recurrent calques from English. This type of research led to increased engagement with quality standards in audiovisual translation. Wissmath et al. (2009) and Perego et al. (2015) have in turn taken research on cognitive and evaluative audience responses a step forward by contrasting the effects of watching the same excerpt dubbed or subtitled, using an array of verbal and visual measures. Although dubbing is generally believed to provide more enjoyment than subtitling, especially for viewers accustomed to this translation mode, the experimental results of this growing area of research suggest that the two modes are more comparable in terms of audience comprehension and appreciation than generally assumed.

Given that several agents contribute to the end product of dubbing, itself a process which involves a chain of textual and inter-semiotic interventions, a number of studies have adopted a process-oriented approach to investigate the impact of each stage on the form and quality of the target output. Richart-Marset (2013) argues that it is only by examining archives of dubbing documents and adopting the methods of genetic criticism that we can gain an insight into the black box of dubbing translation, to complement the static and partial picture provided by an exclusive focus on the end product. Renewed attention to dubbing professionals as coagents and protagonists in a multiphase process has contributed to raising awareness of the creative dimension of dubbing, which provides opportunities for intervention at different loci of the process, from the initial rough translation through to the final performance by dubbing actors. The manifold "transformative translation practices" of dubbing (Zanotti 2014:110) have also been discussed as a form of transcreation, defined as an "extreme case of domestication . . . open to changing the whole product" (Chaume

2016:81). Chaume suggests that transcreation has informed recent practices in a variety of audiovisual genres, including dubbing.

Future directions

At the textual level, larger-scale investigations are required to provide more comprehensive profiles of dubbed languages with reference to a wide array of source and target-language pairs. Some areas of intercultural pragmatics and cross-cultural mediation in dubbing, including themes such as stance, characterization, narrative and communicative practices (Guillot 2017), are yet to be investigated systematically. Research on these and related topics requires the creation and development of multilingual and multimodal corpora and the deployment of advanced techniques of corpus analysis. Cross-national comparisons of contextual and procedural aspects of dubbing, including the status and roles of professional and non-professional translators and the different orientations and practices that affect national translation systems, are also required (Kuipers 2015). The history of dubbing is another area that deserves closer scrutiny and calls for careful examination of diachronic corpora and archives of audiovisual products and documents. In view of changing production and distribution practices, new media affordances and hybrid audiovisual genres (Di Giovanni and Gambier 2018), more reception studies are required to examine how end users react to dubbed material in the new environment. It is only with large-scale reception studies on viewers' sociocultural attitudes, language use and media consumption that we can ultimately gain a deeper insight into the impact of dubbing on society at large.

See also:

AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; FAN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; IDEOLOGY; MULTILINGUALISM; MULTIMODALITY; ORALITY; SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Further reading

Chaume, F. (2012) *Audiovisual Translation: Dubbing*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Provides a comprehensive and well-balanced book-length overview of dubbing from a professional as well as a more research-oriented perspective.

Chaume, F. (2013) 'Research Paths in Audiovisual Translation. The case of dubbing', in C. Millán and F. Bartina (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, Abington: Routledge, 288–302.

Offers a thorough overview of the main strands of research on dubbing, both theoretical and applied.

Pavesi, M. (2016) 'The Space of Italian dubbing: From naturalness to creativity in fictive orality', in M. Canepari, G. Mansfield and F. Poppi (eds) *Remediating, Rescripting, Remaking. Language and translation in the new media*, Roma: Carocci, 13–30.

Offers a multidimensional cross-sectional model of Italian dubbed language that can be applied to and compared with different national practices.

Pérez-González, L. (2014) *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, methods and issues*, London: Routledge.

Critically engages with the main theories, methods and issues discussed in the literature on audiovisual translation at large, yet gives due attention to the specificities of dubbing.

MARIA PAVESI

Ethics

Ethical practice has always been an important issue for translators and interpreters, though historically the focus of concern has been the question of fidelity to the spoken or written text. In a special issue of *The Translator* published in 2001, Pym declared that translation studies had “returned to questions of ethics” (Pym 2001b:129). He linked this resurgent interest to a widening of the parameters of translation to include the translator’s agency and to a move within the discipline away from the dominance of the descriptivist paradigm towards globalizing trends that demand increased attention to processes of cross-cultural communication. In the same volume, Chesterman (2001a) identified four overlapping theoretical models of, or orientations to, ethical practice: representation, service, communication and norms. He also highlighted the importance of such models to professional codes of ethics which guided best practice across a range of contexts. In 2004, a volume dedicated to the theme of translation and ethics appeared as a special issue of *Translation, Terminologie, Redaction* (Fiola 2004), in which many of the discussions initiated in Pym’s volume were developed further. And 2005 saw the publication of *Nation, Language and the Ethics of Translation* (Bermann and Wood 2005), a collection of essays, several of which had translation ethics as their primary theoretical focus.

Pym’s (2001b) call in 2001 for a movement back to the deontological, i.e. to the establishment of guidelines or codes from professional associations that would support universal altruistic alterity in the face of social, cultural and institutional demands and constraints coincided with the beginning of a post-9/11 era of global politics, thus sparking an even greater awareness amongst translators, interpreters and translation

scholars of the significance of ethics. The new era threw the issue of conflicting beliefs and values amongst the producers and receivers of spoken and written texts, and their relationship to social, economic and political power, into sharp relief. Drawing on insights from a range of disciplines, including philosophy, sociology, anthropology, literary theory, narratology and legal studies, scholars of translation have increasingly identified questions of ethical responsibility, social activism and personal integrity as urgent issues that must be considered central to academic and non-academic pursuits within the field. Despite a growing commitment amongst groups of translation scholars and practitioners to address such questions, however, no clear understanding of or agreement about what an ethical approach actually means has been reached in the context of translation theory and practice, or within the field itself.

Ethics and literary translation

One of the earliest translation scholars to elaborate an ethics of translation was Antoine Berman, who developed a critique of the kind of literary translations that operated on the source text through ethnocentric, annexationist or hypertextual methods, deforming the text and sacrificing its poetics. Berman (1984/1992) viewed such acts as inevitable submissions on the part of the translator to unconscious forces that caused translation to deviate from its essential aim – that of allowing readers to receive the translated source text as foreign, the Other as Other. He offered a psychoanalytic/textual method through which translators and translations could be freed from the deforming tendencies that worked against a more open confrontation between source and target language, a method that both embraced the notion

of an original meaning and sought to restore the original meaning of the source text to its translation.

Venuti worked with similar ideas in drawing a distinction between domesticating and foreignizing (later minoritizing) translations and in his focus on the translator's invisibility (Venuti 1995b/2008, 1998a). Like Berman, and Schleiermacher before him, Venuti advocates translation techniques that challenge strategies of fluency and fidelity and that highlight the differences between source and target language and culture. Unlike Berman, and drawing on deconstruction, he supports approaches that allow translators greater freedom to play with meanings in the original, challenging the very notion of an original text and calling for specific political and stylistic practices in translation. He questions the descriptivist tendency to refrain from an evaluation of translations as good or bad, correct or incorrect, but has been careful to underscore the contingent nature of this approach, describing it as an "ideal" grounded in specific cultural, historical and intellectual environments (Venuti 1998a:6). Venuti's passage from ethics to politics has not been without its critics (Pym 1996; Tymoczko 2000a; Koskinen 2000b). Problems have been identified with his concepts *qua* concepts, with the elitist strand in his thinking, and its exclusively literary and overly prescriptivist orientation. Later work on ethics has sidestepped such criticisms in favour of engaging more fully with the philosophical traditions underlying Berman's and Venuti's interests in exploring how the Other can retain its otherness while being caught up in the gaze of a (more powerful) observing subject.

For several decades, postmodernism, the intellectual tradition most associated with questions of alterity – and deconstruction, in particular – has been influential in the development of postcolonial approaches to translation, with Spivak's influential work on the politics of translation (1992) being one of the earliest attempts to combine a deconstructionist ethics with a socially activist political agenda (Staten 2005; Arrojo 1998). Scholars working on feminist translations of literary texts have also attempted to combine poststructuralist theories of discourse with feminist politics (Flotow 1991, 1997b; Simon 1996).

The question of agency

The philosophical work of Emmanuel Levinas has provided an additional source for deconstructionism in translation studies. Interest in Levinas's writings on ethics and subjectivity (Levinas 1989) coincided with the heightened awareness within the field of the responsibility of the translator as an active agent in geopolitical conflicts and the ensuing uncertainties over how to act ethically or politically in encounters with a text, an individual or a community, without relying on the traditional foundations of identity, ideology or rationalist/universalist moral judgement. Interpretations and applications of Levinas, though varied, demonstrate a common interest in understanding what occurs at the moment of encounter with the Other, whether in the form of a literary text, its author, a refugee, a fellow citizen or a declared enemy (Gouanvic 2001; Larkosh 2004; Laygues 2004; Staten 2005; Eagleston 2005; Basalamah 2005a; Inghilleri 2008; Goodwin 2010).

For Levinas, the question of how 'I' as subject responds to 'You' as other/Other – an other I cannot fully comprehend and who calls my very being into question – is central to any attempt to conceptualize ethical subjectivity. For him, the origin of subjectivity is founded on subjection to rather than reciprocity with the other/Other, a subjection that precedes consciousness, identity and freedom. Our very existence, our right to be, is called into question by the prior existence of the other/Other whose presence unremittingly reminds us of our ethical responsibility. The other speaks to us, makes an ethical claim on us, interrupts and disrupts our speaking for ourselves; it makes an ethical demand on us that we are not free to refuse. At the same time, the presence of the other's face before us inspires a wish to destroy it, to do violence to it in order to preserve our own. Levinas's belief that ethical encounters depend for their immediacy on a detachment from social or historical forces leads him to claim the primacy of ethics over politics. This detachment, he suggests, eliminates the risk that the Other will be identified as other than *primordially Good*. However, once the Other is (inevitably) remembered as of the world, it is difficult to imagine how questions to do with identity, loyalty, power, difference and

indifference that are implicated in every social relationship can remain undisclosed or unexpressed (Gouanvic 2001; Inghilleri 2008; Goodwin 2010).

The philosopher Paul Ricouer offers an alternative theorization of this tension between subjection and reciprocity with regards to the Other. He conceptualizes encounters as both ethical and communicative, using the term “linguistic hospitality”, while embracing the idea of the translatability of all languages (Ricouer 1965:282, Ricouer 2006) to demonstrate how it is through translation that humans become reflexively aware of their contingency. Applied to translation studies, the notion of linguistic hospitality illuminates the potential paradox involved in the extension of hospitality, the ethical risk for translators and interpreters attempting to serve and potentially betray two masters, and how they navigate their uncertainties regarding otherness in undertaking their task (Inghilleri 2012:72–98; Maitland 2015). In contrast to Levinas, Ricouer’s starting point for understanding how translators make what is foreign accessible while attempting to protect it from appropriation is the belief that all humans (and texts) are connected to traditions, histories and languages.

Levinas’s conceptualization of ethical responsibility has been interpreted in different ways in translation studies. For some, it carries an implication that there are ethical grounds to be suspicious of the idea of translation, given his identification of our inherent tendency to wish to take power over and reduce the other to sameness, to comprehension on our own terms (Eagleton 2005). Others have read in Levinas an ethical-political imperative for the field to accept and direct its ethical responsibility through the development of a complex transcultural consciousness and greater reflection on the cultural preconceptions about translation found both in fictionalized accounts of translators and interpreters and in the discipline itself (Larkosh 2004; Basalamah 2005a). His work has also been read (in line with Ricouer) as pointing the way towards foregrounding the ethical relationship between translator and author/text at a more interpersonal level, creating a space where reciprocity, equality and, ultimately, humanity become possible (Laguyes 2004).

Ethics and professionalism

There is growing evidence of a shared insight amongst translation scholars that translators and interpreters are unavoidably and actively involved and implicated in ethical responsibility toward others (Simon 2005; Salama-Carr 2007; Baker 2006a, 2008, 1992/2011:274–299; Baker and Maier 2011; Sturge 2007; Tymoczko 2007, 2009; Pym 2012a; Inghilleri 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2012; Drugan and Tipton 2017). Once the space between translator and text or interpreter and another speaking subject is acknowledged as irrefutably ethical, the task of the translator cannot be viewed as simply one of linguistic transfer, where this is understood as segregated from ethical obligation. This creates a further set of questions, particularly with regard to codes of ethics and codes of practice to which translators and interpreters are professionally and institutionally tied. It poses a major challenge for the field of translation when it suggests the possibility of establishing a set of codes that could distinguish a correct course of action in a given situation from an ethically good or bad one. Pym (2012a) shifts his position away from this idea of an ethics for the translator grounded in deontology towards a translator ethics that is situational, intended only for a particular set of social activities, and unable to make any universal assertions regarding human values or belief systems. Other critics of established deontological approaches consider ethical models that embrace a directed activism and the acknowledgement that semantic uncertainty can be a means toward, and not contrary to, the goal of mutual recognition and understanding (Baker 2006a, 2009, 1992/2011:274–299; Maier 2007; Boéri and de Manuel Jerez 2011; Boéri and Maier 2010; Inghilleri 2012:26–51). Tymoczko (2007:316–17) stresses the need to situate any codified translation ethics within a context of self-reflexivity and recognition of the circles of affiliation and responsibility to which translators and interpreters are linked, as well as contemporary views of ethical action.

The relationship between ethics and professional services or associations continues to be explored in the context of translator training (Arrojo 1995, 2005a, 2005b; Maier 2003; Baker 1992/2011; Baker and Maier 2011; Valero-Garcés and Tipton 2017). Baker argues for building

ethics into the translation curriculum to open up a space for critical reflection and training that allows students to examine their values and the consequences of their behaviour rather than encouraging them to constrain their ethical vision based on preestablished codes. She introduces discussion of the broad distinction between Kantian and neo-Kantian deontological approaches vs teleological approaches to ethics – the former justifies an action on the basis of universal principles such as duty, loyalty or respect for human dignity while the latter defines what is ethical by reference to what produces the best results – to stimulate nuanced debate among students (Baker 1992/2011:274–299). More recent scholarship on ethics in translation studies appears to be shifting away from an exclusive appeal to these approaches and towards ones more focused on the individual actor, namely virtue ethics and the ethics of care, both of which prioritize the development of moral character over the establishment of universal norms or outcomes. Aristotelian virtue ethics seeks to ensure moral behaviour by inculcating certain virtues in individuals with the aim of establishing balance and equanimity between extreme forms of behaviour in a community or society, while an ethics of care, associated with care-focused feminism (Gilligan 1982; Nodding 1984), scrutinizes how such virtues are upheld in relation to others, especially those who are or appear particularly vulnerable in an interaction or setting.

The question of how individual or relational values can operate while enacting the role identity of translator is further complicated due to the shared professional narratives and commitments that individuals may feel compelled to embrace, in addition to how these interact with specific social and biological trajectories. Such questions are explored in Baker's application of a narratological approach in translation studies (2006a, 2008; Harding 2012a; Harding and Ralarala 2017), which draws on the work of communication studies theorist Walter Fisher (1987). Fisher argues that human beings decide whether something counts as an ethical practice – that is, whether something has been done for a 'good reason' – based on the narratives they have come to embrace about the world(s) in which they live, not on an abstracted rationality rooted in transcendent ideals. Thus, ethical

choices are grounded in forms of rationality that are inherently subjective. Applying Fisher's model, which provides a framework for both analyzing and assessing the underlying values expressed in all narratives, to a close reading of the narrative of a group of volunteer translators operating as an offshoot of a commercial translation agency, Baker illustrates how the relationship between the agency's humanitarian agenda and its acknowledged commercial interests can be read alternatively as coherent or incoherent, based on sound or contradictory values, depending on different assessments of the rational basis of the agency's presentation of itself. A narratological approach can provide the means for a closer reading of the narratives of professional translation and interpreting associations in order to assist translators and interpreters to make better informed decisions about their own reasons for and the possible social or political consequences of adhering to or challenging these values. Baker also suggests that a critical understanding of how narratives function can lead to greater resistance to the normalizing effects of all narratives, not just those pertaining to professional codes of practice. This is important given that the interpretation of and commentary on oral and written narratives – including how they function and are assessed in particular contexts as legitimate stories – is a vital task that is undertaken by translators and interpreters in a variety of contexts, particularly in situations where asymmetries of power exist between storyteller and recipient (Baynham and De Fina 2005).

Future directions

Continued developments in the field with regard to ethical practice suggest a turn away from an exclusive focus on descriptivism toward a revised approach to prescriptivism. Philosophical and sociological insights have tended to do more to reveal the (pre)ontological or epistemological bases of ethical subjectivity and political judgement than to suggest how subjects ought to act ethically or politically, though such insights do not preclude a more socially activist stance. Yet, although the growing interest in ethics in the field may be motivated by an increasing acknowledgement of the social

and political role of translators and interpreters, whether working in public contexts such as hospitals, courts, detention centres and war zones; in technologically based or corporate contexts; or translating literary texts, views about what counts as ethical practice and social responsibility still vary considerably. The view that codes of ethics are needed in order to establish guidelines and enhance professionalism continues to be widely adopted, with or without the additional caveat that they must not and cannot always be adhered to. Generally speaking, codes of ethics within the profession reveal a continued strong emphasis on notions of impartiality, neutrality, accuracy and fidelity across a range of professional contexts, including medical, judicial and literary translation and sign language and conference interpreting associations. There is, however, a growing awareness amongst some translation scholars and practitioners, including internationally based, socially activist organizations such as ECOS and Babels, that translation and interpreting are socially and politically directed professions, not simply specialized, language-related activities.

The ongoing commitment to ethical translational practices is likely to continue to engender both descriptive and prescriptive research, training and practice. Directed and collective engagement with an ethics of translation can serve as a means of strengthening the possibility of elaborating a role for translation as a positive force for social and political change. It can also help to create more effective pedagogical tools for training translators and interpreters to reflect upon their personal and/or social commitments and challenge existing norms established in codes of ethics that are untenable in actual contexts of practice. Perhaps most importantly, increased focus on translation ethics in the field can help to guide translators, interpreters and translation scholars towards their right to act responsibly, and to take their visibility and accountability seriously. It does seem important, however, that a renewed focus on ethics is not seen as a panacea for the inevitable and unresolvable tensions and dilemmas that arise in translation and interpreting encounters, nor as a quest for the holy grail of universal cultural or linguistic meanings and values. It remains unlikely that a consensus will be reached on what responsible

action entails. A shared aim, however, could be to shift the debate from questions of impartiality and loyalty to questions of justice and the ethical imperative to decide and to remain as fixed as possible on the instrumental and utopian social and political goals that translators and interpreters can help to clarify and adjudicate.

See also:

ASYLUM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECONSTRUCTION; HERMENEUTICS; LITERARY TRANSLATION; MACHINE TRANSLATION; MIGRATION; POSITIONING; ROLE

Further reading

Baker, M. and C. Maier (eds) (2011) *Ethics and the Curriculum*, Special issue of *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 5(1).

Presents research that systematically engages with ethical issues in the context of translator and interpreter training; articles discuss curricular innovations that offer opportunities for students to reflect on ethical questions in their own work and the work of other translators and interpreters and report on the challenges posed to educators in a number of different contexts.

Berman, A. (1984) *L'épreuve de l'étranger: Culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique*, Paris: Editions Gallimard; translated by S. Heyvaert as *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and translation in Romantic Germany*, Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1992.

A key publication that advocates for the notion of the translator's invisibility and subservience to the original text as a means to resist the ethnocentric impulse of his/her culture. Many of Berman's ideas were influential in developing what remain core insights in translation scholarship.

Inghilleri, M. (2012) *Interpreting Justice: Language, ethics and politics*, London & New York: Routledge.

Examines the interface between ethics, language and politics in the judicial context of asylum adjudication and in the military and offers an alternative theoretical perspective to Kantian and neo-Kantian deontological approaches that historically informed translation and interpreting practice.

Pym, A. (ed.) (2012) *On Translator Ethics: Principles for mediation between cultures*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A translation and update of *Pour une éthique du traducteur*, originally published in 1997; the editor's long-standing interest in interculturality is linked to a call for a model of cooperation as an ethical means to achieve mutual benefits for the parties involved in translation activity.

MOIRA INGHILLERI

Ethnography

Ethnography is one of the most commonly used research methodologies across various disciplines in the social sciences. Although it is often involved in collecting and analyzing qualitative data, it is also used in quantitative research, as in the case of big data ethnography (Laaksonen et al. 2017). The explanation of ethnography pursued here is rooted in social and cultural anthropology and influenced by hermeneutics. It seeks “to understand human actions and institutions” by drawing “on our own experience and cultural knowledge and through what we share with other human beings” (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994:250). This type of ethnography favours qualitative research and the analysis of qualitative data from a hermeneutic perspective.

Ethnography: a process and a product

The word ethnography consists of two elements: *ethno*, meaning race, culture and people; and *graphy*, referring to the process of drawing, writing, recording and describing. The term can thus be said to refer to both a product and a process. As a product, it refers to the writings about the people and culture that the researcher studies. As a process, it refers more broadly to the systematic study of people and culture, which is carried out according to a set of methods and principles. Ethnography is an “idiographic inquiry . . . that . . . is based on direct observation of living people rather than on written records

or material[s]” (Ingold 2008:70). It developed in the context of anthropology but is now used as a research methodology in a range of disciplines, including linguistics, sociology and education. According to Boellstorff (2012:54), the “core method of any ethnographic research project” is participant observation, which is often referred to and used interchangeably with fieldwork and in combination with other data elicitation methods such as interviews and focus groups.

Participant observation is a data collection method that requires the researcher to spend a period of time in the local community to learn the behaviour of the locals and to build a relationship of trust with them. Instead of studying people, the ethnographer learns from people (Spradley 1980:3) and tries to understand their routines, frustrations, feelings and behaviours through day-to-day interaction with them. Ethnographers describe this immersive experience in terms of etic and emic perspectives. An emic perspective describes the social situation, the people and their culture in their own terms, by using the notions and jargon adopted by the people and the “concepts employed in that culture” (Davidson et al. 1976:1). In contrast, an etic perspective describes the social situation by “using external criteria imposed by the researcher” (ibid.), and aims to be neutral and analytical. The tension between the two perspectives has been the subject of heated discussion in the literature (Sonuga-Barke 2014:301–303).

As its name suggests, participant observation consists of two parts: participation and observation. According to the degree of involvement in the relevant activities and with the people being observed, there are five types of participation: non-participation, passive participation, moderate participation, active participation and complete participation (Spradley 1980:59–62). There are also three types of observation: descriptive observations, focused observations and selective observations (ibid.:33). During the course of fieldwork, observation and participation are carried out sequentially or concurrently.

Participant observation usually begins with broad descriptive observations and non-participation. The purpose of descriptive observations is to obtain an “overview of the social situation” (Spradley 1980:33) and learn how various activities are undertaken. Non-participation means that the researcher “has no

involvement with the people or activities studied" (ibid.:59). It is possible to "collect data by observation alone", especially when "a particular social situation does not allow for any participation" (ibid.), as in the case of court interpreting. In these cases, the ethnographer gathers information about the community structure, its operating procedures, rules and routines. Where possible, as their knowledge of the community and the people grows, ethnographers gradually move on to focused observation and may start to participate in community activities moderately or actively. Focused observation takes place when the researcher has already collected and conducted a preliminary analysis of data from previous fieldwork, which enables them to narrow down the scope of observation to a specific aspect of an otherwise broad social situation. Focused observation is often accompanied by moderate participation. At this stage, the ethnographer "seeks to maintain a balance between being an insider and an outsider, between participation and observation" (ibid.:60). Taking a translation community as an example of fieldwork, the ethnographer may give advice to the translators and interpreters, which demonstrates a level of acceptance in the community; however, the ethnographer does not translate with them or display the same skills, and hence does not achieve the same status as the community members. A higher level of involvement is required in active participation, which generally takes place after the ethnographer has gained a fairly good knowledge of the social situation and seeks to learn the same behaviour. Regular and more in-depth engagement with community members allows the researcher to narrow down the research foci and to conduct selective observations of a particular group and particular types of activities. Finally, complete participation refers to the "highest level of involvement" (ibid.:61), when an ethnographer has become too closely associated with the locals and runs the risk of losing his or her *etic* stance.

Fieldnote writing is a key element of the ethnographic record and builds "a bridge between observation and analysis" (ibid.:33). The first step is to start a fieldwork diary (Mauss 1967/2007:13), which involves collecting meticulous, precise and detailed data, followed by detailed analysis that "reveal[s] the quality of the observer and his or her sociological insight"

(ibid.). Fieldwork notes are the main sources on which the ethnographer relies for data analysis and theorization of the social phenomenon under study.

When ethnographers finish their fieldwork, they (re)present the social situation and the people through writing. Various styles are used to disseminate their fieldwork, including realist tales, confessional tales, impressionist tales (Maanen 2011), creative non-fiction (Tedlock 2017) and autoethnography (Ellis 2004; Adam et al. 2014). A realist account is "the most prominent, familiar, prevalent, popular, and recognized form" (Maanen 2011:45) of written ethnography. Usually the ethnographer is completely absent and writes in a "documentary style" (ibid.:48). Self-reflection, any problematic aspects of the ethnographer's introduction to the community and inharmonious relationships with the informants are rarely reflected in a realist tale. By contrast, a confessional tale is written in the first person and discloses the details omitted in a realist tale, including fieldwork hardships, the ethnographer's anxieties, deadlocks and rejections, how reciprocity between ethnographer and informants is achieved, and how the ethnographer builds up rapport with the informants. It represents fieldwork from "The Fieldworker's Point of View" (ibid.:77), and thus the ethnographer is visible in the writing, at the same time as giving voice to the informants. An impressionist tale, a term van Maanen borrows from impressionist painting, aims to "startle" its readers with "striking stories" narrated by using figurative, provocative and imaginative language (ibid.:101). These poetic and dramatic stories expansively detail the ethnographer's fieldwork experience, "[braiding] the knower [i.e. the researcher] with the known [the 'locals']" (ibid.: 102) in order to gain richer knowledge of the culture and people under study.

Creative non-fiction is "factually accurate", yet "written with attention to literary style" (Tedlock 2017:1480). Creative non-fictions may be used to protect the people involved in the study (Nordstorm 2007), or to purposefully blur the boundary between the voice of authority (usually the researcher's) and that of the subjects under study (Eber 1995). Finally, autoethnography is a form of writing that resembles autobiography. It uses the researcher's personal experience to describe and showcase a messy and emotional social life,

recognizing and emphasizing self-reflection as a mode of study (Adam et al. 2014).

Sites of ethnography

According to the site of fieldwork, three types of ethnography can be distinguished: multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995), netnography (Kozinets 2010, 2015) and digital ethnography (Pink et al. 2016). Marcus's (1995) concept of multi-sited ethnography expands ethnography's "single-site location" to include "multiple sites of observation and participation" (ibid.:95). The latter can be multiple geographical locations or multiple social networks. Ethnographers move between different field sites, yet follow one research topic, understanding the same issue from different perspectives. For example, Olohan and Davitti (2017) conducted multi-sited ethnography in two translation companies in the UK. Their analysis of the data collected from participant observation, interviews and artefacts from the field sites reveals a dynamic process of building up a relationship of trust with the translation project management team. Netnography, developed by marketing professor Robert Kozinets (2010, 2015), examines online social aggregations and practices, including online translation communities (D. Li 2015). A netnographic study does not fully equate to a bona fide anthropologically informed ethnographic study. Unlike longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork where researchers immerse themselves in the local community, many netnographic studies are conducted in a highly observational and non-participatory manner, raising doubts about their ethnographic status; examples of such studies include Beaven and Laws (2007) and Kulavuz-Onal and Vásquez (2013). Unlike netnography, digital ethnography (Pink et al. 2016) treats the Internet as an extension of the physical fieldwork site for data collection. Digital ethnographic studies are not confined to collecting data from a single online community, but may also include the informants' activities in other digital platforms and in offline settings. For instance, when digital ethnography is used to study activist translators, the researcher may observe and participate in the practices of the group, whether organized online or offline, as well as in different geographical locations – as

a form of multi-sited ethnography. One pioneering example of digital ethnography in translation studies is Boéri's ethnographic work on Babels, an international network of volunteer interpreters, which examines the role that translation and interpreting play in civil society (Boéri 2008/2009, 2009, 2012b).

Validity

The rigour of an ethnographic study is often challenged due to the researcher's involvement in the research context and interactions with other participants (Maxwell 1992; Johnson 1997; Cho and Trent 2006). However, validity is a relative concept, rather than "an inherent property of a particular method" (Bringberg and McGrath 1985:284). Data and methods themselves cannot be valid or invalid. What impacts their validity are the ways in which they are used and interpreted "in a particular context for a particular purpose" (ibid.:284). Three strategies can be used in an ethnographic study to maximize research validity: self-reflexivity, data triangulation and member check.

In ethnographic research, "great emphasis is [placed] on the researcher-participant relationship and on the importance of the researcher as the primary instrument of data collection" (Smith 1999:359). Consequently, the ethnographer's own position – their interests, values, backgrounds, biases and responses to what happens in the field – plays a crucial role in generating the research data and shaping ethnographic narratives. Being aware of and recognizing ethnographers' involvement in the research context are central to ethnographic studies. Rather than disguising these factors, ethnographers are expected to actively engage in self-reflexivity, meaning an ongoing process of active and critical self-reflection in which the researcher reflects on the status quo of the research setting, their relationship with the research participants, and/or anything that takes place in the field and that could influence the results of the study (Johnson 1997; Mason 2002:7; Cho and Trent 2006).

The second strategy to strengthen validity is triangulation. According to Denzin (2009), there are four types of triangulation: multiple research methods (methods triangulation), multiple data

sources (data triangulation), multiple investigators (investigator triangulation) and multiple theories (theory triangulation). Methods triangulation, such as the use of participant observation alongside other elicitation methods, raises awareness of ethnographers' personal biases and partially overcomes problems of insufficient data caused by the use of a single method. Using multiple methods often entails collecting different types of data from different sources. The different data types may include unstructured data from fieldnotes, elicited data from interviews and focus groups, and archival data. The third strategy, member check, is a "crucial technique for establishing credibility" and consists of "a process in which collected data is 'played back' to the informant to check for perceived accuracy and reactions" (Cho and Trent 2006:322). The ethnographer can apply this technique to verify conclusions drawn from fieldnotes by eliciting the reaction of informants during interviews or focus group sessions.

Intersections with translation

Ethnography has long been associated with translation as a practice and as a metaphor. As a practice, ethnographers are required to go into a field that is different from their own in terms of location, ritual and language. In the "foreign" field, the "essential problem is one of translation" (Leach 1973:772, quoted in Asad 1986:142). How language difficulties are dealt with, how well ethnographers understand the local idiom and to what extent they depend on an interpreter or a translator are important factors that influence the representation of the Other (Sturge 2007), an issue also debated by social anthropologists (Roseman 2014).

The second intersection concerns the metaphor of ethnography as "the translation of cultures" (Asad 1986:141). Ethnographers are regarded as cultural interpreters and often the first readers of other cultures. The issue of the representation of culture is central to both ethnography and translation. The metaphor 'the translation of cultures' is used to emphasize the task of social and cultural anthropologists who do not only translate language but also, and more profoundly, modes of thought (Lienhardt 1953). After all, "cultures are not scientific

'objects'. Culture, and our views of 'it', are produced historically, and are actively contested" (Clifford 1986:18). Instead of detached observation and seemingly objectivized representation, "post-modern ethnographers have begun to privilege 'discourse' over 'text' . . . emphasiz[ing] the cooperative and collaborative nature of the ethnographic situation" (Tyler 1986:126). Both ethnographers and translation studies scholars are concerned with the poetics and politics of cultural representation (Clifford and Marcus 1986), and interdisciplinary collaboration between translation and ethnography is therefore necessary to strengthen the rigour of ethnographic practice in both fields.

The last intersection between ethnography and translation relates to how ethnography is employed as a research methodology in translation research, particularly to examine and understand translation processes and the social actors involved. Although translation studies scholars have begun to pay attention to the intellectual exchange between ethnography and translation (Sturge 1997, 2007; Wolf 2002), with few exceptions (Flynn 2007, 2010; Koskinen 2008) there is little literature available on ethnography as a methodology.

An interesting study is Tesseur's multi-sited ethnography (2014), which was conducted at different offices of Amnesty International. Tesseur examined the organization's translation practices and policies, and their impact on its voice and stance. Although Fabbretti (2014) does not explicitly describe his work as ethnographic, his research involved conducting participant observation by engaging and translating with different scanlation communities in order to study Japanese manga in English translation. Dombek (2014) employed a mixed-method approach, combining netnography with think-aloud protocols to examine the motivations of Polish Facebook user-translators. Similarly, Li (2015) examines fansubbers' collective identity in a Chinese fansubbing community, *The Last Fantasy*, by using netnography. This is a piece of qualitative research in which interview and archival data are analyzed in detail. Finally, C. Yu (2017) engages in a self-reflexive ethnography in her investigation of collaborative translation processes in Yeeyan, a Chinese online translation community and citizen media platform. In-depth and holistic application of eth-

nography is occasionally demonstrated in PhD theses (Flynn 2005; Fabbretti 2014; Dombek 2014; Tesseur 2014; Li 2015; C. Yu 2017); however, wider recognition as well as innovative and critical application of ethnography are still lacking in the field.

See also:

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY; CULTURAL TRANSLATION; CULTURE; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Hine, C. (2015) *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, embodied and everyday*, London: Bloomsbury.

Written by an expert in the field, explains methodological principles and strategies involving both online and offline fieldwork.

Koskinen, K. (2008) *Translating Institutions: An ethnographic study of EU translation*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

An empirical study that draws on the ethnographic methods of participant observation and focus groups to explore the organizational and professional identities of European Union translators.

Spradley, J.P. (1980) *Participant Observation*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Focuses on the core method of ethnography, participant observation and provides step-by-step instructions.

Sturge, K. (2007) *Representing Others: Translation, ethnography and the museum*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

One of very few book-length interdisciplinary discussions of the intersections between translation and ethnography.

CHUAN YU

Fan audiovisual translation

Fan audiovisual translation (Dwyer 2018) encompasses three modes of mediation. Rom-hacking involves accessing a video game's ROM (read-only memory) data to localize its spoken and written language components (Muñoz Sánchez 2009). In some cases, translation hacking may be part of a wider process of modding, whereby fans tamper with the graphics and even the sequencing of game tasks or levels (O'Hagan 2009; O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013). Although the contribution of language to the overall semi-otic fabric of video games, and by extension the need to produce various language versions of each new release, has grown significantly since the turn of the century (O'Hagan 2018b), rom-hacking remains relatively under-explored in translation studies. Fandubbing and fansubbing, the other two widely recognized modes, were originally conceived to facilitate the translation and non-commercial distribution of Japanese *anime* films and TV series or dramas (Díaz Cintas and Orero 2010; Pérez-González 2006b). These modes of fan audiovisual translation, understood as the dubbing and subtitling (or subbing) of audiovisual content by fans for fans, have been adopted to mediate other genres across a wider range of lingua-cultures. While fandubbing and fansubbing originated at the same time and have capitalized on the affordances of digitization in similar ways, the former has developed on a smaller scale and is widely regarded, together with romhacking, as a minor type of fan audiovisual translation (Dwyer 2018:446).

Historical development

Early fansubbing activity, driven by the global success of Japanese animation films or *anime*,

dates back to the early 1980s and has “an extensive prehistory that connects to earlier forms of informal and specialized translation practice such as live interpreting and diverse forms of titling and captioning” (Dwyer 2018:438). American TV networks – the first to import and broadcast *anime* shows in the 1960s – originally opted for dubbing as the most effective tool to “alter the [original] stories and characters to suit the perception of the tastes of American children and their parents”, often by Americanizing Japanese names and removing most culture-specific elements (Cubbison 2005:52). Crucially, dubbing also enabled American broadcasters to minimize the disruptive effects of the strategy they chose to broadcast *anime* shows – i.e. producing episodes by cobbling together fragments from unrelated *anime* series, which often required making up dialogue that matched the new narrative or helped to fill long periods of silence in the original productions (Ruh 2010:35). This mediation model, which allowed American viewers to enjoy *anime* shows for over a decade without being aware of their foreign origin (Furniss 1998), was discontinued in the mid-1970s. Just as dubbed *anime* series began to find popularity in major European markets, domestic campaigns against the perceived violence of original Japanese narratives (ibid.) led American broadcasters to put the dubbing of new series on hold. *Anime* shows became thus confined to less mainstream channels, where they were aired with subtitles (Leonard 2005). Faced with this abrupt termination of dubbed *anime*, fans turned to VHS commercial content brought directly from Japan, “often via US soldiers stationed at military bases or through fellow science-fiction fans and pen pals” (Dwyer 2018:439). Copies of these videotapes were distributed by post to be screened in science fiction conventions all over the USA and in meetings of the growing number of fan clubs that quickly emerged around the country (Patten 2004).

As fan communities became aware of the extent to which *anime* shows had been altered to meet the expectations of American viewers, they opted to produce their own translated versions, rather than continuing to distribute original *anime* material. Their translations aimed to facilitate fellow fans' access to *anime*'s idiosyncratic imagery, the interpretation of Japanese obscure cultural references, and the appreciation of genre-specific narrative conventions (Cubbison 2005:48) – a development some specialists have described as a form of resistance to western popular culture (Newitz 1994). As the technology to produce their own subtitles did not become available until the early 1980s, early fan communities resorted to translation methods used during the silent and early sound film eras, including “translation booklets and synopses to accompany *anime* tapes and screenings”, as well as “live, spoken translation” during screenings at fan gatherings (Dwyer 2018:439). 1986 saw the emergence of rudimentary fansubs produced using generator locking technology, but the first widely distributed laserdisc fansubs did not become available until 1989 (Leonard 2004, 2005). It was, however, the growing ubiquity of the Internet during the 1990s that transformed fansubbing into the global phenomenon it is today. Digitization allowed fandom communities to appropriate raw video captures of the content they chose to subtitle, either by ripping original DVDs or simply downloading raw broadcasts shared by fans via peer-to-peer file sharing interfaces, often within hours of *anime* shows being broadcasted on Japanese channels. Apart from providing geographically dispersed communities of fans with the tools and resources to gain continued access to new material, digitization facilitated the distribution of their subtitled versions on a massive scale through new and decentralized, peer-to-peer information protocols such as BitTorrent (Pérez-González 2006b).

While early *anime*-centric fansubbing – a phase encompassing the analogical mass-media era and the early stages of the digital culture – sought to resist the deodorizing translation practices imposed by the American media industry and the concealment of Japanese-ness that they entailed (Leonard 2005), the emergence of post-*anime* fansubbing during the first decade of this century reflects the unprecedented hybridity of the digital media ecology. In this deterritorialized environment,

fansubbing communities have begun to cluster and continue to coalesce around non-Anglophone media genres, ultimately fostering the flow of audiovisual content among languages that hold a peripheral status in the media industry (Hellekson 2012; Hu 2010; Jirattikorn 2008; Tauro 2002). Although these fansub groups are driven by different agendas, a large number have opted to concentrate on bringing “subtitled US television content to fans in the shortest turnaround times possible” (Dwyer 2018:441). Detractors of speed subtitling as a means to garner “sub-cultural brand-like capital” (Denison 2011:456) regard this development as “a shift in the fan culture from responsible to more profligate piracy” (ibid.:460). By contrast, supporters of this new mediation paradigm are attracted to its fan empowering potential, as it effectively enables them to circumvent the geoblocking and stepped release strategies that the industry has used to maximize the profitability of US dramas across the world.

The same technological developments that steered the transition from *anime*-centric to post-*anime* fansubbing in the mid-noughties, i.e. during the transition from the electronic to the digital culture, also enabled the emergence of fandubbing. Although the feasibility of fandubs had been denied until that point (Kirkpatrick 2003), the production and distribution of fandubs before 2005 are documented, though they were not yet produced “on the same scale as fansubs, and the[ir] quality may not be similar to [that of] commercially-produced dubs” (Hatcher 2005:122). Scholarly accounts of early fandubbing activities associate this translation mode almost exclusively with the revoicing of *anime* (Dwyer 2017), but fandubbing is now used across the world to mediate a wide range of genres and languages (Nord et al. 2015; Wang and Zhang 2016).

Fan audiovisual translation as cocreative labour

Fansubbing and fandubbing projects are typically executed by virtual communities that capitalize on the affordances of networked communication to exploit their members' skills sets or collective intelligence (Levy 2000). In these participatory sites, linguistic competence, which does not necessarily equate with translation competence, is only one form of expertise

mobilized to undertake this form of cocreative labour (Banks and Deuze 2009). The organization and structure of fansubbing groups, for example, is based on a clear distribution of roles, including but not limited to raw provider, translator, timer, typesetter, editor, encoder and distributor (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez 2006; Pérez-González 2006b). Similar arrangements are in place in fandubbing groups, which run various types of tests and cyber-auditions to recruit new translation and voice talent on an ongoing basis. The sustainability of fansubbing communities is predicated on the work of recruiters tasked with sourcing and sharing resources to train new members. Videoclips of the group's next projects are often made available online to prospective applicants, who can use them to "identify the character they feel best suited to dub, and rehearse until they become familiar with the prosodic idiosyncrasies of their *alter ego* on screen" (Pérez-González 2014b:232; original emphasis). The assessment of auditions, the casting of voice talent and the management of the voice-recording workflow are other roles held by experienced group members.

As members of these networks, individuals reach beyond their immediate physical environment and join geographically dispersed communities of interest to explore and enhance their affinity with fellow fans. This development is reflected in recent theorizations of fansubbing and fandubbing communities as "deterritorialized social imaginaries that not only transcend national boundaries, but signal the emergence of new discursive spaces of audienceship" (Li 2009:9) built around a shared identity. By providing a platform to negotiate intersubjectivity, communities of fan audiovisual translation have profoundly transformed the logic of the media marketplace, as shown by the surge in numbers of volunteers who have taken on intensive forms of free or immaterial labour like subtitling and dubbing since the 1990s (Pérez-González 2013b). The need to forge robust "imagined transnational communities" (Jirattikorn 2008:52) to oppose the industry's homogenizing translation practices was the key motivation of *anime*-centric fans, who contributed their skills, time and genre expertise (O'Hagan 2008) in an entirely altruistic manner. However, post-*anime* fandom communities "exist in a liminal state between resistance and complicity" with the industry

(Booth 2015), as illustrated by their more ambivalent mediation practices. Indeed, while some of these fansubbing groups are still driven by the need to undermine regional content lockouts and other restrictions on media content, their predominantly playful or mundane agendas are more likely to generate dynamics of competition and commodification, particularly when their expertise is co-opted and monetized by media conglomerates (Denison 2011; Hills 2017; Wu 2017).

Research themes

Research on fan audiovisual translation has concentrated primarily on the interventionist nature of fansubbing and its formal experimentation. The influential distinction Nornes (1999) established between corrupt and abusive subtitling revealed the restraining impact of commercial subtitling techniques such as condensation, omission, domestication and homogenization vis-à-vis the more exuberant strategies favoured by fansubbing groups. Unlike corrupt (professional) subtitlers who adhere uncritically to mainstream subtitling conventions and are complicit in denying viewers the opportunity to experience the Other, their abusive counterparts (fans) "translate from and within the place of the other by an inventive approach to language use and the steady refusal of rules" (ibid.:29).

Hatcher (2005), Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez (2006) and Pérez-González (2006b, 2007a) have provided comprehensive overviews of how abusive approaches play out in practice. In order to enhance the viewer's experience of the foreign original, fan subtitles often blend in with the aesthetics of the source text. The field (settings and events), tenor (relationship between diegetic characters) and mode (e.g. prosodic or dialectal features pertaining to speech delivery) of the original also inform the choice of fonts and colours. Ultimately, the visual styling of the subtitles aims to maximize the viewer's enjoyment of the original material, even when the formal dimension of the subtitles does not allow for a smooth reading experience. Nowhere is this more apparent than in those frames where subtitles are diluted within the pictorial fabric of the audiovisual text (Pérez-González 2007a), to the extent that some may even go unnoticed

by viewers. By creatively exploiting the materiality of subtitles, fans seek to deliver the sort of immersive spectatorial experience that their audiences expect.

Experiments with various compositional parameters such as number, layout and positioning of subtitles in a film or drama episode are also common in fansubbing. A greater cognitive effort is required from viewers to process the higher number of subtitles they are relentlessly presented with, often outside the default subtitle display area at the bottom of the frame. This is best illustrated by the use of headnotes (Pérez-González 2006b, 2007a) – snippets of text placed at the top of the frame delivering information that complements the content of traditional subtitles. Whether they are used to clarify the meaning of culture-specific references, assist viewers with the interpretation of ambiguous utterances or elaborate on various aspects of the context, headnotes represent a major departure from mainstream subtitling conventions (Ortabasi 2007). By incorporating non-diegetic content, headnotes boost the subtitlers' visibility within the frame. Although some viewers may regard this form of intervention as a contamination of the film or drama they are watching, scholars have hailed its potential to “turn the film into an experience of translation” (Nornes 2007:177). The emerging body of eye-tracking research seeking to gauge how much effort is required to process abusive subtitles (Caffrey 2009; Orrego-Carmona 2015) should yield a better understanding of the spectatorial experience that fan audiovisual translation delivers.

Inventiveness and boldness are less central to post-*anime* fansubs. As Dwyer (2012:220) notes, the culture of speed subbing would appear to have “traded the experimentation (and attendant regulation) enabled by *niche* anime markets for broad accessibility”. But while this speed-driven development reduces the scope for translator visibility, it opens up new avenues for the negotiation of affinity among viewers. One example is the expansion of Chinese *danmu*, i.e. the dynamic superimposition of viewer's comments on the film they are watching and discussing, rather than under or next to the film display area (Howard 2012). The direct intervention of viewers in the spectatorial experience of fellow audience members may be perceived as disruptive, but it ultimately serves to open up new sites for

the exploration of intersubjectivity, thus broadening the scope and impact of abusive practices.

The communities that coalesce around fan audiovisual translation groups have also become an important research theme. Underpinning the body of scholarship published to date on this issue is the premise that the significance of fansubbing cannot be fully understood simply by scrutinizing subtitles or proposing taxonomies of innovative subtitling strategies. Research goals include gaining a better understanding of the interplay between the entrenched demands of community structures and individual potential for innovation, establishing whether digital technologies facilitate or hinder communication and negotiation processes among community members, and gauging how and whether the interaction between fans and viewers influences collective practices (D. Li 2014; 2017); these goals are pursued by using netnographic methods (Kozinets 2010). By gaining covert or overt access to their chosen communities, researchers are able to draw on various sources, such as archival data — including community policies, protocols or subtitling stylesheets, but also repositories of electronic communications between groups members that, in some cases, date back to the inception of the community. They are also able to gather elicited data from surveys or interviews with fansubbers and generate other data in the form of fieldnotes or reflective journals. Despite the complex ethical issues raised by studying digital media content, netnography will continue to yield further insights into collective decision-making processes, the collaborative construction of collective identities and the genealogy of new practices in fansubbing groups.

As Dwyer notes, one of the most distinctive traits of fan audiovisual translators has traditionally been their involvement in the “unauthorized and unregulated exploration of new technologies”, which has allowed them to “proactively mine new platforms and protocols in order to unlock emergent, often unforeseen capabilities” (2018:436). Unsurprisingly, the evolving relationship between fansubbing/fandubbing and copyright law has prompted a great deal of navel-gazing introspection among fan audiovisual translators, some of whom have campaigned to be acknowledged and recognized as ratified players by established stakeholders in the media

marketplace. Various scholars have chronicled the changing perception of fan activities since the turn of the century (Kirkpatrick 2002; Leonard 2004; Hatcher 2005; Leonard 2005; H.-K. Lee 2011; He 2017). Early conceptualizations of ‘fannish work’ as piracy have been gradually mollified as a result of various disciplinary developments such as the emergence of fan studies as a domain of scholarly enquiry and of the advocacy from fan organizations to redefine fan activity “as legal and transformative” (Organization for Transformative Works, n.d.). Although occasional court decisions continue to rule that the translation of audiovisual content without the permission of rights holders amounts to copyright infringement, fansubs and fandubs are now more widely tolerated and, in some cases, actively promoted by distributors and broadcasters; Dwyer (2012, 2017) provides an account of the role played by fansubbing in the global success of the Korean website Viki. Recent calls for “a cooperative approach that encourages copyright owners to exert a degree of control over their fan creators” without preventing them from “unleash[ing] their potential” (He 2017) are clearly consistent with the growing co-optation of fan audiovisual translators by corporate players (Wang and Zhang 2017). Although the relevance of this debate to translation scholarship might not be immediately apparent, future developments will reveal its potential impact more fully. As O’Hagan (2008:179) cautions, translation scholars and professionals “can no longer afford to overlook the fan translation phenomenon” in light of the demonstrated power of fans to redefine professional translation practices and audience expectations.

Future directions

Research on fansubbing and fandubbing shows that non-representational mediation strategies are beginning to supersede the referential approach that has traditionally underpinned professional audiovisual translation (Pérez-González 2012a, 2014b). Indeed, the centrality of affective play in the fan media landscape has led to the emergence of mutant forms of fan audiovisual translation such as ‘fansubbing’ and ‘fundubbing’ (Chaume 2013; Nord et al. 2015; Wang and Zhang 2016; X.

Zhang 2013), understood as forms of mediation where the original dialogue is replaced with a parodic or humorous target-language version. But, as is also the case with other forms of fannish transformative work, interventionist translation modes such as fansubbing and fandubbing often combine mundane sensitivities with the expression of more critical or activist concerns. Scholars working across different geographical and cultural contexts (Izwaini 2014; Khoshsaligheh et al. 2018; Pérez-González 2014b; Saadat 2016; Wang and Zhang 2016, 2017) have explored this growing hybridity and documented how fans translate well-known audiovisual works in popular culture to resist political censorship or religious oppression. As fansubbing and fandubbing continue to accommodate shifting participatory practices of resistance and intervention, research on fan audiovisual translation is bound to draw more systematically on the conceptual network and premises that support the study of self-mediation by media sociologists.

See also:

AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; CROWDSOURCED TRANSLATION; DUBBING; FAN TRANSLATION; LINGUA FRANCA, TRANSLATION; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS; SUBTITLING, INTERLINGUAL; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Further reading

Dwyer, T. (2012) ‘Fansub Dreaming on Viki: ‘Don’t just watch but help when you are free’, in Ş. Susam-Saraeva and L. Pérez-González (eds) *Non-professionals Translating and Interpreting: Participatory and engaged perspectives*, special issue of *The Translator* 18(2): 217–243.

Broadens the scope of research on fansubbing by exploring the geopolitical implications of this phenomenon beyond the domain of anime subculture.

Dwyer, T. (2018) ‘Audiovisual Translation and Fandom’, in L. Pérez-González (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Audiovisual Translation*, London & New York: Routledge, 436–452.

Explores the evolution of fan audiovisual translation, from the origins of fansubbing and fandubbing to the most recent developments.

Pérez-González, L. (2006) 'Fansubbing Anime: Insights into the butterfly effect of globalisation on audiovisual translation', *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 14(4): 260–277.

Delivers a comprehensive overview of early fansubbing practices pertaining to the anime-centric tradition.

Pérez-González, L. (2014) *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, methods, issues*, London & New York, Routledge.

Explores the relevance of media sociology theory to the study of fansubbing as a form of self-mediation.

LUIS PÉREZ-GONZÁLEZ

Fan translation

Fan translations differ from other non-professional practices such as volunteer translation in the choice of what is translated: whereas much volunteer translation focuses on *pro-bono* work for non-governmental organizations such as charities, fan translation focuses on translations of texts that are important for a particular group of fans. These texts tend to come from popular culture, rather than the political, medical and other specialized domains that are of interest to charities, and their translations are often, though not always, collaborative (O'Brien 2011; O'Hagan 2009:101). The expansion of the Internet since the 1990s has made fan translation much more visible, as fan-translated texts are now more easily available: they can now be searched online rather than having to be identified through non-commercial distribution networks. Fans translate a wide range of materials, including cartoons, TV shows, films, video games, comics, fiction, board games and song lyrics. Apart from the translation of cartoons, TV shows and films, translations of comics (also known as scanlation) and video games (also called romhacking) have received most academic attention, followed by fan translation of (popular) fiction and song lyrics.

Fandom and fan culture

Fan translation is undertaken by fans. Fandom, as early fan scholars such as Jenkins (1992:9–49)

and Jenson (1992) have noted, has often been viewed negatively in the media, with fans seen as “excessive, bordering on deranged” (Jenson 1992:9). Yet fandom is a common feature of popular culture (Fiske 1992:30), and many people will be fans of a particular text, musician or sports team at some point in their lives. The question of what defines a fan is actively debated in fan studies scholarship (Hills 2002; Sandvoss 2005) as it is not fully clear at which point one becomes a fan or how fandom can be measured. It is also difficult to compare fandom across different types of object: football and sports fans, for instance, will interact as fans in different ways from music fans or anime fans.

Sandvoss (2005:8) defines fandom as “the regular, emotionally involved consumption of a given popular narrative or text”. Sandvoss's definition is somewhat minimal and aims to include fans of various different objects, from sports teams to popular music and media products. Other scholars have argued that fandom includes the production and consumption of derivative works (Jenkins 1992; Azuma 2009:25–26), such as t-shirts, fan fiction, fan art, fan songs, figurines and so on. While Jenkins and Azuma both focus on productions by fans, derivative works are clearly also created by media companies for the consumption of fans, from videos and DVDs of TV series, to t-shirts, video games and more niche items like figurines (Hills 2002:28–30). Fans are often collectors of such material, which deepens their engagement with the objects of their fandom (Gray 2010:175–205; Geraghty 2014).

Fan practices extend beyond the production and consumption of texts and objects and include visiting places that are meaningful for fans, from sites of production to represented locations (Hills 2002:144–157; Geraghty 2014:93–119). Cosplay, dressing up as a character from a beloved TV show, film or comic book, is also a common expression of fandom (Lamerichs 2011). All these fan practices demonstrate an investment of time, energy and often money that goes beyond the casual consumption of an object of fandom. Fandom can also be seen as a form of community (Jenkins 1992) as fans communicate regularly with each other, for instance by participating in discussion fora or conventions that allow them to meet, trade and discuss their objects of fandom. Not all fans will

participate in all fan activities or even in the fan community, but self-identifying fans will often be involved in more than just passive viewing or passive consumption of their objects of fandom: as scholars of fan studies argue, fans are active consumers, making their own meaning from popular media texts (Fiske 1992:30).

Fan translation

Fan translation clearly fits into the pattern of fan activities discussed in the literature on fandom. It involves the production of a derivative work: the translated text. Like collecting, cosplay and visiting locations, the production of a translation extends the interaction with a text from passive consumption to a more active engagement with it. Fan translation is a form of service to the fan community: it allows texts to be consumed in languages other than the ones they were created in before an official translation is produced and distributed, or as an alternative to it. This pattern varies with each object of fan translation: it is uncommon for a translated comic, for instance, to function as an alternative to an official translation, but this is more common in the translation of video games.

In some cases, fan translations are the only vehicle through which a text may be made available to a different linguistic community, for instance if the text is deemed commercially unviable and hence unworthy of an official translation. While fan translation may be undertaken in all domains in which a subculture of fandom exists (which could include the entirety of popular culture), as well as in many language combinations, most discussions of fan translation in the literature have so far focused on translations of Japanese cultural products into English.

Scanlation, or the fan translation of comics, is a highly visible area of fan translation and, as Evans (2016:324) notes, has influenced mainstream and official translations of Japanese comics, known as manga. *Scanlation* is a contraction of the English words *scan* and *translation* (Ferrer Simó 2005:29; O'Hagan 2009:100): the process involves scanning the original comic, removing the written text and then adding in the translated dialogue (Trykowska 2009:10–11). This is a development from earlier fan translations of

manga, where fans produced translated scripts for the comics which readers could then compare with the Japanese printed comic (Trykowska 2009:7). Scanlations are more user-friendly as they do not require readers to switch their attention from one text to another. It is not clear when fan translation of manga began, though Deppey (2005) argues that it was in the early 1990s, following the expansion of the internet and the possibility of sending high-quality image files by email. The availability of affordable, reliable scanners for home use also played an important part in the spread of scanlation (Trykowska 2009:7). Scanlation, then, is a by-product of expanding home computer use and shifts in consumer technology.

One of the reasons fans undertake scanlation is the unavailability of certain manga in English. As with other cultural products, not all manga are selected for translation by official publishers (H.-K. Lee 2009:1014), and scanlation thus offers a way in which additional manga titles can be made available. As Lee (*ibid.*:1016) notes, many scanlators focus on these unlicensed comics and so do not see their activity as competing with official translations. This is an important aspect of the ethical dimension of scanlation practice: for fans, the translation is not undertaken for profit, but rather to make texts available and to encourage better recognition for manga and thus share fans' own enthusiasms for these cultural products (Deppey 2005; H.-K. Lee 2009:1015–1017). The effect on the manga industry is viewed as positive by some, leading to publishers turning a blind eye to the activities of scanlators where the translated manga has not been licenced (Trykowska 2009:8). However, scanlation aggregation sites that collect pdf files and link to other sites have been threatened by the industry (Reid 2010).

The literature on scanlation identifies wordplay and onomatopoeia as particularly challenging phenomena (Trykowska 2009:14), and the use of extratextual glosses in the form of footnotes and endnotes as typical strategies used to address them (*ibid.*). Scholarship on scanlation has also examined issues of layout and typography. In contrast to early translations of manga into European languages (Kaindl 1999), scanlations do not flip pages to read from left to right but leave them in the Japanese reading direction of right to left, thus requiring readers to invest

in learning how to read in this direction. These source-oriented practices have become more accepted in official manga translations: official translations face the same difficulties as scanlations (Evans 2016:324) and are increasingly influenced by fan practices. Further technical difficulties relate to redrawing and typesetting in scanlation (Trykowska 2009:14), as the speech bubbles used for Japanese text do not always accommodate the roman script used by European languages easily. The difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that English is often used as a pivot language for scanlation into other languages (Trykowska 2009:20).

Fan translation of video games constitutes another key area of research. The majority of video games are created in Japan or the USA, but not all are officially localized into other languages (Muñoz Sánchez 2009:169). Fan video game translation is also known as 'romhacking' as early video games (such as those for the Nintendo Entertainment System [NES] or the Sega Master System) were stored on read-only memory (ROM) chips in cartridges. Translating the textual element of a game involved extracting it from the ROM, before it could be translated and reinserted back into the game (Muñoz Sánchez 2007; O'Hagan 2009:107–108). This required a high degree of technical knowledge, which led to collaboration between 'hackers' (who are able to extract the text and do the necessary coding) and translators (O'Hagan 2009:108; Consalvo 2013:61). In addition to providing translations of otherwise unavailable games, fan translations are also produced in order to correct what are seen as 'poor' official translations of games (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013:309).

Romhacking began in the mid-1990s, as Anglophone interest in text-intensive Japanese role-playing games grew (Consalvo 2013:61), and was aided by the appearance of console emulators that allowed people to play console games on a PC, and hence also to play the romhacked games (O'Hagan 2009:108; Muñoz Sánchez 2009:169). As with scanlation, the internet made distribution of the fan-translated games much easier and increased the visibility of the practice. Older games continue to be translated alongside newer games, as older systems such as NES and Game Boy still interest gamers and can be played on emulators (Consalvo 2013:61).

Some of the available literature has focused on challenges faced by both romhackers and official game translators, such as the difficulty of fitting text within the available space for dialogues (Muñoz Sánchez 2007) and translating variables of gender, number and colour across different linguistic systems (Bernal Merino 2007). While official translations are often adaptive (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2006:15), fan translations tend to privilege authenticity (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2013:302) and are more source oriented. Fan translators have the advantage of deep knowledge of the text they are translating (Muñoz Sánchez 2009:178) and enjoy full access to the game itself, which is not always the case for official game translators (Bernal Merino 2007). Fan translators also have more freedom than official translators as they are not constrained by the censorship rules that PEGI (Pan European Game Information) age ratings impose (Muñoz Sánchez 2009:178); this freedom allows them to use more taboo language and/or sexual content, for instance.

In addition to these more established fields, emergent areas of research include fan translation of popular fiction and the translation of popular music. A great deal of research has been done on fan fiction (Jenkins 1992; Hellekson and Busse 2006), that is, fiction written by fans based on the world of the text that they are fans of (*X-Files* and *Firefly*), but much less work has been done on fan translation of popular fiction. J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* is the most widely discussed source text in this context, given the proliferation of fan translations in German, French, Turkish and Chinese. These and other fan translations of popular fiction are often undertaken very quickly in order to appear before the official translation is published (Chan 2010:137–138). As with the translation of video games and comics, fan translations of popular fiction are often motivated by a lack of availability of translated texts. Multiple Chinese translations of *The Deathly Hallows* (the final book in the *Harry Potter* saga) were produced by groups of *Harry Potter* fans, with varying degrees of quality given the speed of production and their "patchwork" nature (Chan 2010:139–140). The situation was further complicated by the production of what Chan (ibid.:139) refers to as "fake translations" of the novel around the same time: a combination of fan fiction and fan translation,

these 'fake translations' were often sold as translations of the new novel (*ibid.*). While there are fan translations of other texts such as *wuxia* (martial arts) novels, one of the difficulties involved in researching such subgenres concerns the tendency for official translations to follow shortly after fan translations, leading to the removal of the latter from websites.

Like other forms of fan translation, music translation began its life offline, in fanzines (fan created magazines), and moved to the internet in the 1990s (Kaross and Spinola 2012). The literature distinguishes between fan translations undertaken for the purpose of understanding the meaning of the lyrics and those undertaken with the purpose of producing a version that can be sung (Kaross and Spinola 2012; Low 2003; Susam-Saraeva 2015:141). Unlike the other forms of fan translation discussed here, fan-translated songs do not seek to offer a replacement for the source text, but rather to provide a supplemental text that facilitates appreciation of the original song. The social function of translating songs has been investigated by Susam-Saraeva (2015:143–156), whose analysis focuses on the translations of songs between Greek and Turkish to argue that such fan-created material contributes to a rapprochement between the two cultures (*ibid.*:155). Susam-Saraeva's work thus demonstrates how fan translation can become part of wider activist practices, a theme rarely addressed in the literature.

Fan translations are technically illegal (H.-K. Lee 2009:1011; Trykowska 2009:8) as they involve the production of derivative works and hence require authorization from the copyright owner in many countries (Berne Convention, Article 8 [Paris Text]). However, they appear to be tolerated in many cases as long as they do not compete with an official translation. In the case of the Chinese Harry Potter fan translations, no actions were taken against fan translators as Rowling's lawyers permitted non-commercial fan fiction and fan translation (Chan 2010:138). At the same time, many fan translators take the stance that their work should be non-profit and tend to stop translating once the product is licenced (H.-K. Lee 2009:1016–1017). This is coherent with their positioning as fans of a particular group of texts, with an interest in the promotion and continued circulation of those texts. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the texts in question are

often owned by large media corporations and that these corporations stand to benefit from fan labour, which can serve as free promotion of the copyrighted texts and thus lead to further sales of texts and merchandise. As with other fan practices, fan translation here displays the tensions between emancipatory actions, relating to the interpretation of a text and the development of a community around the object of fandom, and a consumerist structure based on purchasing official copies (Hills 2002:27–45). The translation of video games is legally more complex still, as more recent laws such as the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (1998) and End User Licensing Agreements also prohibit the activity (Muñoz Sánchez 2009:180; O'Hagan 2013:297). While there is some evidence that software companies do send Cease and Desist letters to romhacking groups (Muñoz Sánchez 2009:181), something of a 'gentleman's agreement' seems to exist between comics publishers and scanlating groups (Trykowska 2009:8).

Future directions

Much research remains to be done on fan translation, as existing studies cover only a small range of domains in which fan translations are being undertaken, and a limited range of issues involved in this activity. There are fields, such as musical theatre, board games and sports, where fans translate materials that have not yet been examined by scholars of translation. The history of fan translation is another neglected area of research and may require searching the archives of fanzines and less-known magazine collections in order to establish what was translated in the past. The connections between fan translation and other forms of fan activity are worth examining more closely: both involve rewriting and intervening in texts, but it is unclear whether similar motivations and goals are at play when fan translators undertake other fan activities. Farley (2013) suggests there are theoretical similarities between writing fan fiction and translating texts due to the forms of interpretation and rewriting involved. She further points out that fan fiction and fan translation may be undertaken by the same people; and yet, the relationship between fan translation and other activities such as cosplay has received no attention in the literature so far. The field would

also benefit from more engagement with the sociological dimension of fan translation: little or no research has addressed the issue of who is doing fan translations (possibly due to the illegal nature of the activity), where they come from, their age profile or even what motivates them.

Fan translation may ultimately help us develop an understanding of the role of translation in many people's lives and open up translation studies to a broader discussion of translation as a concrete, everyday practice rather than a remote object of scholarly analysis. Such 'vernacular theories' (McLaughlin 1996) of translation would have the advantage of challenging and moving beyond existing paradigms.

See also:

COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; FAN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; MUSIC; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIO-VISUAL TRANSLATION

Further reading

Hills, M. (2002) *Fan Cultures*, London: Routledge.

An important conceptualization of how fan cultures function and the contradictions within them.

Lee, H.-K. (2009) 'Between Fan Culture and Copyright Infringement: Manga scanlation', *Media, Culture & Society* 31(6): 1011–1022.

A useful article on scanlation from a media studies perspective that offers a good overview of the issues.

O'Hagan, M. (2008) 'Fan Translation Networks: An accidental training environment?', in John Kearns (ed.) *Translator and Interpreter Training: Issues, Methods and Debates*, London: Continuum, 158–183.

An investigation of how fan translation can serve as a training environment for translators.

JONATHAN EVANS

Feminist translation strategies

Feminism has been defined as "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression"

(bell hooks 2000:1). This simple definition guides the account below of the strategies devised and deployed to promote feminism through and in translation. These range from macro-strategies such as non-translation, retranslation and strategic text selection to micro-strategies such as omission, addition, supplementing and the development of various stylistic, grammatical and lexical innovations. Such strategies were part of the first incursions of feminist politics into translation theory and practice in the 1970s and 1980s.

Macro-strategies

Any feminist work is controversial because it puts into question traditional hetero-normative, patriarchal and sexist social orders; therefore, a common strategy in the translation of feminist writing is to preface translations of such materials with explanations of the challenging ideas they present for readers, often including political or literary theory and textual examples. Translators adopting a feminist agenda openly discuss their politics and the textual strategies they deploy. For example, Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood, the English translator of Lise Gauvin's *Lettre d'une autre* (1984; *Letters from an Other* 1989) sets out her agenda in the preface: "My translation practice is a political activity aimed at making language speak for women . . . mak[ing] the feminine visible in language" (1989:9). Prefaces are employed to explain and justify the intellectual activism of feminist translation (Ergun 2013), which mobilizes new, feminist ideas and knowledge and makes them accessible to new readers. Translator prefaces provide the space for a discussion of feminist principles, histories and concepts as well as specific translation challenges; they allow the translator to become visible as an active and highly skilled producer of knowledge.

Translators' footnotes in feminist translation projects serve similar purposes: they point to and discuss specific linguistic difficulties, signalling the translator's presence and involvement. Both prefaces and footnotes allow translators and editors to draw attention to the feminist aspects of the translation and/or the original text, explain their approach to it and inform readers of their intentions. Prefaces are sometimes complemented by separate academic

articles, as in the case of Kamal's discussion of the work she accomplished in cotranslating and editing the Arabic translation of *The Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Culture* (Kamal 2008).

Where there is a risk of feminism being seen as a deleterious foreign import, other strategies can be useful. Dharmasiri (2017), working in contemporary Sri Lanka where a certain resistance to European and North American feminist ideas prevails, embeds translations of relevant excerpts from Simone de Beauvoir or Mary Wollstonecraft within explanations and demonstrations of existing, local, traditional work that is not labelled feminist but is intrinsically so. She thus counters the effects of contemporary nationalist Buddhist ideology and not only makes these feminist materials available in the target culture but also draws parallels between them and the ancient texts of local Buddhist nuns.

From a feminist perspective, not every text requires or merits translation, and non-translation has therefore proven a useful strategy. Canadian de Lotbinière-Harwood justifies her decision to refrain from translating male poets thus: "I realized with much distress that my translating voice was being distorted into speaking in the masculine" (1995:63–64). This silencing strategy may, however, be challenged from a pragmatic perspective. After all, it can be wise to know about ideologically antagonistic texts that are being disseminated and promoted. This is how retranslations of Qur'anic texts undertaken by women who support Islamic feminism are sometimes explained and justified: they seek to understand and correct what have, over the centuries, become instruments of patriarchy (Laghzali 2017).

Proactive and strategic text selection privileges the translation of works that may be useful, inspirational and informative for feminism. The translation of progressive and informative material such as the American women's reproductive health manual *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (1972) into Arabic, Japanese and Serbian (Davis 2007; Bogic 2017a) or *The Vagina Monologues* into Chinese (Z. Yu 2015) is a case in point, and has been undertaken as a strategy to undermine sexist cultural oppression by providing hitherto unavailable information about women and women's lives and experiences. The high volume of translation of Anglo-American feminist work

into Russian (Barchunova 2006) and other East European languages from the 1990s onward is a further example of such selective translation. The success of this particular strategy, however, is still being debated (Slavova 2014). It can lead, for example, to allocating work to inexperienced translators who may not understand or are unable to render English feminist terminology such as *empowerment* or *agency*. At times, too, important work has been translated out of chronological order, offering readers Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1992) before Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* (1949).

The establishment of publishing houses that ensure the translation and dissemination of feminist materials is another important strategy, along with the cultivation of networks of politically motivated and supportive editors, scholars, reviewers and critics. Feminist and women's publishers established in the 1980s such as Virago Press in London, Frauenoffensive in Munich and Remue-ménage in Montreal have produced many translations of relevant work.

Selective retranslation has resulted in the availability of interesting alternatives as old texts are read from new vantage points and translated for new audiences. Retranslations of biblical texts and of the Qur'an have revealed many possible new meanings and messages. Mary Phil Korsak's translation of *Genesis* (1993) shows how retranslation from the ancient source language can remove layer upon layer of patriarchal interpretation and adaptation that had long established the human female as not only the secondary but also the originally sinful part of the human equation. Korsak's retranslation questions and revises such interpretations, and her paratexts explain her linguistic choices and decisions. Similarly, translations of the Qur'an provide new versions of a text that has been equally impacted by hundreds of years of patriarchal interpretations (Hassen 2017) and has, in turn, affected millions of women's daily lives.

Micro-strategies

Making the feminine visible in language is perhaps the most important feminist micro-strategy. There is a tendency in numerous languages to give precedence to masculine forms and to assume and assert (via dictionaries, grammar

books and other pedagogical material) that the masculine form of lexical items, pronouns and other referents includes women by default. In such languages – many of them European – lexical items such as *god*, *doctor*, *professor* or *author* (in English) are often grammatically masculine, and the pronoun referring back to them is masculine. There are often no feminine forms, and women are therefore not explicitly included in the language. They are, indeed, explicitly excluded by the grammar. One feminist translation and writing strategy addresses this problem by deliberately using only feminine forms, or creating them, or producing unexpected versions of masculine and feminine forms which draw the reader's attention to the problem of gender in language. This disrupts conventional reading practices and alerts readers to the grammatical imbalance of conventional language use. European, American and Canadian feminist writers and translators experimented extensively with sexist aspects of language and grammar in the 1970s and 1980s. Brantenberg's *Egalia's døtre* (1977), translated by Louis Mackay from the Norwegian as *Egalia's Daughters* (1985), is an example of such experimentation. A less striking but also powerful example is Kamal's Arabic translation of the *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Culture*, where she consistently uses the plural form for *women* in Arabic rather than the conventional and more commonly used singular equivalent of *woman* to render expressions such as 'women studies' (Kamal 2008:261). This, Kamal explains, counteracts the implications that come with using the singular form for *woman*, which "perpetuate[s] an understanding of women within a monolithic formula" (ibid.). Kamal's decision draws attention to the difference between *woman* as an essentialist construct and *women* as "suggesting the variety of women's experiences and the multiplicity of women's identities" (ibid.:262).

Neologisms common in feminist writing have presented considerable challenges for translators, since the type of feminist writing in which they are prevalent ironically deconstructs conventional 'malestream' language. It mocks this language, makes space for feminist innovation and draws attention to the need for language to express women's interests and perspectives. One example concerns the difficulty of translating the word *gender*, and its many compounds, such

as *gender-fluid* or *gender mainstreaming*. Itself a neologistic feminist use of an existing medical term (Flotow and Scott 2016), the English term *gender* has led to new words being created in many other languages via translation. In Arabic, Kamal opted for the term *al-jender* in translating Anglo-American feminist theory, justifying this theoretically and historically (2016:68–69). First, her use of *al-jender* is in line with the foreignizing strategy she adopted for the translation of feminist texts and maintains the term as a foreign concept loaded with its own history. Second, its derivational flexibility in Arabic – it is possible to apply Arabic grammatical rules to extract the root *j n d r* from it – makes it more useable than the word *naw'*, which was employed by nineteenth-century Egyptian feminists in the fields of development and social sciences. Further, since the Arabic language has a long history of assimilation and appropriation of foreign words, there is ample reason to expect an Arabized word for gender to be adopted as a transnational term.

In counterpoint, Slavova (2014) created the term *socio-sex* in her translation of the American *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (Boston Women's Health Book Collective 2001), inventing a Bulgarian term – социален пол or социо-пол – rather than borrowing the foreign *gender*. The most startling examples of feminist linguistic experimentation, however, are Godard's 1980s translations of Nicole Brossard's innovative French text *Le chapitre effrité* as *These Our Mothers*, in which the *S* of *these* is typographically stretched to precede both *our* (forming the word *Sour*) and *mothers* (forming the word *Smothers*), thus making "patriarchal motherhood" a "sour" activity that "smothers" those it purports to nurture (Flotow 1991).

Criticism and challenges

Theoretical developments since the 1990s have challenged some of the bases for the translation strategies described above. They can be summarized under two main headings: the rise of intersectionality, and transnational feminist initiatives.

The notion of intersectionality, a concept derived from Crenshaw's work (2008), adds factors such as race, class, disability, age and

ethnicity to discussions around social justice and points to the many interlocked systems of discrimination that individuals might suffer from, in addition to sexism. Intersectionality has strongly influenced feminist work and ideas, and has broadened the range of concerns that feminist politics address. Henceforth, translators of feminist work will need to question whether their strategies recognize the diversity of women's lived experiences and other forms of oppression than sexism. The translators of a new French version of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* for distribution and use in Quebec are facing such dilemma. They aim to avoid using the "nous, les femmes" (we, women) discourse (Bessaih and Bogic 2018:43), which assembles and addresses all women as part of the same group. Intersectional concerns have rendered the differences between women important – and these play out in texts about reproductive health, especially but not only in regard to LGBTQ+. The translation strategies being developed include undertaking anthropological research on the lifestyles of marginal groups who are the potential readers of the book, the co-construction of translated text in collaboration with grassroots women's and LGBTQ+ collectives, research on terminology preferred and recognized by sexual minorities, and intensive work with focus groups who help determine what the texts should say (Bessaih and Bogic 2018).

Related issues of inclusion as well as resistance to universalism arise in regard to transnational feminism. The uncritical universalism that has been associated with ideas spawned by North American and European feminisms and disseminated via translation into other cultures (Mohanty 2003) has mobilized writers, translators and publishers to develop strategies that recognize women's diversity and create "spaces where dialogues, debates and discussions between different feminist communities can take place" (Des Rochers 2017:120). Such strategies may be as simple as translating from South to North and thus helping turn the tide of knowledge dissemination. Acknowledging and addressing the dominance of global English is another important strategy in transnational feminism: translators may work between languages such as Tamil and Galician in order to connect feminist work without resorting to English as an intermediary language (Reimondez 2017). Yet

another strategy is to use the old colonial languages as pivot languages when distant women's voices are brought together: a project in Mexico that publishes the translations of indigenous women's poetry between Mexico and Canada (Lucotti and Rosas 2017) shows just how useful Spanish or English can be when they serve to facilitate translations from Canadian Cree into Mexican Nahuatl.

The dynamic and relatively affordable environments of online publishing present many possibilities for new strategies to develop and be applied, which may allow for multiple versions of certain texts to be produced, thus rendering texts more diverse and better able to reflect differences inherent in intersectional and transnational knowledge and experience. Online publishing may lower the costs associated with hardcopy publishing and dissemination, and thus also increase the earnings of feminist translators; but the idea of deploying multiple yet simultaneous translations of the same text as a feminist strategy to acknowledge difference still needs some development.

See also:

GENDER; INTERSECTIONALITY; SEXUALITY; STRATEGIES

Further reading

Castro, O. and E. Ergun (eds) (2017) *Feminist Translation Studies. Local and transnational perspectives*, London & New York: Routledge.

Looks beyond Anglo-American and European studies in the field, and examines diverse transnational challenges to feminist translation.

Flotow, L. von (1997) 'Mutual Pun-ishment? Translating radical feminist wordplay: Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* in German', in D. Delabastita (ed.) *Traductio. Essays on punning and translation*, Manchester: St. Jerome & Namur: Presses Universitaires de Namur, 45–66.

Discusses the challenges of translating feminist wordplay, with examples from English into German and French into English.

Godard, B. (1990) 'Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation', in S. Bassnett and A. Lefevere (eds) *Translation, History and Culture*, second edition, New York: Cassell, 87–96.

A theoretical piece that draws parallels between women's writing and translation,

and elaborates on the practice of feminist reading and text rewriting.

Kamal, H. (2016) 'Translating Feminist Literary Theory into Arabic', *Philological Studies at the Jan Kochanowski University* 29. Available at www.ujk.edu.pl/ifp/studia_filologiczne/?page_id=730.

Focuses on the challenges facing the translator of Anglo-American feminist texts into Arabic, and details strategies of feminist translation in this language/culture combination.

LUISE VON FLOTOW

Fiction

Fiction refers to imaginative works, generally in prose, and encompasses short stories and plays as well as novels. In translation studies, the modern novel has received considerably more attention than any other fictional genre. The novel emerged in the eighteenth century, distinguished by its use of the vernacular and its realistic representation of people, places, feelings and actions. From its upstart beginnings, the realist novel became a paramount literary and cultural form in the nineteenth century, and remains the prevailing standard, even as writers continually experiment with its style and formal features. The novel has always had an affinity for travel and translation, and thus has never been associated with a particular nation or language. So frequently have translated novels influenced local fictional genres that, in hindsight, the modern novel appears to be constituted by such transformations. At the same time, however, the novel is thought to be a literary paradigm that transcends its many variants. Translation continues to inform the novel's evolution today, as well as shore up the genre's status as the premier international literary form.

Before the development of translation studies as a discipline in the second half of the twentieth century, scholars of comparative literature recognized the importance of translated fiction but limited their study to European authors and their influence on one another. The interdisciplinary study of translation, especially after its turn from linguistics to historical and cultural

approaches in the 1970s and 1980s, has emphasized the political and aesthetic ideologies behind translating. Such analyses treat translations as complex, non-neutral mediations of gender, class, nationalism and imperialism. Since the 1990s, translation studies has also productively allied with materialist histories of the book, of publishing markets, authorship, copyright and of reading practices. As the pre-eminent literary and popular genre, the novel and its translations have attracted the attention of a broad intersection of social scientists and humanities scholars. Using a variety of data, historical and contemporary trends in the translation of fiction can now be mapped, and the global cultural, economic and political forces that influence the transnational literary field can be assessed. Scholars are finding common ground in their mutual exploration of the novel's uniquely transnational status and its role in world literature.

Early novels: 1720–1830

Literary translation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was less regulated than it would be subsequently. The importation of foreign novels was enabled by the lack of international copyright, and the enthusiasm of translators who worked on speculation and in tandem with publishers who were content to pursue relatively meagre profits (McMurrin 2009). Translators employed a wide range of strategies: they sometimes altered the texts according to their own judgements or the anticipated responses of readers. Although there were few controls on translations, the lines of travel were, in general, unidirectional. Thus, Spanish picaresque fiction dominates translations in the early phases of the novel, but afterward, little Spanish fiction is translated. French amatory fiction took its place, and enjoyed a large share of European novel markets in the early eighteenth century. English travel narratives and sentimental novels are favoured in the mid and latter part of the century, and German novels become popular in translation in the early nineteenth century. Aspects of the realistic novel are found in each of these successive vogues: first, a pretence to truth despite the narrative's fictionality and depictions of real rather than allegorical settings

and characters; and second, the developing verisimilitude of interiority expressed in sentimental subjectivity.

Yet, this account of the novel's rise tends to privilege a small slice of European fiction, and has deflected attention from the broader range of storytelling that comprised the novel market. The putative progenitors of the novel, such as Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, Crébillon and Marivaux, were translated into several European languages, but readers of fiction also sought narratives from the distant past and much further abroad than the British Isles and European Continent. For example, the *Thousand and One Nights* tales collected from Indian, Persian and Arabic sources and translated by the French Orientalist Antoine Galland in 1704 from a fourteenth-century Syrian text and other sources, was popular in French and in English translation (Haddawy 1995). It paved the way for many more collections of Arab, Persian, Turkish and Chinese tales as well as the transcultural fiction in which Europeans imagined exotic characters observing them, such as Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* or Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World, or Letters from a Chinese Philosopher*. Another example of an early novel that crossed East-West and archaic-modern divides is Ibn Tufayl's *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*, a philosophical bildungsroman. It had an impact on the development of the genre and on Enlightenment thought when it was translated anew from the original Arabic into Latin and subsequently into European vernaculars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Ara-vamudan 2014).

The realist novel: 1830–1950

In the nineteenth century, the novel became a prestigious literary genre and yet retained its popularity. Novels reached greater numbers of readers due to higher literacy rates, new avenues of distribution such as magazines and circulating libraries, and inducements to consumption such as the growth of advertising and the review press. Domestic publication of novels, especially in Northern European countries, increased while translations retained a modest market share. The low expenditures for translators' labour meant more profit for the publisher and

benefits to the foreign novelists, not least since copyright laws were increasingly extended by international copyright agreements. In the modern capitalist system, commercial exchange of fiction between countries succeeded only when backed by strong, centralized national production and consumption. Translations were not, however, done with equal speed or consistency. For example, Eugène Sue's serialized stories of the urban underworld, *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842–1843), which straddled the subgenres of thriller and social problem fiction, were widely translated and imitated in several other languages within a decade or two of original publication before disappearing from the literary market. Translations of the Russian novelists, by contrast, were ushered onto the English market belatedly by the literati, but then acquired enduring canonical status.

Nineteenth-century European translation theories reinforced the preference for home-grown novels over translations. Defensive or protectionist attitudes were pervasive: certain novels would be worth translating because of their literary value, but too much translated fiction was seen as a potentially corruptive force or a sign of national-literary weakness. Other obstacles to translating included the notion that national languages contained distinctive modes of expression and outlook, and that original authors' aesthetic integrity and genius would have no real equivalent in another language. Not surprisingly, when translators wrote about their task or when original authors wrote about the prospect of translation, their discourses were laden with a sense of compromise and concession. A typical example is that of the German novelist Thomas Mann and his English translator, Helen Lowe-Porter. Aware of the difficulty of translating his densely layered narratives, Mann was forced to weigh the need for a considered, faithful literary translation against financial considerations which made speedy translation more profitable. Lowe-Porter explained her difficulties with his prose, remarking that for *Death in Venice* it was "sensible to break up the sentences or even to transpose them" for the sake of fluency and thus marketability (Horton 2013:209).

This sceptical view of translation did not impede, however, the success of the novel in translation across the globe. It is instructive to contrast the translation of Thomas Mann

with translations of other fiction titles in this same period. As European-language translators became increasingly sensitive to the impossibility of replicating the original, translators outside Europe and the United States worked with greater latitude. In the first wave of translations of French and English novels into modern Chinese, which took place around the turn of the twentieth century, the prominent translator Lin Shu was forced to work with informants due to his lack of fluency in European languages. The informants would render novels by Balzac and Dickens and adventure fictions by Dumas and Defoe orally, which Lin Shu then wrote into formal Chinese prose. The novels were also taken as representative of their source cultures; thus, adventure novels were seen as cautionary tales of the western appetite for foreign territories (L.H. Liu 2001). Another kind of effect is seen in the first Arabic rendering of Maurice Leblanc's metropolitan crime fiction *Arsène Lupin*, by 'Abd al-Qadir Hamza in early twentieth-century Egypt: the criminal figure echoes medieval Arabic heroes and also helps forge modern individualism (Selim 2010). Outside the European sphere of mutually respected if contentious national-cultural identities, and beyond the reach of literary reputations and international copyright legislation, free translation enabled diverse and unpredictable outcomes.

Postcolonialism and globalization: 1950 to the present

If the nation found its ideal reflection in the vernacular realist novel of the nineteenth century, globalization would soon refract and ultimately fragment that image. As European nations pursued imperial ambitions, they imposed their languages and cultures on distant regions, while also arbitrarily dividing the language groups of the colonized or joining disparate ones. The decline of territorial imperialism after 1947 did little at first to reverse the effects of imperial language and its hold on the novel. Indeed, as writers in former colonies who had been educated in imperial languages composed in those languages, Spanish, French and English became the international languages of the novel. The form

itself proved highly durable as it was adapted for the aims of independence-seeking colonies. These novels reached audiences in metropolitan Europe, which then facilitated translations into other European languages. An African novel published in French or English was more likely to be translated into another language than a novel written in an indigenous African language.

The postcolonial novel not only revitalized the genre, but upended national-imperial monolingualism, not least by embedding multilingualism within the narrative. Assia Djebar, an Algerian novelist active during the struggle for independence of her country, wrote in French and was published in France. If she seemed complicit in the silencing of Algeria's Arabic voice because she was known only as a Francophone, Djebar's language is also an intentional conduit of women's ancestral voices in Arabic and Berber dialects. Ironically, Djebar's work has been translated into 20 different languages, but until recently, Arabic was not among them (Dobie 2016). Ahmadou Kourouma, a prize-winning author from the Côte d'Ivoire, has said that he writes in French but continues to think in his maternal language, *malinké*; for him, this process is a means of intellectual liberation (Kourouma 1997:118). The Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o took a different route in his highly publicized decision to switch from writing in English to writing fiction only in his native Gikũyũ. This attempt to decolonize the language of the novel and, as he has suggested, to supply the missing original, is also a way to reach the very people he depicts in his fiction in their own idiom (Ngugi et al. 2006). He now self-translates his novels into English. Postcolonial resistance to imperial languages also sparked a wave of novels in Indian and Pakistani languages, despite the international success of the Indian novel in English. Saadat Hassan Manto's *Toba Tek Singh*, a widely read story about Partition published in Urdu in 1955, is one of the most translated works of fiction in an Indian language (Merrill 2009b). Mahasweta Devi, a popular and prize-winning feminist short story writer, composes in her native Bengali. Like many other postcolonial writers, her characters speak in both their native Bengali and in the imperial language. In her translation of Devi's story 'Draupadi', Spivak renders Devi's English in italics to mark the change of register and to

signal that English encodes nation-state politics and multinational economies (Spivak 1997:14). As writers from around the globe use languages that have not traditionally been taught, translation becomes more important and achieves an unprecedented social, political and literary complexity.

Translation is not only a necessary practice for sharing literature, but an encompassing cultural concept especially relevant to prose fiction. Scholars now commonly discuss not only the power relations in imperial translation, but also the linguistic negotiation embedded in the novel. The discursive play with vernaculars began with postcolonialism and persists in twenty-first-century global migrations of fiction since novelists do not always align themselves with a single language or nation. In addition, many novelists are also translators. The Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges is among those who thought deeply about the mysteries of translation and believed that literature takes flight only through translation. He translated Kafka, Woolf, Melville and Faulkner, and preferred those translations of his own works that did not reproduce his Spanish too closely (Kristal 2002). Haruki Murakami, who translated F. Scott Fitzgerald, Truman Capote, Raymond Carver and other American fiction, began his writing career by composing in English and translating it into Japanese in the hope of defamiliarizing his native tongue by using the American idiom (Murakami 1991).

There are signs that a new literary aesthetics of translation is now developing out of these traditions. In 2012, Adam Thirlwell edited an issue of the literary journal *McSweeney's*, entitled *Multiples*, which presents 12 stories translated into 18 languages by 61 authors. For each story, only the first version was translated from the original text; other versions, each written by a different author, were based on the translated version alone. Many writers did these 'translations' with little knowledge of the language of the original source. In this project, Thirlwell purposely desacralizes fidelity and liberates creative translating by inverting the directionality of most fiction translation (Thirlwell 2012). Such latitude fosters a readerly appreciation of variation, while reflecting the multilingual world we inhabit. As Walkowitz (2015) argues, many novels are now born translated because of their aesthetic distancing from a native language and because they

are immediately translated, sometimes appearing in translation before publication in the original language.

Statistical data confirm that novels continue to dominate global literary translation. UNESCO's Index Translationum 1979–2009 reveals that among the 50 most-translated authors, all but a very few are novelists. These authors represent many continents and a wide spectrum of literary eminence: Chinua Achebe, Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Haruki Murakami sit next to Agatha Christie and Danielle Steele. Another database held at the University of Rochester, Three Percent, reveals that within the small proportion of literary titles in translation worldwide in the years since 2009, 75 to 85% are prose fiction. Despite this, translators of fiction continue to be masked or overlooked, perhaps especially among Anglophones. English-speaking countries translate fewer novels than many other countries, impelling Goldstein (2016), the translator of many Italian novels including those of Elena Ferrante, to emphasize the fact that books *have* translators. Grossman, an eminent Spanish translator, has remarked "it was a great struggle for me to get my name on the cover of a book, because American publishers . . . wanted to somehow hide the fact that it was a translated book" (Grossman 2016). Furthermore, sociological studies of the agents of translation reveal that institutional vectors of economic and symbolic capital result in asymmetrical flows. The Latin American 'boom' of the 1960s and 1970s introduced writers from Mexico and Central and South American countries to American readers. The runaway success of a single author, Gabriel García Márquez and his magical realist novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, tended, however, to preclude the translation of works not conforming to his style. As Cohn (2006) shows, agents of translation, including governmental and non-profit organizations working with publishing houses to fund translation, may have been driven by underlying political and foreign policy motivations. In this same period, Heinemann's African Writers Series, edited by the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe, whose canonical *Things Fall Apart* (1958) was composed in English and has been translated into more than 30 languages, introduced many Anglophone readers to African novels for the first time. Heinemann reached African audiences, averting

censorship, but the series nonetheless favoured writers who composed in English (Mpe 1999; Currey 2008). Heinemann also published translations, but found it easier to translate Francophone African novelists published in the French *Présence Africaine* series, than to translate from African languages. Even so, Francophone African literature translated into English counts for no more than 3% of the market across 16 different African countries (Batchelor 2009). Middle Eastern fiction did not experience a boom until the early 2000s, long after Edward Said publicly shamed a US publisher who had turned down his recommendation to have Naguib Mahfouz's novels translated because, the publisher said, Arabic was thought to be too controversial a language (Said 1990). Since 9/11, the volume of translations from Arabic has grown but still under the shadow of Mahfouz and other Egyptian fiction, due in part to the wealth of resources for translation at the University of Cairo, whose programmes and press encourage the study and dissemination of Arabic literature. International book fairs, literary prizes for novels and for translations, as well as state-sponsored cultural policies are also actors of economic and cultural globalization that affect translations of fiction. These asymmetries are not only played out along the axis of imperial versus local languages as Kothari's study of regional-level relations in India shows: Bengali, with its intellectual tradition, plays the role of donor language while Gujarati is more rarely a source language for translations (Kothari 2004, 2018b).

The impact of translation on prose fiction throughout its history has been underestimated. The modern novel has revealed itself to have always been predisposed and well equipped to travel in translation. The process of translation endures and produces wide-ranging cultural effects that reverberate within the literary form itself. As translation studies research has collectively demonstrated, the literary form's durability is continually retested and thrives because of a translational ecosystem, even as translating is deeply embedded in hierarchizing politics that deters equitable distribution across the globe.

See also:

COSMOPOLITANISM; LITERARY TRANSLATION; POETRY; POSTCOLONIALISM; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES; WORLD LITERATURE

Further reading

France, P. and St. Gillespie (eds) (2005–2011) *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, 5 volumes, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Provides overviews of theory, context and practices of translation from the Middle Ages to the end of the twentieth century. Each volume contains articles devoted specifically to fiction.

McMurrin, M.H. (2009) *The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

A study of the translation culture of English and French novels which covers the publishing business of translation, case studies and translation's significance in the period's theory and history of fiction. Argues that translation played a constitutive role in the novel's emergence.

Walkowitz, R. (2015) *Born Translated: The contemporary novel in an age of world literature*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Addresses translation's effect on contemporary fiction as a literary aesthetics of multilingualism, and considers the politics of this new centrality of the translation medium.

MARY HELEN MCMURRAN

Fictional representations

Fictionalized representations of translating and interpreting have been attracting a great deal of attention in what is emerging as a vibrant new subfield in translation studies. Early articles by Thiem (1995), Vieira (1995), Pagano (2000, 2002), Delabastita (2002, 2004, 2005), Strümpfer-Krobb (2003) and others were soon followed by book-length publications such as Cutter (2005) and Delabastita and Grutman (2005). The collected volume *Transfiction: Research into the realities of translation fiction* (Kaindl and Spitzl 2014) is the most comprehensive contribution to this strand of research to date. It derives part of its impetus from the strong German-language research tradition in which it lies embedded, with earlier books devoted to fictional

translators (Kaindl and Kurz 2008), interpreters (Andres 2008) or both (Kurz and Kaindl 2005; Strümper-Krobb 2009; Kaindl and Kurz 2010).

Fictionalizing translators

Translation, including interpreting, is ubiquitous in the real world, more and more so as globalization, migration and the digital revolution have become defining features of the twenty-first century. It is not surprising therefore that translation has come to the fore as a theme or plot device in fiction, given that fiction has a mimetic dimension in the broad sense of referring back somehow to our understanding of reality and commenting on it.

Apart from mimesis there are several other basic conventions of the narrative genre that would seem to invite the emplotment of multilingualism and translation. Most narratological models recognize the importance of conflict as the driving force of plots. Conflicting wants and needs may develop within the same linguistic community, but in stories describing cosmopolitan fictional realities such as international diplomacy and espionage, and stories involving shifts along the spatial axis, for instance travel, exploration and migration, they may find expression on the linguistic plane. In such contexts, translation may play a part in the conflict's resolution, or the absence or mismanagement of interlinguistic mediation may become an obstacle to its solution. Independently of all the symbolic, psychological and sociocultural significance that translation may acquire, the figure of the translator can in this way be central to the mechanics of the plot as protagonist, antagonist or helper, possibly in various roles.

Since, from a more rhetorical perspective, the art of narrative largely depends on the manipulation of the reader's knowledge and curiosity, translation can be employed for the sake of mystery and suspense-management too (Cadera and Pavić Pintarić 2014). From Sherlock Holmes's adventure with 'The Greek Interpreter' (1893) to Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code* (2003), translation may serve to encode and then unlock a crucial piece of information, such as a prophecy or a secret message. Rhetorical effects of a very different nature are found in texts where interlingual misunderstandings

and mistranslations are mobilized for humorous purposes. These form the basis for sitcoms such as *Mind Your Language* (ITV, 1977–1979) or *'Allo 'Allo* (BBC 1982–1992); the first involves a multiethnic adult English-language classroom; the second is mainly set in a café in a provincial French town during WWII with customers including French locals, German and Italian occupiers, and English spies and airmen. In both sitcoms interlingual misunderstandings are rife, very often combining with bawdy innuendo and crude ethnic stereotyping to produce a form of comedy which, paradoxically, tends to be monolingual and is primarily aimed at a monolingual Anglophone viewership despite the simulated multilingualism and multiculturalism of its settings (Delabastita 2010).

Despite all these and other possibilities, in many cases fictional texts will fail to reflect the multilingualism which is known or can be assumed to exist in the fictional world that is being depicted. The possibilities that exist in this respect have been outlined by Sternberg (1981). First, vehicular matching means the allotment of different languages or language varieties to characters and groups of characters in accordance with our knowledge of the historical reality represented. Second, the homogenizing convention is operative when a monolingual text describes what we know or believe to be a multilingual reality; the credibility gap that such a non-mimetic policy may entail is mostly taken care of by the viewer's or reader's willing suspension of disbelief. Third, referential restriction applies to texts which are monolingual because the social milieu of the fictional world is monolingual. And finally, in the much rarer case of vehicular promiscuity, multilingual textual means are used to express monolingual realities, as in Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (1939). It is mainly in fictional texts that show vehicular matching that one expects translation to become an issue. A more fine-grained analysis than Sternberg's typology is needed to describe the exact types and degrees of code-mixing, code-switching, linguistic interference, cross-lingual quotation and metalingual comment that may be employed in textual representations of multilingualism and translation (Corrius and Zabalbeascoa 2011). But its fourfold paradigm of basic options usefully highlights the fact that recourse to the homogenizing convention can make it easy to paper

over linguistic gaps in fiction and thus to make translation invisible in the fictional world.

Beyond the technicalities of multi- and cross-lingual discourse representation, textual choices always need to be interpreted in terms of why the fictional text renders or fails to render assumed multilingualism or translation in a certain way. The linguistic skills of authors and of their entourage and intended audience play a part here but they are best regarded as enabling and limiting conditions rather than as ultimate explanations. In many cases, the orchestration of different languages and language varieties in a text will in the final analysis imply ideologically biased framing of linguistic and political hierarchies in the real world. Thus the way in which Shakespeare's *Henry V* (c. 1599) exploits the differences and stages problematic passages between English, French, broken English, broken French, English spoken with Irish, Scottish and Welsh accents is partly a mimetic reflection of historical realities but partly also an ideological projection which reconfigures these realities to show a confident Britain on the way to unity under firm English guidance and with superiority over its overseas rivals.

Gods, aliens, colonizers, subjects

The translator's power, in fiction as in real life, can be assessed in terms of two variables: the intrinsic importance of the message, and the distance between the two languages and cultures which enter into communication via the translator.

Divine messages, as in sacred books, provide an extreme example of the translator's power (Long 2005). No messages can have a more profound significance than those coming from an omnipotent God, and nothing can be more radically different than the spheres of divine perfection and those of human error. Different religions and faiths seem to have incorporated an awareness of this into their belief systems by developing mythical accounts of how God's divine message was translated and/or multiplied in languages that humans can understand, in several cases with divine inspiration guiding the human and thus fallible translators so as to guarantee the equivalence, sacrality and orthodoxy of their work. Such accounts of the origin

of sacred texts and their translations constitute a body of often mythical stories involving translation, stories which highlight the blurred line between fact and fiction. Whereas sceptics and agnostics will see stories about divinely inspired translation as mere fictional projections, more orthodox believers will believe them to be literally true. The narrative of Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon Church in 1830, who claimed to have possessed two transparent seer stones through which he could read the enigmatic *Book of Mormon* and have the divine message visually revealed to him in his native English, is a case in point (Hermans 2007a:1–7). While most people will dismiss the story as a fanciful legend, they are more likely to regard films and documentaries about the revolutionary Bible translator Martin Luther as gravitating towards the other end of the fiction/fact spectrum. But the spectrum itself remains a field of tension rather than an objectively calibrated scale.

Another body of narratives in which translators may have crucial responsibilities is science fiction, where storylines often include communicative problems on an interplanetary or even intergalactic scale. Here too, the intrinsic importance of the messages is significant inasmuch as the very survival of a race, planet or galaxy may be at stake, with considerable linguistic and cultural distances to be bridged by the translator. But translation appears to be less of a central theme in science fiction than might be expected; the translation problem is usually "either passed over in silence or dispensed with in one of three ways that reflect received ideas: telepathy, lingua franca and machine translation" (Mosop 1996:2). Technology or pseudoscience can thereby take the place of divine inspiration as the fictional sleight of hand helping translators to bridge the unbridgeable. The so-called Babelfish (an earplug with inbuilt translation facility that renders any message heard into the hearer's language) in Douglas Adams's *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* from 1979 is a classic example. It is essentially the acoustic equivalent of Joseph Smith's transparent stones. Here, too, some tension between fact and fiction may exist inasmuch as rapid advances in technology have been known to close up the gap between the wild earlier imaginings of science-fiction writers and what technology is now capable of delivering in the consumer market.

For example, Google's Pixel Buds earplugs use Google's translation software to translate spoken language in real time in the manner of Adams's Babelfish, offering yet another case of technology catching up with literary imagination, and in retrospect attributing prophetically realistic significance to the vision of sci-fi writers from the past.

Other fictional accounts chronicle human history in a more tangible manner; these include stories which describe and fictionalize the encounters and struggles between continents and peoples. Many can be subsumed under the labels of colonial and postcolonial writing. They are typically stories in which explorers and settlers in the crucial first stages of the colonization process, or administrators in the later stages of imperial government, depend on the services of local translators (Ríos Castaño 2005). In these stories translators may have crucial control over flows of information which determine the fate of entire communities, possibly continents, and they have to negotiate ocean-wide linguistic and cultural gaps, aggravated by the opposed interests of indigenous populations and colonizers. Not surprisingly, the problems of interlinguistic and intercultural mediation in colonial settings have given rise to a large number of narratives. A well-known example is Brian Friel's play *Translations* (1980), which centres on a project of translating Irish place names into English in County Donegal in 1833. As a means of administrative and military control but also of symbolic appropriation, translation is highlighted as a strategy of English colonial rule which has a devastating effect on the local community, erasing its past and eroding its sense of identity – and raising moral concerns about the complicity of translators in the process. Interestingly, part of Friel's inspiration for the play came from reading George Steiner's *After Babel* (1975).

Some of the stories in colonial settings have gone on to lead a life of their own as powerful myths in the grey zone between fact and fiction, problematizing the distinction between these notions in yet another way. The most famous example is La Malinche, whose figure has attracted much myth-making and critical writing (Valdeón 2014c).

The translator's ability to make a difference can have potentially heroic or tragic dimensions, as in the three kinds of stories just surveyed.

But in many narratives, the translator's agency and impact on history will have more modest dimensions that might correspond to the endeavours of ordinary people simply going about their everyday business, trying to preserve their moral integrity. These narratives may be grouped into a very broad and loosely defined fourth category, which would typically include stories featuring the multilingual encounters and experiences of individual travellers, immigrants, nomads, expatriates, refugees, missionaries and the like – which involve changes of geographical space – and stories set in multicultural cosmopolitan settings, where interlingual and intercultural contacts occur regardless of changes of place. The growing success and topicality of such stories follow accelerated processes of internationalization and the resistance and anxieties these seem to be engendering. Like travel and migration (Polezzi 2012), translation has become a master metaphor epitomizing our present human condition in a globalized and centreless context, evoking the human search for a sense of self and belonging in a puzzling world full of change and difference.

Many of the stories in this fourth category are likely to describe multilingualism and translation in terms of subjective experience and personal identity rather than in the larger perspective of human history. History is present in them, conditioning experience and agency, but the translator is not necessarily portrayed as being in a position to substantially change the course of events. The translator's experience often shows the following affective components: trust (the interlocutors who do not know the other language lay their fate in the hands of the translator) and loyalty (the need to balance the conflicting loyalties that the translator may have or develop towards the sender of the original and/or the ultimate receivers); invisibility and personal ambition: given the frequent lack of social recognition of the translator's work, how to resist frustration and the temptation to usurp the original author's role; untranslatability: given all these pressures, translation can never be unproblematic or straightforward; trauma: how to live with the weight of terrible experiences that translators may have to absorb and express in their own words; and identity: how to prevent the permanent oscillations of empathy and sympathy, the never-ending switching and adjusting

to other parties, from fragmenting, eroding or dislocating the translator's sense of self.

The more such issues are brought into play, the more the focus shifts from the objective reality of the translator's impact to the subjective, emotional and experiential dimension of how the process affects individuals and communities. Something along these lines happens in a wide range of plays – Nolette (2015) discusses fascinating examples from French-speaking Canada; films (Cronin 2009; O'Sullivan 2011b); and literary narratives. Examples of the latter include Isaac Babel's 'Guy de Maupassant' (1932), Ingeborg Bachmann's *Simultan* (1972), Francesca Duranti's *La casa sul lago della luna* (1984), Ahmadou Kourouma's *Monnè, outrages et défis* (1990), Just Ward's *The Translator* (1991), Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient* (1992), David Malouf's *Remembering Babylon* (1993), Barbara Wilson's *Trouble in Transylvania* (1993), José Carlos Somoza's *La caverna de las ideas* (2000; translated by Sonia Soto as *The Athenian Murders*, 2001), John Crowley's *The Translator* (2002), Diego Marani's *L'interprete* (2004), Laura Esquivel's *Malinche* (2006), Leila Aboulela's *The Translator* (2006), David Mitchell's *The Thousand Autumns of Jacob de Zoet* (2010), Jean Kwok's *Girl in Translation* (2010), and Alfred Birney's *De tolk van Java* (2016). Baer (2016a) discusses further examples from Russian literature.

Some of these narratives reflect the growing fascination of novelists with the very process of textual representation which has produced the highly self-referential works known as metafiction. Not surprisingly, in metafictional writing by the likes of Borges, Cortázar, García Márquez, Vargas Llosa, Nabokov and Calvino, translation is the object of much speculation, being part of a wider metafictional strategy. Gentzler (2012:108–142) offers a detailed account of the Latin American contribution in this regard, while Hagedorn (2006) presents a diachronic study of fictitious translation starting from Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605). Barbara Wilson's short story 'Mi Novelista' (1998) explores the complex poetics of pseudotranslation and its links with mimesis, translation and original creation.

Andres (2015) offers a compact but insightful and well-documented survey of fictional interpreters specifically. She demonstrates that

interpreters have been increasingly visible in fictional works from 1960 onwards, and especially in the 1990s, with "an 'inflationary' surge" in the twenty-first century (ibid.:159). They now increasingly appear as protagonists rather than secondary characters. But the range of fictional interpreters opens up even further when fictional depictions of different types of non-professional interpreting are included. Such fictionalizations may be found, for instance, in certain non-canonized traditions of juvenile fiction. Anilú Bernardo's *Fitting In* (1996) is a collection of short stories aimed at young teenagers and dealing with the immigrant experience from the viewpoint of children who are struggling with the language of their new home country and are often called upon as language and culture brokers who have to translate for their parents, for example. The adult-fiction novel *A Concise Chinese-English Dictionary for Lovers* (2007) by Xiaolu Guo depicts a very different kind of brokering. The main narrator and protagonist is a young Chinese woman who moves to London for a year to study English; in very imperfect English, she describes her struggle of permanently having to translate and interpret herself between languages. More than a specific task or job, translation has become a state of being in an increasingly globalized world.

Future directions

The fact that 'transfictions' are attracting increasing levels of critical attention reflects the growing presence of such narratives in various media and perhaps expresses a general desire to make translation more visible. In terms of translation studies research priorities, the trend reveals a growing interest in translators as people (individuals, members of a professional group, members of communities) always operating in specific contexts and having to deal with many issues, ranging from economic and other practical challenges to identity-related, psychological, social, emotional and ethical ones. It is, in that sense, a manifestation of the shift of translation studies towards a more humanized and personalized translator studies (Chesterman 2009).

The interest in transfiction is also an exponent of the postmodern critique of traditional rational models of science, and expresses a

belief that artistic creativity and narrated singular experience are to be trusted more than the lifeless constructions and generalities of empirical research. Steiner (1975:70) made the very bold claim that Borges's short story 'Pierre Menard, Author of the Quichote' (1941) is "the most astute, most concentrated commentary anyone has offered on the business of translation". Writing from this end of the science wars of the 1990s, Arrojo (2018:5) still adheres to this view, taking the story as "an inspiring synthesis of postmodern notions of translation and interpretation" and using it as the backbone for her own work.

While the emergence of the study of transfiction as a subfield in translation studies is to be applauded, any undue striving for mono-disciplinary isolation must be firmly resisted. Neither the recourse to fictional texts nor the acute awareness of multilingualism and interculturality is an exclusive property of translation studies. Hence the need for a permanent dialogue with neighbouring fields such as literary studies, film studies, contact linguistics and multilingualism studies; and the relevance of volumes such as Taylor-Batty (2013), Delabastita and Hoense-laars (2015) and Pandey (2016), whose primary focus is not on translation.

See also:

CONFERENCE AND SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING;
DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; MULTILINGUALISM

Further reading

Arrojo, R. (2018) *Fictional translators: Rethinking translation through literature*, London & New York: Routledge.

Uses literary texts by the likes of Cervantes, Cortázar, Calvino, Kafka and Borges to reconsider translation from a viewpoint which destabilizes the distinction between fiction and theory.

Cronin, M. (2009) *Translation Goes to the Movies*, London & New York: Routledge.

Studies how Hollywood has made productive use of language difference and translation and highlights the didactic potential of this engagement.

Kaindl, K. and K. Spitzl (eds) (2014) *Transfiction: Research into the realities of translation fiction*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Presents a panoramic survey of existing research on transfiction and a wide-ranging set of original case studies.

DIRK DELABASTITA

Field theory

Bourdieu's field theory stands out as having introduced an important theoretical and methodological framework to the field of translation and interpreting studies. Originating in the social sciences, Bourdieu's work has made a significant contribution to attempts within the field to focus more attention on translators and interpreters, critically analyzing their role as social and cultural agents who actively participate in the production and reproduction of social and discursive practices. It was brought to prominence with the publication of Daniel Simeoni's 1998 article, 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus', in which he characterized the field of translation as a pseudo- or would-be field, in contrast to the literary, scientific, technical or legal fields in which translational activity normally took place. This distinction between field and pseudo-field led him to conclude that translators brought only a social or generalized habitus rather than a specific or professional habitus to their work. This, he suggested, supported the continuation of an ingrained subservience and passivity on the part of translators, in accordance with the normative practices of their profession. Since the appearance of Simeoni's influential article, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and insights have continued to influence scholarly research that examines and challenges many of these assumptions across a wide range of contexts, cultures and societies.

The construction of the object

Taken together, Bourdieu's central concepts of *habitus*, field, capital and *illusio* constitute the basis for his theoretical approach to the relationship between agency and structure (Bourdieu 1977, 1983, 1990a, 1991). Fields are sites for the confrontation of various forces, individual and institutional, and for the production,

dissemination and authorization of different forms of symbolic and material capital. Fields are viewed as the relatively autonomous social microcosms that constitute a network of objective relations between objectively defined positions of force within social space. Each field is defined by specific stakes and interests which operate both within the field and in relation to other fields. It is within the context of particular fields and through the *habitus* – embodied dispositions acquired through individuals' social and historical trajectories and continually shaped and negotiated vis-a-vis fields – that social agents establish and consolidate their positions in social space. Bourdieu's concept of *illusio* refers to the feel for and belief in the game, i.e. the tacit knowledge that allows social agents, relatively unquestioningly, to make sense of what is happening around them and to make decisions as to how to act appropriately in the moment. Crucially, for Bourdieu, these concepts, taken together and applied to the examination of concrete practices, serve as a means to describe, explain and potentially transform the social world, while at the same time revealing the limits of social scientific knowledge itself.

One of Bourdieu's main contributions to the social sciences was his reexamination of dualisms emanating from the western philosophical tradition, between subject and object, rationalism and empiricism, freedom and determinism, which he believed posited a false division between the individual and the external world. For him, it was the intersection of individual biography and history within a society that was the source of social action, not an "active subject confronting society as if that society were an object constituted externally" (Bourdieu 1990a:190). The notion of *habitus* grew out of Bourdieu's wish to demonstrate how social agents can be socially and historically determined and yet also have some choice in how they act – how human behaviour can be regulated and shared without being the product of conformity to codified, recognized rules or other causal mechanisms. It is through the *habitus* that agents come to feel at home in a worldview, not consciously, but in a taken-for-granted sense as that worldview is embodied in them. Bourdieu's attention to the classificatory schemes produced by perceiving subjects and which position them in social space is closely linked

to his interest in how knowledge and power are distributed within and between individuals and groups. These schemes structure the particular logic of practice that competing groups use to produce and reproduce themselves and to access different forms of capital. It is within the contexts of particular fields and through the *habitus* that social agents establish and consolidate their positions of power, where all have a stake in the acquisition of specific forms of capital.

In Bourdieu's theory, fields are conceived of as differentiated domains that occupy positions in social space. Though connected, they are treated as analytically distinctive, possessing a relative degree of autonomy with respect to one another. The extent of this independence or interdependence can only be determined empirically. Bourdieu has not always offered a clear definition of what constitutes a field – in some of his work, a field is defined broadly, as in the economic, cultural or social field; at other times, it refers to a narrower domain, as in the literary, scientific, educational, legal, philosophical field. Nonetheless, all fields are understood to include certain stakes and interests that are irreducible to those of other fields. This makes fields sites of internal and external self-interested struggle and contestation geared toward maintaining their immanent principles and regularities. Bourdieu viewed the sociological mode of thought, and his analyses in particular, as involving the application of "very abstract schemes of thought to very concrete things" (1993:22). Against the long-standing critique that his field theory, and particularly his conceptualization of *habitus*, offered an overdetermined explanation of social action (Jenkins 1992; Alexander 1995), Bourdieu continually stressed its generative capacities, arguing that "the *habitus*, like every 'art of inventing', is what makes it possible to produce an infinite number of practices that are relatively unpredictable" even if they are "limited in their diversity" (1990b:55).

Reassessments of Bourdieu's field theory

Developments in the disciplines of sociology, anthropology and philosophy since the introduction of Bourdieu's theory necessitate a continual reassessment of the value and relevance

of his work in relation to contemporary society. Since the 1990s, the role of social theory in the analysis of contemporary society has come under increasing scrutiny as the visible and invisible factors that shape individual and collective lives appear to some to defy traditional sociological or philosophical attempts to categorize, stabilize or transform social phenomena. The increasingly diverse, globally linked communities of citizens, temporary residents, immigrants, refugees and cosmopolitans inhabiting national borders previously comprised of more culturally homogenous populations raise the question of whether the *habitus*-field-capital relationship is still as sociologically or culturally relevant. Late twentieth-century sociological models attempting to characterize late- or postmodernity have focused more on the fragmented commitments and instrumental loyalties that heterogeneous groups and individuals display toward their local communities, societies or countries of origin (Lash and Urry 1994; Beck et al. 1994) than on the understanding of distinct class and cultural identities that informed Bourdieu's work. These models have tended to downplay the significance of structure and to focus more on individual autonomy with respect to class and cultural identities. However, the idea that a more flexible or reflexive *habitus* has emerged during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries due to fundamental shifts in the social order is not particularly at odds with Bourdieu's view of the evolutionary and improvisatory capacity of the *habitus*-field relationship over time (Crossley 2001; Sweetman 2003). For Bourdieu, individuals act in habitual, conventionalized ways that are to a large extent the product of the incorporation of social structures, which are themselves the product of historical struggles and are therefore subject to change.

Applications in translation and interpreting studies

Bourdieu's theoretical insights continue to be usefully applied to a range of contexts by translation and interpreting scholars wishing to adopt a sociological approach. The publication of Wolf's 2006 edited volume, *The Sociology of Translation*, made clear Bourdieu's influence in

establishing sociology as an emergent subdiscipline – if not a core area – in the field. Other edited volumes that have served to establish this subdiscipline include Inghilleri (2005b), Fernandez (2011), Diaz Fouces and Monzó (2010), Khalifa (2007/2014) and Vorderobermeier (2014). Vorderobermeier's *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies* (2014) provides an assessment of the continued significance of the concept of *habitus* for the interpreting and translation field, as do the studies by Meylaerts (2010a), Wolf (2015), Voinova and Shlesinger (2013) and Xu and Chu (2015). Contributors to Vorderobermeier (2014) offer theoretical explication and critique of the conceptual and methodological claims of the concept of *habitus*, supported through an array of historically, culturally and geopolitically relevant empirical data from French, Canadian, Japanese, Finnish, Greek, Hebrew, German, Arabic and Spanish contexts. The concept of *habitus* is subjected to scrutiny with regard to its philosophical origins and place within field theory, its relation to other sociological approaches, particularly with regard to the question of agency, its empirical applications and its potential as a political and critical tool of analysis. In addition to these edited works, the application of Bourdieu's concepts is evident in published articles, chapters and monographs comprising research related to the global distribution and reception of cultural goods; the influence of market forces on translation processes and practices; the role of translation in articulating sociopolitical and symbolic claims of the nation-state; translation and globalization; translation and activism; and translation and intercultural relations. In keeping with Bourdieu's interest in developing a theory of practice (Bourdieu 1977, 1990a), much of this research is empirical in its design and sets out to examine translation or interpreting activity in the context of its occurrence. While topics vary, a number of overlapping themes appear to recur across these studies, including the reexamination of the relationship between agency and structure; the historical, social and cognitive functions of translation products and processes; the position of translation in the cultural field; relations of power; and the enduring question of the translator's visibility.

The earliest applications of Bourdieu's work in the field of translation focused on the literary field, where a richer sociological explanation

than that offered in polysystems theory and descriptive approaches was sought to account for the function of institutions and their accompanying practices, focusing on the emergence and reproduction of particular cultural texts and translations (Gouanvic 1997, 1999, 2001, 2005, 2007). Other work, however, has considered these approaches as complementary (Inghilleri 2003; Sela-Sheffy 2005; Meylarts 2008; Vimr 2011). At around the same time, influential research by French sociologists employed Bourdieu's theory to investigate the unequal distribution and circulation of literary texts internationally, and the role of translation in this social phenomenon (Heilbron 1999; Heilbron and Sapiro 2002; Casanova 1999/2004; 2002/2010). This research identified translation as a significant factor in a particular work's international recognition as well as an important measure of the cultural and literary capital bestowed by publishers and the reading public on a text, its author and the language in which it is written. Translation emerged as a crucial sociological factor in the struggle between the least translated and most-translated languages and literatures within the cultural field of production. Sapiro and Bustamante (2009) analyze the translation of Bourdieu's own books into different languages, not only to demonstrate the wide recognition and reception of his work, but also to consider the relation between the academic field and the intellectual field more generally. Jacquemond (2015) similarly examines the translation of Bourdieu's work into Arabic. Córdoba Serrano (2010) exposes the power dynamic of the literary field in relation to Quebec literature, its translations into Spanish and Catalan, and the continued dominance of France as a centre of influence. Talento (2013) explores the practice of East African writers translating into Swahili as an important resource in their struggle for its legitimacy as a literary language, against the rise of English language and literature. O'Toole (2013) reports on the function of the *habitus* within a global field of cultural production as seen in the competing views of an Irish director, two Chinese translators and the rewriting and restaging of Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* for a Chinese audience. Hanna (2016) considers the production, dissemination and consumption of Arabic translations of Shakespeare's tragedies from

a Bourdieusian perspective. Viewing drama translation as a site of contestation, he examines the complex sociocultural dynamics involved in the decisions made by translators, theatre directors, actors and publishers in the Egyptian context. Krebs (2007/2014) takes German drama in English translation in the early twentieth century as her starting point for analyzing the relationship between translational practice and the development of national theatre cultures.

A complementary body of research has employed Bourdieu's theoretical framework to investigate a number of different interpreting contexts. This research takes as its starting point the view that all acts of interpreting are socially situated communicative events in which interpreter agency plays an inevitable role, despite the persistence of the conduit model and a presumed invisibility. A central focus is the relationship between the social and historical trajectories of interpreters and their social positioning within particular fields, such as the legal, medical, journalistic, geopolitical (especially the military) fields and their associated institutions. Another important focus involves the critical examination of notions of neutrality and impartiality, particularly in settings in which there is an imbalance of power, where adherence to these norms ends up supporting discriminatory practices that can lead to consistent unequal outcomes for the affected individuals. Bourdieu's field theory has been employed, for instance, to investigate interpreting activity in the asylum system in the US and the UK (Inghilleri 2003, 2005, 2012), where the notion of an interpreting *habitus* and the contexts and cultures of interpreter training and practice were explored in light of Simeoni's (1996) claims regarding the status of the translator's *habitus*. As in Simeoni's work, the introduction of the notion of an interpreting *habitus* was an attempt to understand how and why interpreters positioned themselves and were positioned within specific contexts in particular ways. Unlike Simeoni's more generalized conclusions regarding the translator's subservience, however, the interpreting *habitus* is viewed as more contingent upon the particular social or interactional context, leaving open the possibility of the emergence of a space for interpreters to define a role for themselves that corresponded to "who they are" rather than to an already established notion of "who they

must be” (Bourdieu 2000:158–159). Inghilleri’s research reexamined Bourdieu’s claim that *habitus* is not necessarily coherent (2000:160) and that an uneasy discordance between positions and dispositions can be experienced when gaps between individual expectations and actual experience occur. In these moments, despite the generally conformist nature of the *habitus* – its orientation toward correction or adaptation – it can nevertheless undergo significant and potentially permanent transformation. The idea of the (re)structuring of the *habitus* is particularly relevant in public service interpreting, including medical, educational and social service-related contexts (Valero Garcés and Gauthier Blasi 2010; Aguilar Solano 2015; Tipton 2016). Research on public service interpreting suggests that where culturally and socially diverse interpreters, other professionals and members of the public in need of services interact, the nature of the *habitus*-field relationship can become more complex.

Finally, a growing body of research incorporating Bourdieu’s field theory investigates the role of interpreters within the military field. This research focuses on the variability of interpreters’ positions within that field, who can range from local interpreters and fixers to government recruited and trained non-military interpreters to military linguists; their disparate levels of protection; and the significance of the *habitus*-field-capital relationship for shaping the role of the interpreter, including the complex strategic and symbolic allegiances that interpreters form in the context of a particular conflict. Torikai (2009) reports on oral testimonies that she elicited in interviews with five prominent, now elder, Japanese diplomatic interpreters who had lived and worked in post-WWII Japan. She analyzed the interviews through a Bourdieusian theoretical framework and found a strong correspondence between the individual and professional *habitus* each interpreter expressed, and the social, political and economic postwar context in which these were formed. Guo (2016) explored the position of Chinese interpreters in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931–1945), including one in particular who acted as mediator and double agent between the Chinese Nationalist government and the Japanese forces, while officially serving as an interpreter for the

Japanese (Guo 2015). Guo’s research reveals the complex relations of power in which interpreters inevitably become enmeshed in war zones. Although during a conflict interpreters can amass beneficial social and political capital based on the interests of the competing armies for their own strategic gain, their weak position within the military and political fields means that once a war is over, they can be branded as traitors by different sides in the conflict. Research on the recent war in Iraq reveals a similar situation for local interpreters. Inghilleri (2008, 2009, 2010a) demonstrates how, in the absence of an autonomous professional identity, interpreters working in Iraq were precariously positioned within the military and political fields, where they did not receive full protection or acceptance as legitimate members. Through the theoretical lens of the field-*habitus* relationship, this research analyzes the formally administered spaces within the military field and the set of accompanying habits and dispositions instilled into its members. It suggests that, on the one hand, the military provides interpreters with the only institutional legitimacy available in the war zone and, in so doing, allows them to avoid being on the outside of any institutional framework, where they might become more exposed to physical attack or suspected of working as double agents or spies. On the other hand, due to the contingent nature of their position within this field, local interpreters remain vulnerable to being made scapegoats by either side and unable to seek protection or asylum once they relinquish the interpreter role.

The breadth and quality of research in translation and interpreting studies that employs Bourdieu’s field theory is a powerful endorsement of the relevance of his concepts as effective tools of analysis in the twenty-first century. The enduring significance of his sociological approach suggests that it still serves as a valuable method with which to investigate and critique unequal relations of power and knowledge within contemporary, multicultural societies across the globe.

See also:

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY; CENSORSHIP; NORMS; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES; SOCIAL SYSTEMS; STRUCTURATION; SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Further reading

Hanna, S.F. (2016) *Bourdieu in Translation Studies: The Socio-cultural Dynamics of Shakespeare Translation in Egypt*, London & New York: Routledge.

Explores Bourdieu's concepts in detail, focusing on drama and theatre translation in Egypt from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, in relation to a new group of translators who emerged during this period, which coincided with a shift from more commercially oriented translations to translations of prestigious literary works, including Shakespeare's tragedies, leading to a generational struggle within the literary and translation field.

Inghilleri, M. (ed.) (2005) *Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting*, Special Issue of *The Translator* 11(2).

Includes a sound introductory article in which the philosophical foundations of Bourdieu's work are discussed alongside an explanation of his core concepts of *habitus*, field, capital and *illusio*. Other articles apply these concepts analytically and critically to a diverse range of contexts where translation or interpreting play a significant role.

Vorderobermeier, G.M. (ed.) (2014) *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies*, Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi.

Explores the concept of *habitus* in depth and charts Bourdieu's earliest engagement with it in a postface to his 1967 French translation of Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*. Also examines the key role of *habitus* in Bourdieu's field theory more generally, as well as its uptake in translation and interpreting studies.

Wolf, M. (2015) *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul. Translating and Interpreting, 1848–1914*, trans. Kate Sturge, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Examines the concept of *habitus* in relation to the private (commercial) translation sector during the late period of the Habsburg Monarchy, focusing on certain social and economic conditions that triggered changes within the commercial translation field in response to increased international demands, and how this led to the increasing diversification and professionalization of the translator's *habitus* during this period.

MOIRA INGHILLERI

Functionalism

Functionalism is a theoretical, deductive approach to translation and interpreting based on action theory, communication theory, cultural anthropology, reception theory and evolutionary epistemology. Its main tenets are that translation and interpreting are goal-oriented actions embedded in a sociocultural environment that directly influences them and their outcomes; that the aim of the target text is the most important factor determining the translation procedures; and that translators and interpreters are expert professionals who are responsible for the production of functionally adequate target texts. Functionalist approaches were developed by German scholars from the late 1970s onwards in an academic context dominated by structuralism, contrastive linguistics and generative-transformational grammar, where the main concern was the production of equivalence between linguistic units, including the development of acontextual translation grammars. Functionalist scholars challenged the prescription that target texts must have the same function as their sources, claiming that this is the exception rather than the rule; in doing so, they also called into question the requirement of equivalence between source and target texts.

Although functionalism is communicative in orientation and therefore diverged from dominant linguistic approaches to translation at the time, some areas of overlap can be identified. For instance, Nida's (1964) concept of dynamic equivalence was oriented towards communication with the target audience, and so were the notions of communicative equivalence and functional equivalence; the latter were developed by scholars of the Leipzig School whose initial framework of contrastive, generative linguistics was broadened through the introduction of models from communication theory and text linguistics (Neubert 1973; Jäger 1975). More or less at the same time, in West Germany, Reiß (1971) developed a text typology oriented towards communicative functions. Although her approach remained committed to the prescription of functional equivalence, it may have facilitated the transition from the traditional focus on equivalence to the new focus on the

function of the target text advocated by functionalism.

Skopos theory

Skopos theory was presented by Vermeer as a general theory of translation in a lecture course held at the University of Mainz during the academic year 1976–1977, and later outlined in an essay first published in 1978, and elaborated in different publications, of which the most widely known is the book coauthored with Reiß and published in 1984. A translation into English by Christiane Nord was published in 2014. This entry adopts Nord's translations of German terms.

Vermeer defines both translation and interpreting as particular kinds of action, specifically as intentional behaviour. Since action is defined as goal oriented, translational action (which embraces translation and interpreting) is also by definition oriented to a goal, or *skopos* in Vermeer's terms. The *skopos* has priority in the hierarchy of factors guiding translators' decision-making. This basic idea was formulated as the *skopos* rule, which states that translational action is a function of its *skopos*. The *skopos* rule further specified the *skopos* as a variable determined by the intended recipients. *Skopos* theory thus assigns a central role to the target audience – more precisely, to the translator's expectations about the target audience – in determining translation strategies.

Reiß and Vermeer (2014:68–79) define texts as “offers of information” whose meaning is dynamically produced by their recipients in a specific situation. The *translatum*, the product of a translational action, is an offer of information directed to a target audience in a target culture, about another offer of information directed to a source audience in a source culture. These definitions are coherent with Vermeer's “relative relativism” (1996:24), inspired by evolutionary epistemology, and with his conviction that perception, as well as text interpretation, are always conditioned by the receivers' own point of view and situation. In this context, the role of the translator is no longer that of a language mediator; translators are experts who decide what is to be translated and how (Reiß and Vermeer 2014:78). Defining translation and interpreting

as goal-oriented actions does not only highlight the *skopoi* of these actions, but also draws attention to the role of their agents, along with the situation and the cultural context in which actions are embedded.

Skopos theory underscores the relevance of cultural factors; it assumes that languages are embedded in cultures, and that the relationship between what is verbally expressed and what is communicated through non-verbal means differs from culture to culture. Translational action therefore cannot be described as linguistic transfer; rather, it may be considered a particular kind of cultural transfer (Reiß and Vermeer 2014:14). The concept of culture developed by *skopos* theory draws on Goode-nough (1964), who defined culture in the context of first-generation cognitive anthropology. Vermeer's definition, however, is more focused on social norms and conventions than on cognitive competence: “culture may be understood as the whole of norms and conventions governing social behaviour and its results” (Vermeer 1992:38). Vermeer (1986) further distinguishes three subcategories of culture: paraculture, diaculture and idioculture, which are inspired by the linguistic concepts of paralect, dialect and idiolect. The concept of paraculture is the most comprehensive, in that it relates to the norms and conventions of a social community as a whole; diacultures relate to social groups within larger social communities; and idiocultures to particular individuals at a particular point in time. Witte (2000) integrates these subcategories into her model of cultural competence of translators and stresses their inherently relative character, since their definition will depend on the purpose of the research. Martín de León (2008) criticizes Vermeer's concept of culture and its division into subcategories, because it suggests that translation takes place between totally distinct entities, an assumption that can lead to stereotyping target audiences.

The idea that the *skopos* determines translation decisions, formulated in a somewhat provocative manner as “the end justifies the means” (Reiß and Vermeer 2014:90), has attracted much criticism, in particular from equivalence-oriented scholars. The concerns of these critics are mainly ontological and ethical in nature. A major criticism relates to the very definition of translation and its delimitation

from other concepts such as adaptation and the more general concept of text production (Kellat 1986; Koller 1995). The definition proposed by Vermeer is broader than the traditional ones, as it attempts to reflect the actual practice of translators in a complex sociocultural environment. The depiction of translators as responsible agents who decide what and how to translate broadens their field of action and implies freedom, as well as responsibility. Koller (2002:127), among others, argues that the primacy of the *skopos* could justify almost any type of translation decision, including decisions that involve political or ethical manipulation of the source text. For Vermeer (1996), however, these ethical concerns lie outside the scope of a general theory since they relate to individual behaviour.

In response to these critiques, Nord (1989, 2006) introduced the concept of loyalty into functionalism as an ethical principle that should guide translators and ensure that they attended to all participants in the translational action. This attempt to reconcile the traditional, equivalence-oriented approach and what she considered to be “radical functionalism” (Nord 2006:34) was generally welcomed as a means of ensuring that translators do not act against the interests of authors, commissioners and the audience. Nevertheless, this position is not without its critics. One of the main arguments made by Vermeer (1996:79–101) is that the concept of loyalty does not belong to a theory of general validity, since it reflects culture-specific norms and conventions. It has also been argued that *skopos* theory itself is not value-free as claimed by Vermeer (1996, but see 2004), insofar as the concept of responsibility entails an ethical dimension (Dizdar 2006; Martín de León 2008; Kopp 2012). If so, as Witte (2000) argues, the concept of loyalty would be redundant.

Skopos theory was brought to the attention of the English-speaking academic community mainly through the work of Nord (1997), Snell-Hornby (2006), Schäffner (2009) and Chesterman (2001b). Its reception has been hindered by the fact that it was mainly formulated in German and followed German academic conventions (Dudenhöfer 2012). Some of the criticism that followed its introduction to this broader community relates to its epistemological status within the field of translation studies. Although it was envisioned as a general theory

of translation which set out to describe the general conditions that apply to any translational action, just as the theory of translatorial action proposed by Holz-Mänttari did, Toury (1995/2012) and Chesterman (1998, 2010b) do not consider it as a descriptive general theory of translation. Rather, they see it as an applied, prescriptive theory that is oriented to improving translational practice. Chesterman (2010b) further argues that *skopos* theory lacks empirical support and has not generated testable hypotheses.

Theory of translatorial action

Another theory that has greatly contributed to the development of functionalism is the theory of translatorial action, proposed by Holz-Mänttari (1984a) independently but in parallel with Vermeer's *skopos* theory. Both theories draw on action theory, and both describe translation and interpreting as particular kinds of action. They also share the aim of broadening the narrow conceptions of translation and interpreting, which at the time were mainly viewed as linguistic, coding-decoding operations. The theory of translatorial action went even further than *skopos* theory in rejecting the dominant paradigm of linguistics (Schäffner 2009) and in broadening the concept of translation. In order to avoid the generally accepted models implicit in the traditional terms, Holz-Mänttari created a set of new terms; this did not facilitate the reception of her theory even in the German-speaking academic world, at least at the beginning (Snell-Hornby 2006:57).

Equipped with conceptual tools from action theory, systems theory and communication theory, Holz-Mänttari (1984a) undertook the task of describing and systematizing the factors that guide translation and interpreting, both included in the concept of translatorial action. Her definition of this concept is teleological; like Vermeer, she describes action as goal oriented and assumes that it is embedded in a broader context of social cooperation. Translatorial action is defined as a particular kind of action-in-situation that aims to produce what she refers to as message transmitters (*Botschaftsträger*) in the context of intercultural communication. Drawing on systems theory, Holz-Mänttari further describes translatorial action as a social institution,

a pattern of cooperation that is integrated in the structure of a society organized by division of labour. In the context of this social structure, communication is understood as an instrument that guides cooperation through the exchange of messages; the need for translatorial action emerges when culture barriers hinder communication between cooperation partners.

The concept of message transmitter was created by Holz-Mänttari to broaden the traditional notion of text and encompasses nonverbal elements and different kinds of media. Witte (2017:148) points to the difficulties of translating this German term; it can be easily misunderstood if interpreted through the metaphor of transmission, which reflects a simplistic understanding of communication (Martín de León 2008). However, Holz-Mänttari (1984a) does not describe messages as objects that can be transported or transmitted, but as mental representations that combine with strategic elements and are realized in message transmitters. In this context, the function of message transmitters is to guide social cooperative and communicative action, which is why messages are not treated only as informative, but also as possessing strategic components.

Holz-Mänttari (1984a) describes translators as professional experts rather than as parties to a communicative situation. The implication is that translators are not full participants in the communication in which their message transmitters are to be used. Translators, as experts, work to meet the needs of others, and are responsible for creating message transmitters that can function adequately in specific situations of action and cooperation. The conditions of this cooperation should be as clear and explicit as possible, in order to facilitate the translators' task.

The concepts initially created by Holz-Mänttari (1984a) were further developed in later publications (Holz-Mänttari 1990, 1993, 1996; Risku 1998a). The notion of translatorial action was broadened to include other activities aimed at enabling or facilitating intercultural cooperation, such as cultural consulting and technical writing. Influenced by bio cybernetics and evolutionary epistemology, Holz-Mänttari (1993) introduced the even broader notion of text design, which covers any kind of professional production of texts. In order to bridge the distance between them and their

partners, text designers have to imagine the worlds of authors and recipients, as well as the situations in which their texts are to be used, so that their decisions can lead to functionally adequate texts.

The theory of translatorial action has been criticized for its abstract terminology and for dethroning the source text (Newmark 1991), as well as for depicting an idealized, cooperative society that is not marred by power asymmetries (Hönig 1992). Holz-Mänttari's (1993:304) response to the latter criticism is that the aim of her theory is not to describe actual states of affairs, but to model variables and their systematic relationships in a way that is compatible with human biology and mental reality. In doing so, the theory of translatorial action, as well as *skopos* theory, have arguably contributed to developing an understanding of translators as responsible experts, and have provided a productive framework for translation and interpreting didactics.

Applications

The most important application of functionalist theories to date has been in the field of pedagogy. Both Holz-Mänttari (1984b) and Vermeer (Amman and Vermeer 1990) propose translation studies curricula that stress the importance of assigning realistic translation commissions, carrying out teamwork projects and promoting the autonomy of learners. As stated by Kiraly (2012), functionalist theories have served as models of good practice in the classroom since the late 1990s. The pedagogical application of functionalism was furthered by a number of scholars who taught at the universities of Mainz and Heidelberg and developed their own versions of functionalism. Among the most well-known are Hönig and Kußmaul (1982), who connect functionalism with psycholinguistics and propose a functional framework to guide students through the translation process. Their functional approaches focus on cognitive aspects of translation (Hönig 1995) and creativity (Kußmaul 1995), which they investigate with the aim of improving translator competence. Nord has published a number of works oriented to translation students, the best known among them being her 1988 textbook and its 2005

English translation, where she proposes a model of text analysis for *skopos*-oriented translation. Witte (1989, 2000, 2017) develops a functionalist approach to translation didactics focused on the cultural competence of translators, which includes knowledge of two different cultures and the ability to contrast and relate them in terms of their perceptions of each other (self and hetero images, prejudices, stereotypes), in order to avoid misunderstandings. Since then, a large number of publications addressing pedagogical questions from a functionalist viewpoint have appeared, popularizing the notions of *skopos* and translation brief in the classroom.

Vermeer's and Holz-Mänttari's work has also been applied to the analysis of simultaneous conference interpreting. Pöchhacker (1994, 1995c) situates the *skopos* at the level of the whole conference, as a holistic unit or hypertext, and questions the functionalist assumption of a cultural transference for this kind of interpreting, on the basis that the group of experts assisting a conference constitutes an international diaculture. This argument does not hold for other types of interpreting, such as community and sign language interpreting, where cultural differences, as well as the needs and expectations of target recipients, tend to be more clearly defined, and the interpreter's decisions can be more easily described in terms of *skopoi* and strategies (Kalina 2009, 2012).

In terms of genres, functionalist theories have been applied in the context of technical translation (Schmitt 1989, 1992), tourist information leaflets (Nobs Federer 2006, 2009) and legal texts (Osoro Pérez-Puchal 2002; Prieto Ramos 2002). Despite the emphasis on non-verbal communication in functionalism, few scholars working in audiovisual translation have explicitly applied a functionalist perspective in their research. One exception is Kaindl (1995, 2004a), who approaches the translation of opera and comics from a functionalist perspective and offers a model for the analysis of non-verbal elements in these modalities of translation.

Further directions

Functionalism has had a seminal influence on emerging areas of application that draw on some of its basic tenets. These include

user-centred approaches to translation (Suojanen et al. 2015), which accord readers a central role in the translation process and in doing so further develop and put into practice Vermeer's idea that the *skopos* depends on the intended recipients. Another developing field of research influenced by functionalism is the pedagogy of intercultural competence (Tomozeiu et al. 2016; Witte 2017). Researchers working in this area advocate the introduction of intercultural competence into the translator-training curriculum, a position that would be endorsed by early functionalists. Some topics that are being increasingly addressed in translation studies have long been acknowledged by functionalists. For example, multimodality (Kokkola and Ketola 2015), with its focus on the coexistence of different modes such as language, image and sounds, was underscored by Holz-Mänttari in her definition of message transmitter. As they continue to develop, functionalist ideas promise to open up new fields of research and offer new perspectives in translation studies.

See also:

TRAINING AND EDUCATION, THEORY AND PRACTICE

Further readings

Nord, C. (1997) *Translating as a Purposeful Activity. Functionalist Approaches Explained*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

The first survey of functionalism, in which Nord offers a clear and comprehensive overview of functionalist approaches and their developments.

Risku, H., C. Schäffner and J.F. Schopp (eds) (2012) *Sed sensum exprimere de sensu – In memoriam Hans J. Vermeer*, Special issue of *mtm* 4.

Commemorates the work of Hans Vermeer, with contributions from scholars who have played a leading role in the development of functionalism.

Reiß, K. and H. Vermeer (2014) *Towards a General Theory of Translational Action. Skopos Theory Explained*, trans. C. Nord, London & New York: Routledge.

Provides a clear, reader-friendly version of one of the seminal works on functionalism.

CELIA MARTÍN DE LEÓN



Gender

Gender studies is an interdisciplinary field that examines gender as a cultural and social construction. Recent scholarship interrogates gender alongside other vectors of power such as sexuality, class, race, ethnicity, nationality, ability and linguistic identity. In the same way, rather than seeing gender, postcolonialism or linguistic imperialism as competing research frameworks, feminist translation studies and transgender translation studies contribute to translation theory and research by imagining new “intersectional and heterogenous model[s]” through which to investigate “cross-border meaning-making” (Castro and Ergun 2017a:2). Without sidelining important studies of less-known women translators and their influence on canon formation (Agorni 2002; Woods 2011, 2013), gendering translation and interpreting studies does not exclusively refer to studying women who translate or their representation through translation but making intersecting identities and their multiple embodiments central to the study of translation and interpreting in society and history.

The relationship between gender and power has been investigated with regards to the history of translation (Mukherjee 2011; Goodrich 2014; Farahzad 2017); the translation of sacred texts (Hassen 2017; Seidman 2010; Strassfeld 2015; Goodrich 2014); the fictional representation of translators and interpreters (Arrojo 2005c; Ríos Castaño 2005; Baer 2015a); the international circulation of critical theory (Downing and Gillet 2010; Lagzhali 2017; Baldo 2018); the politics of publishing (Wolf 2006a; Feral 2011; Godayol 2016); audiovisual translation (Feral 2011; de Marco 2012); and, to a lesser extent, community interpreting (Angelelli 2004; Weber et al. 2005).

Gender and the making of literature

Reimóndez (2009), a feminist translator and theorist, reports a legal dispute between herself and Barcia, the director of the Galician-language publishing house Rinoceronte Editora, who contracted her to translate a British best-seller into Galician. At the centre of the dispute are words such as *surfer* and *lair*. In the source text, the gender of these two words is unspecified and irrelevant; since Galician grammar forces the translator to gender them, Reimóndez decided to make them feminine and masculine, respectively, in order to challenge widespread gender stereotypes. Barcia critiqued Reimóndez’s choice, suggesting that it made for a partisan, ‘ideological’ translation, and terminated her contract but went on to publish a slightly modified version under his own name. Since Rinoceronte Editora did not acknowledge nor economically reward Reimóndez, the publisher simultaneously erased the translator’s voice and exploited her labour.

Chamberlain (1988) famously critiques gendered theorizing about translation by arguing that the worthy original/inferior copy dichotomy draws from the similarly hierarchical male/female binary, and that translation has been represented as a feminized activity in a way that systematically devalues it. However, viewing translation as a gender-neutral exchange between cultures conceals power relations between differently positioned translating agents (Martín Ruano 2005) and the entrenched histories of erasure and exploitation that underpin the production and circulation of knowledge, as demonstrated by the controversy regarding Reimóndez’s translation. Some translators have criticized Reimóndez (2009) for pursuing her own feminist agenda instead

of acting in the interest of the Galician national project, presumably because when translation is undertaken from a dominant into a less-spoken language, the translator is construed as a spokesperson for the linguistic minority tasked with furthering a democratic language rights agenda. In this context, because language rights and the trope of translation as emancipation have been “key to the Galician patriarchal nation-building project”, Reimóndez argues (2017:48), they are implicitly gendered as masculine and, as such, far from neutral or universal. In a similar vein, Baer (2015a:92) reframes the question of translation and modernization facing nineteenth-century Russian intellectuals as a “distinctly male dilemma”. While writers and other cultural producers were increasingly expected to conform to foreign cultural models and to hegemonic Western European models of masculinity, importing and translating was also seen as degrading and threatening to the idea of masculine subjectivity as autonomous, authentic and original (ibid.:91–97).

Importantly, translation is at once a cultural and an economic activity. Woods’s study (2011) of Scots-speaking Willa Muir’s translations of some of Franz Kafka’s best-known novels into English is a model example of feminist translation studies scholarship focusing on women’s invisible labour of translation and on the intersection of gendered, cultural and linguistic power asymmetries. Woods examines a wide range of literary and archival sources to raise questions about women’s cultural history, minority linguistic identity, publishing and canon formation.

Although the feminization of translation described by Chamberlain (1988) and Simon (1996) is specific to major European languages (Baxter 2010; Baer 2015a), research on how translating is construed as a woman’s job has important implications for understanding translation industries and the international circulation of knowledge as an immaterial commodity that is bought, sold and marketed according to specific logics (Wolf 2006a). The English version of de Beauvoir’s *Le deuxième sexe* translated by Parshley (1953) – perhaps the most infamous sexist translation of the twentieth century (Simons 1983; Englund 1994; Flotow 1997b, 2009b; Haiping 2017) – is a case in point. The vast body of work on Parshley’s

translation offers precious insight into translation and ideology, as it moves us away from monolithic accounts of power and its operation through translation and the book market. In their analyses of the first English translation of *Le deuxième sexe* by Parshley, Moi (2002) and Castro (2008) argue that a coherent sexist ideology informed the translator’s choices, since the abridged sections of the source text deal with topics such as the achievements of lesser-known women in history who defied feminine stereotypes. By contrast, Bogic (2009, 2010) argues that the omissions cannot be ascribed to the misogyny of any particular individual, but to what Buzelin (2007b), following Latour (2005), terms the manufacture of a target text to refer to a process involving multiple agents producing a commodity for the book marketplace. Drawing on the correspondence between the translator, the author, the publisher, the publisher’s wife and the editor-in-chief, Bogic argues that Parshley abridged the original reluctantly, under pressure from several translating agents and dominant publishing practices. The study alerts us to the usefulness of Latour’s actor-network theory in terms of describing problematic gendered representations as the by-product of the logics of the publishing industry.

Perhaps unexpectedly, feminist publishing also provides a clear example of how the manufacturing of a text reinforces problematic representations of women. A close-reading of *The Harem Years* – the translation of the Egyptian author Huda Sha’rawi’s memoir, published by the Feminist Press in 1987 – reveals that the translator, the editor and the publisher manufactured a text in line with the expectations of its target audience (Kahf 2000/2010). Kahf cross-examines the translation and the book’s packaging to demonstrate how textual strategies work together with the paratextual apparatus to prefigure a particular readerly response to the memoir. The horizon of expectation here is shaped by a United States reception environment that sees Muslim women as the ultimate victims of gender oppression, whilst figuring liberation from gender oppression as an individual rather than a collective pursuit. *The Harem Years* is structured, from its very title, around the harem, a common orientalist trope that reemerges here in a supposedly feminist guise. In abridging the source text, which recounts the Egyptian feminist and

nationalist's whole life, the translator and the editor chose to only translate the sections of the book on her girlhood and coming of age, thereby blocking the reader's access to her feminist adulthood. Khaf demonstrates that these choices borrow at once from Orientalist fantasies and feminist rescue narratives that view Muslim women as in need of the west's political intervention.

In examining the formation of a French feminist canon in North American academia, Susam-Sarajeva (2006a) argues that the choices translators and other rewriters make with regards to the reproduction of an author's oeuvre consolidate into authorial images which, in turn, guide the reception of the texts. Summers (2018) develops this point further, focusing on the Anglophone notion of 'feminist writer' often evoked in the reception of East German author Christa Wolf. Summers discusses Wolf's gendered translation and reception by simultaneously underscoring the way in which the author's approach to women's experience is made to fit Anglo-American narratives about women's liberation and, importantly, by drawing readers' attention away from Wolf's markedly socialist understanding of literature and literary realism.

Trans/feminisms as modes of (knowledge) production

If the first wave of feminist theory in translation studies was a response to the rise of the women's movement in Euro-America in the 1970s, new directions combining translation studies with transnational and postcolonial feminist studies draw instead on what has been called the "feminism of the 99 percent", which articulates "demands and political positions that speak to the complexity of the lived experience of the cis and trans women left behind by corporate and lean-in feminism" (Arruzza 2018). Some projects attempting to rethink feminist translation research along these lines have problematized the global travels of second-wave Anglophone feminist classics such as the Boston Women's Health Book Collective's *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (OBOS). OBOS is an accessible manual on women's health which encourage women to learn how their own bodies work from first-hand

experience and feminist consciousness-raising groups, rather than relying on the men-dominated medical establishment. The book has been translated by small and major publishers, and by informal groups of women. Scholars exploring this compelling case study have employed gender, ethnicity and race as interlocking analytics to show how their simultaneous operation is visible in the making of a translated text, as well as how geopolitics is refracted in the process of intercultural transfer (Davis 2007; Bogic 2017b).

Building on widespread awareness of the problems with feminist publishing projects such as that of Sha'rawi's memoir, four volumes published between 2014 and 2018 (de Lima Costa and Alvarez 2014; Baer 2015a; Castro and Ergun 2017b; Flotow and Farahzad 2017) foreground how global inequalities affect the task of translating feminist and queer theory, fiction and media. *Signs* devoted a special issue to *Translation, Feminist Scholarship and the Hegemony of English* (de Lima Costa and Alvarez 2014), thereby becoming the first English-language international journal in gender studies to openly question its own anglonormativity, that is, the tendency to privilege Anglo-American feminist genealogies, to draw general conclusions on the basis of case studies drawn from Anglophone spaces, and to treat the ubiquity of the English language in gender studies as a neutral and apolitical *fait accompli* (Pereira 2004). In response, Flotow and Farahzad (2017) deliberately refocus attention on translators and translation projects located in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Central and Latin America and South and East Asia. Castro and Ergun (2017b) attempt to reimagine gender and translation as a research area through three critical moves: by including contributions that focus on web-based translation and on collaborative translation projects, as well as more conventional examples of literary translation; by foregrounding the intrinsic interdisciplinarity of this area of enquiry; and by focusing on transnational, postcolonial and queer approaches to feminism and translation.

The publication of a special issue on *Translating Transgender* in *Transgender Studies Quarterly* (Gramling and Dutta 2016b) has further contributed to gendering translation by focusing on what falls outside of the male/female binary. In a world that imagines all human beings as belonging to one of two genders, the term *cisgender*

refers to the unmarked position of those whose gender corresponds to what society considers appropriate for their birth-assigned sex (Enke 2012). Thanks to Foucault's (1984) and Laqueur's (1990) work on modernity, scientific thought and the body, gender and sexual difference can now be historicized as products of the large-scale shift that occurred in the nineteenth century from a one-sex system – according to which “female organs are a lesser form of the male's and by implication that woman is a lesser male” (Laquer 1990:8) – to today's two-sex system, each with different bodies and supposedly discrete and complementary gender identities.

By likening “the modern and contingent construct of cisgender” to “the equally modern and contingent construct of monolingualism” (Gramling and Dutta 2016a:337), *Translating Transgender* carves new theoretical space for comparisons between two modern tropes of crossing: translation figured as a journey from language A to language B and gender transition imagined as a similarly linear move from birth-assigned sex to the supposedly opposite sex. As ideologies, monolingualism and the belief in a gender dichotomy have much in common: whilst the first produces cultural and linguistic differences between modern nations as entities that can be investigated, defined and measured, the second produces sexual difference as an equally overdetermined, knowable and seemingly material reality through scientific discourse. Only on this basis could interlingual translation and medical transition simultaneously emerge in modern thought, science and literature as bridges that can seamlessly take us from one supposedly bounded and intelligible space to another.

Complicating matters further, the current process of internationalizing Anglophone discourses of equality and diversity reifies English-language categories such as transgender “as the ‘correct’ or non-offensive way to understand and express gender nonconformity” globally (Hok-Sze Leung 2016:434–435). First, in the name of inclusion, dominant translation strategies in and out of English construe local terms that describe non-conforming genders – such as *khuntas* (Arabic), *mujercitos*, *vestidas*, *locas* (Spanish), *transsukupuolinen* (Finnish), *hijras* (Hindu), *baklas* (Tagalog), *femminielle* (Neapolitan) – as the transphobic Other to the progres-

sive Global English term *transgender*, to then “modulate and modify, if not erase entirely, ways of knowing gendered embodiment and sexual desire through other languages” (Hok-Sze Leung 2016:434). If this modern linguistic infrastructure seems to make some space for vocabularies describing non-conforming genders, it does so only on the condition that the latter are rendered intelligible and controllable through translation (Gramling and Dutta 2016a). Hok-Sze Leung's (2016) examination of the Cantonese-dubbed version of the Thai film *The Iron Ladies* in Hong Kong is one of the few studies to date on issues of gender in audiovisual translation (AVT), and the only one on dubbing films with transgender characters. She argues that the film's dubbing strategy offers an alternative to mainstream strategies and global English by staging “a syncretic encounter on-screen between distinct forms of trans subjectivities” (2016:438) and employing throughout the film the polysemic gender non-conforming label *kathoe*, a vernacular term whose history dates as far back as the third century and that has been used in the twentieth century to refer to both male sex workers and transgender entertainers in Southeast Asia (ibid.).

Future directions

By gendering translation, we significantly problematize traditional disciplinary narratives which rely on the representation of translators, interpreters, publishers, editors and other gatekeepers as disembodied subjects acting in the name of a supposedly homogenous target culture. In her highly influential text on the politics of translation, Spivak (1993:180) figured translating as “the most intimate mode of reading” and as a strategy for building solidarity amongst feminists across power differentials. Comparisons between translation and emerging theories about the body and forms of intimacy pave the way for affective approaches that refute not only the argument that translation can be studied through scientific methods and models, but also oversimplifying investments in translation as a democratic project. However, research on literary translation and the translation of feminist theory has dominated and, as a result, investigations into the intersections between

gender and translation have often been based on approaches to gender derived from feminist literary criticism. Thus, work in expanding research areas such as audiovisual translation, web-based translation, translation technologies, legal translation and interpreting studies is poised to experiment with new ways of defining both gender and translation.

Following on from Castro and Ergun's (2017a) call for a new wave of feminist translation research, such redefinitions could work to re-politicize translation and interpreting studies as a whole, by at once centring questions of power in the study of cultural transfer and enlarging the definitions that translation scholars work with. For example, in the current global political moment of encroaching authoritarianisms, there is much scope for approaches to translation – at the intersection of critical legal studies and cultural studies – that focus on the global travel of both human rights and women's rights discourses. Similarly, as debates about transgender equality become increasingly mainstream, global health studies asks whether and to what extent people who exist outside the gender binary are able to access medical care, but no study of how medical interpreters mediate between transgender patients and cisgendered healthcare providers has yet been conducted. Finally, whilst fansubbing is a lively research area and there is much interest within media studies in online girl cultures, there has been no study to date of how young women intervene in global discourses about girlhood through their own web-based translation practices.

See also:

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY; FEMINIST TRANSLATION STRATEGIES; IDEOLOGY; INTERSECTIONALITY; METAPHORICS; POSTCOLONIALISM; SEXUALITY

Further reading

Castro, O. and E. Ergun (eds) (2017b) *Feminist Translation Studies: Local and transnational perspectives*, London: Routledge.

Draws on women of colour feminism, post-colonial theory and queer theory to ask what role translators and translation scholars may play in building a feminism that revolves around working-class women, migrant women and women of colour.

Davis, K. (2007) *The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves. How feminism travels across borders*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Examines the global travel of a widely read classic of the North American feminist health movement, by detailing the political circumstances in which feminist collectives across the world have selected the text for translation and by offering a close analysis of translation strategies in the wider context of feminist politics.

Goodrich, J. (2014) *Faithful Translators: Authorship, gender, and religion in early modern England*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Demonstrates through a series of close readings how female translators of both secular and religious texts defied ideas of translation as a derivative activity, experimented with polyvocality and used intertextuality to create literary authority through translation.

Gramling, D. and A. Dutta (eds) (2016b) *Translating Transgender*, Special issue of *TSQ* 3(3).

Brings together approaches to language and transformation drawn from critical multilingualism studies, applied linguistics and other approaches more frequently adopted in translation studies, to show how a focus on language and translation can help answer some of the central questions in contemporary queer studies.

SERENA BASSI

Genetic criticism

Genetic criticism (GC) is the study of the genesis of texts, of the strategies and creativity of authors and translators, the constraints upon them and how these factors interact with sociocultural dynamics. It is a methodology for understanding literary creation through the examination of post-factum evidence, referred to as *avant-texte*, or pre-text – though writers in English frequently adopt the French term. *Avant-texte* includes prepublication notes, sketches, drafts, manuscripts and any other material that bears the trace of a text's creation. While it does not exclude the possibility of observing live subjects – composing authors, artists, translators,

professionals – GC developed in response to certain intractable barriers to empirical research, notably, the difficulty in gaining access to the author and a reluctance to interfere with the integrity of the author's creative process, not to mention the fact that authors of interest are commonly unknown or unobserved at the time of their writing. GC grew out of literary studies, but its method has been adapted to other kinds of writing, including scientific, pragmatic, news and media, and various digital modes, as well as forms of artistic creation, including the visual arts, cinema, architecture and music. It has also been adapted for the study of translation.

Critique génétique emerged in France during the 1960s as an alternative to post-structuralist accounts of textuality that restricted a text's meaning to its participation in synchronic networks. Not only had Barthes made the symbolic declaration in 1971 that the author was dead, the new trend in criticism of which he became the figurehead denied the legitimacy of reading a text in light of its diachronic history, its changing states before publication. GC, on the other hand, is attentive to the temporality of signification, of how the meaning and form of a text emerge, evolve and transform over a continuum of writing.

Genetic criticism does not claim to access the secrets to the translator's "black box" (Holmes 1972/2000:185; F. Jones 2006); rather, it allows hypotheses to be formulated with respect to the cognitive processes that inform a writer's decision-making and motivations at different stages of writing. A salient example is Louis Hay's (1984:307–323) classic distinction between *écriture à programme* and *écriture à processus*, between writers who follow a preestablished plan of writing and those who journey out with their words into the unknown. These terms are recognized as being not absolute categories but poles of a spectrum; they offer one of a variety of means for categorizing techniques of composition. Indeed, the specificity of each scene of writing means that a multitude of authorial strategies are typically combined: Ferrer (2011:187–192) provides some 38 models from which a researcher might draw when approaching or describing a literary text's genesis. Much work nevertheless still needs to be done to map out a genetic typology for translated texts.

GC's concern with authorship and empirical evidence has drawn criticism that it reinstates positivist philology (the selective use of evidence to affirm existing beliefs or prejudices about the published text, its author or national culture) and deterministic psychologism (reducing the complexity of literary creation to inferences of psychological states). GC counters that it does not privilege the published form of the work, which it considers as a phase in a continuum of writing. It conceives of literature as dynamic movement (Grésillon 1994:7) and conceptualizes literature's product or *œuvre* in terms of its becoming rather than its finality (Hay 2002:x). It attempts to avoid a teleological reading of *avant-textes* by not ignoring material that is not a variant of the published text; indeed what is discarded is sometimes the genetic researcher's most interesting or revealing material. Traditionally, genetic critics distinguish their approach from that of Anglo-American textual scholarship by arguing that in textual criticism a text emerges out of repeated elements that outlast the chaos of their accidental creation, whereas genetic criticism chooses to destabilize the notion of text by confronting it with that accidental material (Ferrer 2010). Van Hulle (2014:8–11) questions the pertinence of this distinction today, given that these approaches tend more and more to resemble one another. Yet, each approach has been associated with an ideological position: emerging from a Cold War context, American textual scholarship grew out of a desire to provide definitive editions of nationally identified classics (Gailey 2012), while French genetic criticism, rooted in 1960s post-structuralism, challenges assumptions of textual stability (de Biasi 2011). Interest in the study of creative process has motivated genetic critics in particular to consider the genesis of translated texts.

Genetic criticism, translation and archives

De Biasi's (1996) typology of textual genesis offers a theoretical schema for the evolution of a literary text from which genetic translation studies (GTS) may draw and adapt to the specificities of translation. He identifies five phases in the text's genesis (precomposition, composition,

prepublishing, publication and postpublication), with three stages of textualization (*avant-texte*, text and post-text). GC uses Debray-Genette's (1979) division of *avant-texte* into exogenetic and endogenetic material. The first covers writing or notes that draw on books, articles and other sources and inform the work's genesis; the second includes autograph manuscripts, drafts and corrected page proofs which are produced during the composition of the work. GC has also examined the crossover between these two categories, most especially in the case of intertextuality, where words are transferred between the two kinds of *avant-texte*; De Biasi (1996:47) recognizes that "[l]ogically speaking, there is no such thing as a purely exogenetic element: every exogenetic fragment bears the primitive seal of endogenetics". The productive discussion in GC about these terms and the composition of the text's *dossier génétique*, its collection of genetic documents (van Hulle 2008:49–51, 2014:127–241, 2015), should stimulate further enquiry into the distinction introduced into Anglophone translation studies by Toury (1995/2012:213–240; Munday 2013:126, 2014:65) between pre-textual material – drafts or “primary products of norm-regulated behavior” (Toury 1995/2012:88) and extratextual material such as interviews or paratextual commentary, “by-products of the existence and activity of norms” (ibid.).

De Biasi's model identifies a “decisive moment” (1996:37) when the author resolves that a text is *bon à tirer*, ready to pass to press. This marks the transition from manuscript genetics to textual genetics, from the life of the text's private genesis to its public existence as a text, a phase also termed the “epigenesis” (van Hulle 2014:214). Yet the division is complicated when an author continues to rewrite his or her work, which can happen in private, and during or after the publication process. James Joyce offers two classic examples: he made voluminous additions to the text of *Ulysses* when the page proofs were returned to him for correction, and when he rewrote sections of ‘Work in Progress’ after they had been published in transition and then published them in *Finnegans Wake*. Authors may produce a revised edition of the same text or compose it anew in another language, as in the case of self-translation. Yet the translation of a work by a different translator marks a new genesis, that of the translation.

The boundary between manuscript and textual genetics, however, is typically more porous for a translated text, which has a more provisional status during its epigenesis, as it passes backwards and forwards and/or between the hands of translator, corrector, reviser and editor.

Viewed from the point of view of the textual or semiotic system, translation can be said to return a source text to the continuum of writing when that process is reinvigorated by the translator. However, to categorize then the source text as an *avant-texte* of the translation, rendering it in essence a draft of the translation (Scott 2006:107), introduces terminological and theoretical confusion. Exogenetic materials are not sets of signs linked to the text as signifying language, they are not even sources in the usual sense of the term, but *autograph* documents that inform the endogenesis, the text's composition. These processes are not synonymous with intertextuality or the kind of signifying commonly described in post-structuralist theories of text. GC does not seek to invalidate such theories or their insights but rather to focus on the dynamics of writing, the decision-making and strategies of a text's author(s), for which the geneses of source text and translation should be regarded as distinct. This does not preclude stimulating theoretical engagements with GC, such as Samoyault's (2014) invitation to consider a translation as a posterior draft of its source, revealing the fragility of the original.

The relative anonymity of many translators and the absence of publicly recorded statements about their work means that genetic critics often construct a narrative of textual genesis from different forms of evidence. In the absence of extant *avant-textes*, or as a complement to them, or to fill in gaps, descriptive data can be found in the translation's paratexts, a rich source for which are the archives of publishing houses. They typically contain evidence of the contractual and procedural conditions governing a translator's work, and may show the correspondence between one or more of the parties to a translation, including translator, editor, corrector, publisher, lawyer, accountant, author or author's estate. These documents offer rare insights into the material, financial, personal, psychological and institutional constraints under which translators work (Cordingley and Frigau Manning 2016; Hersant 2019; Hartmann

and Hersant 2019; Munday 2014), and may even include evidence that challenges the authority of a published translation (Cordingley 2017).

Publishers' archives allow a more representative picture of translation processes and the status of translators than is possible when accessing one or more archives of an individual translator or by studying the translation papers within the archives of an author who has been translated, for in both these cases materials are collected because of the perceived rarity of the author or translator, his or her particular genius or singularity or endowment with cultural capital. The archives of an individual are, furthermore, likely to have been vetted or self-curated to some extent by the individual author or translator, their estate or even the archivist, therefore compromising the integrity of the archive's representation of translation processes. Be that as it may, if a publisher's archive contains successive versions of a translation, it is likely to reflect latter stages of the translation's genesis – the submitted text, plus its revisions, corrections, page proofs – and not include the translator's notes, rough drafts and aborted versions, which are valuable to the genetic scholar. Today, the facility with which translators blog and post information on the Internet about their work (Dam 2013), sometimes even modifying their published texts after receiving online feedback (Fan 2015), is opening up new avenues for GTS. So too is access to email and other digital archives, including hard drives and cloud storage. This technology presents a new set of challenges with respect to access and conservation, recovery and selection, which will set the agenda for future GTS. It also promises to allow genetic scholars to recognize new patterns of translating, within a single genesis and between multiple geneses, through the processing of larger quantities of data than has been possible.

The evolution of genetic translation studies

The term “genetic translation studies” was introduced to the field in the 2015 issue of *Linguistica Antverpiensia* (Cordingley and Montini 2015a:1), although the idea of using documentary evidence to study the different phases of the translation process had been evoked on earlier

occasions. Within his descriptive translation studies framework, Toury argued in 1995 that studying successive drafts of a translation will “certainly enhance our understanding of the constraints to which translators choose to subject themselves” (1995/2012:218). Like genetic critics, Toury places paramount importance on establishing the correct chronological order of the phases of writing and translation, showing why this can be difficult when working with manuscripts. He laments the paucity of documents available to researchers, and argues that this has contributed to the marginalization of such research in DTS (2015:226). His chapter on Avraham Shlonsky's Hebrew translation of Hamlet's ‘To be or not to be’ monologue uses manuscript evidence of revisions and reformulations to argue that the translator is motivated by a desire to position “his own text in a particular niche of the recipient culture” (ibid.:238). In France, in 1995 – the same year that Toury expressed these views in the first published edition of *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* – a group of scholars associated with the centre for genetic criticism in Paris, the Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes (ITEM), assembled their work on Paul Valéry's translation papers, which they had been studying since the early 1990s, as well as some papers from the first GTS conference at Arles, into a volume entitled *Génétique & Traduction* (Bourjea 1995). Studies that connect these two disciplines have since proliferated, especially in Europe by those affiliated with the Multilinguisme, Traduction, Création group at ITEM; the Centre for Manuscript Genetics in Antwerp, Belgium; and the European Society for Textual Scholarship. GTS has been introduced into Lusophone translation studies by expatriated Europeans Paret-Passos (2011) and Romanelli (2013), continuing the tradition of Brazilian genetic criticism (Ostrower 2009; Salles 1992; Zullar 2000). Special journal issues in GTS have appeared in the fields of genetic criticism (*Manuscritica*, Gama and Amigo Pino 2011; *Genesis*, Durand-Bogaert 2014a; Anokhina and Sciarrino 2018) and Italian studies (*Transalpina*, Agostini and Lavieri 2015). Some monographs in the field have concentrated on the translators of canonical authors, as in Romanelli's (2013) study of Rina Sara Virgillito's Italian translations of Emily Dickinson's poems, which argues that

GTS renders visible the creativity of the translator. Others have focused on self-translators, for whom there may be a wealth of *avant-textes*, as is the case for Samuel Beckett (Sardin 2002; van Hulle 2014). An individual translator is more likely to become the subject of a book-length study when his or her cultural capital is underwritten by that of the author, Guzmán's (2010) study of Gregory Rabassa, translator of Gabriel García Márquez, being a case in point, or when the person is a figure of historical interest. This is the case for the last emperor of Brazil Dom Pedro II, whose notebooks were found to reveal his idiosyncratic and personal translation practice, which reflected his studious cosmopolitanism (Romanelli et al. 2013), one thread within his "multidiscursive mediation", his plural, imbricated professional discourses (Pym 2009:11–13). Anglophone translation studies cognate with GTS studies may situate themselves in a DTS framework, as in Munday's (2013) analysis of David Bellos's translation of a passage by Georges Perec. Venuti similarly had recourse to archival materials when studying Paul Blackburn (Venuti 1995b/2008:194–232) or the production processes that shaped the Don Camillo books at Pellegrini and Cudahy publishers (Venuti 1998a:136–152).

Future directions

GTS forms part of a movement away from impersonal systems-based theories of translation towards those that favour the humanization (Pym 2009) of the translator, seeing translators as not only subjects to forces within larger networks but as humans who act with their own volition and voice. Chesterman (2009) names this subfield 'translator studies' and identifies it with the second and third of his divisions of translation studies into sociological fields: the sociology of translations as products, including their circulation in the marketplace; the sociology of translators – their organization and networks, professional conditions, remuneration, legal status, habitus and attitudes; and the sociology of translating – the translation process. He defines this process research as "the study of the phases of the translation event: translation practices and working procedures, quality control procedures and the revision process, co-operation

in team translation, multiple drafting, relations with other agents including the client, and the like" (ibid.:17). Halverson (2014) notes the convergence between the aims of this politically and ethically motivated concern for the translator and those of socio-cognitive translation studies, which holds that translation and its processes must be understood in terms of the situated cognitive activity of the translator. GTS shares these aims and, while its methods are still being fine-tuned for translated texts, it offers tools for analyzing the post-factum evidence of translation, when it is not possible to observe the translator in real time.

To date, GTS has not amassed the quantity or variety of case studies that would offer a synoptic perspective over a field typical of sociological research. Its sporadic, or rather opportunistic, incursions into different fields of translation have been determined largely by the availability of *avant-textes* to researchers, access to which remains its greatest challenge (Cordingley and Montini 2015; Durand-Bogaert 2014b). These realities have led other scholars, notably Munday (2013, 2014), to adopt a microhistory approach when dealing with similar research questions. Microhistory zooms in on a small section of a larger narrative, often uncovering forgotten or neglected persons, finding in the evidence of the realities of their lived experience a way to understand their relationship to, and the effects of, broader historical discourses. The use of this methodology will need to come to terms, however, with the fact that professional translators typically work within intercultural contexts that are transitory, forming social groups "deprived of great diachronic capital" that "appear to wax and wane in accordance with circumstance" (Pym 2009:43). GTS and microhistory are, nonetheless, complementary methodologies, and both may be used to counter hegemonic narratives that have marginalized or neglected persons, minorities or cultures. While the application of GC to translated texts is a relatively underdeveloped field, it offers a rigorous methodology and a vocabulary for describing processes of textualization by individuals in specific social contexts. It can be combined with other approaches to translation (cognitive, descriptive, sociological, historical) to advance understanding and recognition of translator agency. The growth of translation archives in personal, institutional

and educational contexts is likely to sustain the development of GTS over the coming decades.

See also:

COGNITION; DESCRIPTIVE TRANSLATION STUDIES; HISTORY OF TRANSLATION; HISTORIOGRAPHY; LITERARY TRANSLATION; PROCESS RESEARCH; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Cordingley, A. and C. Montini (eds) (2015) *Towards a Genetics of Translation*, Special issue of *Linguistica Antverpiensia (New Series)* 14.

An up-to-date introduction to the field of genetic translation studies. Includes articles in English, French and Spanish that apply GTS to the translation of literary, musical, audiovisual and online texts and examine the relationship between GTS and translation revision studies.

Deppman, J., D. Ferrer and M. Groden (eds) (2004) *Genetic criticism: Texts and avant-textes*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

The most accessible and representative introduction to literary genetic criticism in English; explains key concepts and includes seminal French texts in English.

Hulle, D. van (2014) *Modern Manuscripts: The extended mind and creative undoing from Darwin to Beckett and beyond*, London: Bloomsbury.

A comprehensive exposition of the methodology of genetic criticism that, while not devoted to translation exclusively, explores multilingual poetics and issues central to a genetic approach to translation.

Scott, C. (2006) 'Translating the Literary: Genetic criticism text theory and poetry', in S. Bassnett and P. Bush (eds) *The translator as Writer*, London: Continuum, 106–117.

A stimulating engagement with genetic criticism from a translation studies perspective.

ANTHONY CORDINGLEY

Globalization

The term globalization has been used to broadly describe the profound nature of changes affecting economies, cultures and societies worldwide

from the late twentieth century onwards (Steger 2017). Giddens has defined globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (1990:64). There are five main features of the globalization era: the growing frequency, volume and intensification of relations linking cultures, commodities, information and peoples across time and space; the increasing capacity of information technologies to compress time and space; the increasing diffusion of routine practices for processing global flows of information, money, commodities and people; the emergence of institutions, such as the World Trade Organization, and social movements to promote, regulate, oversee or reject globalization; the emergence of new types of global consciousness or ideologies of globalism which give expression to new forms of social connectedness described as cosmopolitanism (Beckford 2003:119; Turner and Holton 2016:10). Important geopolitical contexts for the emergence of globalization are the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s and the spectacular emergence of certain Asian economies – Japan, China, South Korea, Singapore – which has led to a fundamental shift in global economic production. Theories of globalization focused initially on economic issues before engaging more broadly with questions around culture and the media and later with the political dimensions of global governance, cosmopolitanism and transnational citizenship (Turner and Holton 2016:4–5).

A global information economy

A central feature of the global economy in the context of intensified relations is that it is informational. At one level, an information economy has been present for decades in the form of mass media, and translation has featured prominently as a factor – if not an acknowledged force – in the dissemination of global news (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). At another, the emergence of digital technologies and ubiquitous computing has transformed the economic landscape. The productivity and competitiveness of firms in the new economic order depends upon their ability to create, process and apply knowledge

efficiently. A further distinct feature of globalization is the networked nature of economic organization which has emerged in late modernity. The central activities of production, consumption and circulation, as well as their components (capital, raw materials, management, information, technology, markets) are organized on a global scale, either directly or through a network of connections between different economic agents operating at national and supranational levels. The importance of the information technology revolution was that through digital tools it provided the material basis for this new economy. Although the history of empires shows that economic activity on a supranational scale is by no means a novelty in human history, the crucial difference with a global economy is that it is able to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale. For the economy to work as a unit in a multilingual world, however, the mediation of translation is necessary. The emergence and exponential growth of the localization industry in the late twentieth century was the most obvious consequence of the translation needs generated by the information economy in the era of global markets.

In terms of the way business is done in a globalized context, there are a number of significant changes that all impact on translation in different ways. The most significant has been the shift from the mass Fordist production of goods with the emphasis on economies of scale to the emphasis on lean production with the focus on added value. This entails using the adaptability of information technology (process flexibility) to adapt to rapidly changing markets (demand flexibility). The principal mode of operation is increasingly small-batch production of goods that remain for a brief a period in warehouses before being transferred to retail outlets. The time-to-market principle means that all stages of the production and consumption process are time-critical, with revenue depending on rapid turnaround and maximum responsiveness to consumer demand. The second major impact has been on the structure of business enterprises, which have moved away from the vertical, highly integrated Big Blue model of the Fordist corporation, to more horizontal, laterally distributed forms of organization. This has entailed a massive recourse to subcontracting on the part of network-based enterprises that seek optimal

adaptability in global markets (Wild and Wild 2013). The third major shift, principally in the developed world, has been an increasing emphasis on promotion rather than production. If the notion of economy is based on the management of scarce resources, attention in a media-saturated world has become the most precious resource of all. One consequence is the monetization of attention, where the attention of consumers is so sought after that they are supplied with services free of charge in exchange for a few moments of their attention. This is, in a sense, what has happened with Google, who provides users with extremely powerful search engines seemingly free of charge. The user's attention (for which advertisers pay) becomes the product that is the mainstay of the Google business model (Bueno 2016). These changing business practices have influenced translation in a number of ways. Lean production and time-to-market principles generate their own translation pressures as they are only effective on a global level if there is language mediation that allows for rapid circulation of goods. This mediation presupposes either the use of a lingua franca or the use of translation services. The changing nature of corporate structures affects the socioeconomic settings of professional translators who are to be found much less often in in-house translation services and much more as freelance translators, often working for language service providers which have subcontracting arrangements with large corporations.

The exponential increase in advertising budgets and the importance of the economics of attention in the digital age has resulted in the localization industry emerging as a key constituent part of contemporary globalized business practices. An important impetus for the growth in localization is the increasing numbers of web users who are non-English speaking and who prefer web content in their own language. The choice of the term localization is often viewed as a way of rendering translation invisible; nevertheless, the scale and vitality of the industry attests to the fact that translation is a core activity underpinning the flow of goods and services in globalized markets (Jiménez-Crespo 2013b). What all these developments point to is the fundamental ambiguity of the role played by translation in the context of globalization. If information is acknowledged to be the basic raw

material of the new global economy and significant economic gains are to be made from the production of goods with a high information content, then not only is language a key factor in the production of that information but language also represents a crucial means in accessing the information. One consequence is that speakers of different languages seek to translate themselves into the language perceived to have the greatest information density. This is the translation movement that ultimately seeks to annul language difference. Another consequence is the increase of pressure on the translation industry to translate ever-increasing volumes of text more and more quickly, precisely because access to information is so important and because the availability of such access is an evidence of a language's ability to function in the modern world and thus remain an important source of symbolic identification. Crowdsourcing has emerged as one way to address translation (and translator) deficits in particular languages (Jiménez-Crespo 2017a). User-generated content offers new opportunities to produce translations where existing supply is inadequate. Nevertheless, the issue of symbolic capital and the digital divide remain particularly acute for speakers of lesser-used languages who are subject to intense competition from heavily resourced major languages (Cronin 2013:64–89).

A particularly relevant example of the importance of globalization for translation is the exponential growth in supranational institutions in the latter half of the twentieth century. In 1909, there were 37 intergovernmental and 176 international non-governmental organizations. In 2017, there were over 37,500 international organizations located in 300 countries and territories (Union of International Associations 2018). The growth in these institutions is seen both as a shift from an exclusive focus on the sovereign nation-state as the locus of governance and as evidence of an increasing awareness of the need to tackle political, military, cultural and ecological issues at a global level. These developments point towards the potential emergence of an embryonic form of global governance, best exemplified in the economic domain by the World Trade Organization (WTO). As these organizations operate in a multilingual world and have, in certain instances (European Union, Amnesty International), multilingualism as a

foundational feature of their internal organization, translation is a key element in their ability to function effectively. Indeed, one of the striking features of the impact of globalization is the manner in which organizations such as Babels – an international network of volunteer interpreters and translators whose main objective is to cover the interpreting and translation needs of the social forums – have emerged. The world social forums brought together groups critical of the political, economic and cultural impacts of globalization. The aim of Babels and similar groupings is to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity as a core value in movements contesting the assimilationist tendencies of hegemonic powers, sustained by economic and military resources. Other not-for-profit groups who see translation as a means of spreading progressive ideas or practices or highlighting instances of oppression across the world include collectives such as Tlaxcala, Translator Brigades and Translators United for Peace.

Mobility and diversity

Another obvious consequence of globalization with implications for translation research has been the phenomenon of inward and outward migration. In 2014, the United Nations Population Division reported that 232 million international migrants were living in the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2014). This figure had risen to 244 million in 2015. Since 1990, the number of international migrants in the global North had increased by around 53 million (65%), while the migrant population in the global South grew by around 24 million (34%). An ageing population in the developed world, the insatiable labour needs of the tertiary sector and the continued presence of warfare and persecution provide a powerful impetus for migratory movements. Migrants not only translate themselves in the physical sense of uprooting themselves from one place and moving to another but they also find themselves having to communicate in another language and culture. The most visible outcome of the impact of migration on translation studies has been the burgeoning of interest in community interpreting (Inghilleri 2017). The very global nature of migration means that the languages spoken by

migrants will no longer generally be the language of a neighbouring nation-state or of an economically disadvantaged region within the nation-state, but will often connect very distant and distinct language groups. Thus, translation in a world of increasingly extended migratory networks brings citizens in a variety of countries into immediate and daily contact with language and cultural difference.

Translation studies in the context of accelerated globalization has shown evidence of a greater attentiveness to questions of the intercultural. This intercultural preoccupation becomes all the more topical in the context of the rise of xenophobic populism which frequently identifies globalization as the primary source of economic inequality and targets migrants as the unwelcome agents of a new economic order (Stiglitz 2017). In this case, as illustrated by the British Conservative Party manifesto in 2015, translation and interpreting services are singled out as unacceptable barriers to integration. Translation becomes a reminder of the presence of the unacceptable other.

The axial features of globalization are classically defined as the emergence of a world economic order, a world political order, cosmopolitan cultures and a global military order (Turner and Holton 2016:5). The world economic order is the post-Fordist, information economy of late modernity. The world political order is the expanding net of international organizations covering the globe. Cosmopolitan cultures are the fruits of intercultural contact in the context of migration. Translation is also intimately bound up with the global military order; Baker (2006), for example, uses narrative theory to explore the implications for translation and translators of their involvement in situations that produce real and often deadly tensions between global ambitions and local realities. Rafael (2016), situating translation in the long history of colonial and postcolonial militarism, points to the increasing importance of translation in the sociologization of war. This phenomenon relates to the changing nature of warfare: conventional armies now face types of insurgency where no clear distinction is made between civilian and non-civilian combatants. Local language and cultural knowledge is believed to be crucial to the success of global counter-insurgency operations but this frequently puts

translators and interpreters in vulnerable and dangerous situations. The incidence of terror attacks in New York, Mumbai, Paris, London, Brussels and Istanbul has led to the emergence of a version of globalization that places primary emphasis not on flows and movement but on borders, surveillance and control. Central to this new securitization paradigm is the importance of translation in making surveillance data intelligible for good or for ill in a multilingual world.

Any consideration of translation and globalization runs the risk of presentism, particularly with respect to the relative neglect of the historical role played by religion, language and translation in the advent of movements of proto-globalization. As Stamatov has shown in *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism* (2013), there is a line of influence, mediated through translation, from antislavery Jesuits in sixteenth-century Spanish colonies to Quakers in eighteenth-century London and New England. Antislavery groups throughout the nineteenth century constituted a global advocacy system that stretched from Europe to Africa and from Asia to the Americas. The role of translation in the globalization of religious belief and practice is not only historically verifiable but continues to be an essential component in the dissemination of religious teachings across all of the world's major religions in the age of digital and satellite technologies.

Future directions

In a fundamental sense, what is repeatedly at stake in the relation between the phenomenon of globalization and translation practices is a tension between what might be loosely labelled centrifugal and centripetal forms of globalization (Pieterse 1995:45–67). On the one hand, there is the centripetal form, the notion of globalization as homogenization implying imperialism, subjection, hegemony, westernization or Americanization. On the other, there is the centrifugal form, suggesting globalization as resulting in interdependence, interpenetration, hybridity, syncretism, creolization and crossover. Thus, if we consider that without the services of dubbers and subtitlers Hollywood dominance of global cinema markets would be inconceivable, we can see translation as the *sine qua non*

of cultural dominance and an agent of centripetal globalization. Conversely, translation can be seen as the quintessential expression of centrifugal globalization if we reflect that it is translation which allows speakers of a language under threat to retain full autonomy in a language of their own choosing, whether this means using software in their own language or taking an active part in public life. The difficulty, of course, is that while these oppositions have a heuristic value, they do not always capture the complexity of specific interactions, as pointed out by Kershaw and Saldanha (2013:135–149). The interest in cosmopolitanism as a form of theory and as a political practice has led scholars to explore how translation might both facilitate transversal flows and the survival and flourishing of diversity in the context of globalized economic practices, forms of governance and movement (or non-movement) of peoples. Translation could hold the key to larger worlds that nonetheless respect the integrity and sustainability of local languages and cultures (Cronin 2006:6–42; Bielsa 2014:392–406). The question of cosmopolitanism becomes more pressing in an age of transnational citizenship where there is a recurrent tension between the normative principles of liberal democracy and the exclusionary practices of nation-states. If citizenship is deemed to be an attribute of descent rather than residence, then translation becomes surplus to requirements such as competence in the language of the host society. On the other hand, if states are to remain open to the concept of citizenship by naturalization, then translation functions both as a means to facilitate that naturalization (integration) and as a way to open the host society to the cultures of incoming citizens and, by extension, the wider world (enlargement).

One of the consequences of globalization for translation studies as a discipline is a greater geographical and institutional spread of research activity, so that scholars from, for example, Brazil, South Africa, Australia, China and Egypt are challenging the dominance of translation research by writers and thinkers from Europe and North America (Wakabayashi 2005; Hermans 2006; Lung 2011; Xu Jun 2017). If globalization is contested as a movement in the twenty-first century it is not only because of opposition to globalized financial capitalism or xenophobic hostility to migrants. It is also

coming under pressure from movements which fear that, while the globe might survive, its human inhabitants might not. The environmental movement, itself a product of a global awareness of ecological crisis, has repeatedly argued for the necessity of creating and promoting resilient forms of production and consumption in everything from food to transport. Translation theorists in different parts of the world have now begun to consider anew the *globe* in globalization and how translation might assist or illuminate the emergence of new forms of planetary solidarity (Kato and Allen 2014; Jiang 2015:135–148; Cronin 2017). In other words, viewing the planet from a distance as a globe suspended in space can blind us to the realities of life on earth and the need to develop locally appropriate, sustainable lifestyles.

See also:

ACTIVISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; HYBRIDITY; LINGUA FRANCA, INTERPRETING (ELF); LINGUA FRANCA, TRANSLATION; LOCALIZATION; MIGRATION, NATIONS AND NATION-BUILDING, NEWS TRANSLATION; POLITICS; WORLD LITERATURE

Further readings

Cronin, M. (2003) *Translation and Globalization*, London & New York: Routledge.

Argues that no theory of globalization is adequate without a theory of translation and explores the consequences of space-time compression for the practice and conceptualization of translation. The concluding chapter looks at the relationship between translation and minority languages in the era of globalization.

Cronin, M. (2017) *Eco-Translation: Translation and ecology in the age of the Anthropocene*, London: Routledge.

Makes a claim for a radical reconsideration of the notion of globalization and translation in the context of human-induced climate change. Proposes moving from a globe-based notion of translation as primarily about global flows and integration to a concept of translation that is primarily earth based and that reconfigures global/local translation relationships in terms of resilience and sustainability. The four areas of investigation are food, technology, interspecies communication and mobility.

Italiano, F. (2016) *Translation and Geography*, London: Routledge.

Argues for the key role of translation in developing models of representation and exchange in proto-globalization developments in earlier centuries. In looking at colonial discourse, travel narratives and poetic expression, Italiano contests the excessive emphasis on the contemporary moment in debates around translation and globalization.

MICHAEL CRONIN

Greek and Roman texts

Translations from ancient Greek and Latin range over the whole spectrum of translation activity and contribute perspectives on most of the key issues in translation studies, as well as related areas such as reception studies and the history of the book. Types of translation strategy range from the most literal (interlinear and cribs), through close translation to creative literary and theatrical adaptations and versions, which transplant the Greek and Roman material across forms and genres. Translations from the ancient languages thus inspire fierce debates about what translation entails. There are some distinctive features that challenge textual scholars and translators alike – the languages are no longer spoken; the corpus of extant texts is (apart from some fragmentary additions) finite; manuscript traditions are sometimes disputed, and some foundational texts, such as Homer's epics, are even more problematic because of their oral composition.

Conceptualizations of translation and transmission have been closely intertwined, resulting in ambivalent attitudes from some classical scholars who may perceive translation as, paradoxically, a lifeline for the texts, *contaminatio* of the ancient sources and a threat to the continuing study of the languages. Access to and appropriation of the texts have been ideologically loaded – in terms of power relations, class, education, gender and ethnicity – and translations have been used to entrench ideas as well as to extend and liberate. Translations have

continuing impact on how Greek and Roman culture is perceived and valued; they provide an important index to critical thought (Armstrong 2005a; Leezenberg 2004) as well as significant insights into how concepts of 'the classical' have developed and changed, including how translation permits and shapes the limitless future life of a text and how the translator becomes an agent of transformation (Lianeri and Zajko 2008:1; Parker and Mathews 2011; Bassnett 2014:169). The major threads in the translation history of Greek and Latin texts also overlap with those relating to texts in other languages and cultures that are similarly perceived as classical, and have implications for wider debates about translation as a cultural process that reveals and illuminates both local and global cultural dynamics (Ngugi 2012:61).

Translation practices and theories relating to Greek and Latin texts increasingly contribute to cross-cultural study in three main ways: comparative analysis of the ethos and trajectories of different civilizations, for example by comparing ways of thinking in ancient Greece and China (Lloyd 2005); analyzing distinctive uses of Greek and Latin material within particular cultural contexts, such as China (Saussy 2010) and South Africa (Parker 2017); and examining cultural interactions by refocusing research on the creation and transmission of the ancient texts themselves (Ready 2018).

Cross-cultural migrations of Greek and Latin texts

The conceptualization and practices of translation in antiquity laid the basis for modern theories of translation as well as for analysis of ancient cultural and epistemological histories. The Greek language was important for the expansion of Roman power and cultural development. Translation and linguistic exchange were part of everyday public and commercial life in the context of the ancient Mediterranean, Near East and North Africa. The Greek language, in particular, was crucial to the expansion of Roman power and cultural development. Translation and transplantation from Greek to Latin influenced the new contexts and were influenced by them. This activity led to debates about word-for-word versus sense-for-sense

translation and about the pragmatics of domestication, strategies for interpretation and the impact of performance requirements, in politics as well as theatre. Sense-for-sense translation was central to the approach developed by Cicero in the first century BCE and was refined for sacred texts by St Jerome in the fourth century CE. The other significant innovation in Roman theory and practice was made by the poet Horace, who turned the focus to the creative impact of translation on the target language (*Ars Poetica* 133–134, first century BCE). Even Schleiermacher's model of preserving the alterity of the source text for the benefit of the target audience was to some extent anticipated in the development of a Roman critical vocabulary for describing different kinds of relationship between Greek texts and their Latin analogues. This vocabulary marked the refinement and development of the notion of transmission into one of rewriting, which included variation, exchange, transfer and transformation. Key terms such as *imitatio* and *aemulatio* indicate the sometimes uneasy relationship between recognition of the authority of the source and the more culturally confident desire for the target text to acquire a status of its own. Latin translations of Greek texts included early versions of Greek plays and of Homer that led to an autonomous Latin literature in which intertextuality supplemented translation as the main aesthetic driver.

In late antiquity and the medieval period, when Latin remained the official language of the Christian church in what had been the western part of the Roman Empire, Christian attitudes to the religious and moral worth of texts reshaped how the texts were interpreted and governed which were most frequently circulated. Also significant was the translation of material housed in Alexandria and other libraries which proved vital in preserving Greek medical, mathematical and philosophical texts. During the Abbasid period – in the second and third centuries of the Hijri calendar, equivalent to the eighth and ninth centuries CE – these were translated into Arabic, sometimes with Syriac as an intermediary language. The work of *Dar El Hikmah* (Wisdom House) in Baghdad was especially important (Etman 2008). Together with those of the twelfth-century Cordovan physician and philosopher Ibn Rushd/Averroes, which were often mediated through Hebrew and Latin

translations, these translations led to the recuperation of Greek science and philosophy and their incorporation into the Early Modern intellectual tradition in Europe during the Renaissance (Etman 2004; Haddour 2008).

The work of the translators into Arabic was essentially scholarly. However, other strands of migratory translation developed through creative work such as the rewriting of Greek and Roman texts by neoclassical dramatists in France. The creative translation of epic became part of the literary traditions in English. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the responses to Virgil by John Dryden (1631–1700) and to Homer by Alexander Pope (1688–1744), respectively, not only contributed to debates about the relationship between the source text and the target language but also became canonical literary works in their own right. Dryden's interest in satire led him to translate Persius and Juvenal from Latin and demonstrated once again the capacity of classical texts to be used as a vehicle for contemporary political critique, a trend already pioneered by Denham (Poole and Maule 1995:xxxvi). Denham saw translation as involving a process similar to alchemy (transfusion), while Dryden's preferred approach was to paraphrase, keeping the author in view but following the words less strictly than the sense. This strategy of paraphrase was less free than imitation but more creative than metaphrase (Hopkins 2008). Dryden's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (1697) was extensively excerpted in the commonplace books of poetry that shaped eighteenth-century tastes. His literary translations directly influenced later poets writing in English, such as Pope, Gray, Byron, Burns, Coleridge, Hopkins, Tennyson and Browning (Reynolds 2011). Dryden's work shows how a web of translation practices includes both domesticating and foreignizing elements and how conceptualizations of these can shift over time. He used previous translations; he absorbed the language of his predecessors – Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton (itself already classicized, Haynes 2003); and in turn influenced practice and aesthetics in both translation and literature, making the boundaries between the two more porous.

The symbiosis between translation and transformation also activates the crossing of boundaries of culture and class and often generates retranslations. For example, Arab translators

influenced the Renaissance in Europe; European tradition reciprocated at the time of the Arab *Nahda* (Awakening, c. 1870–1950), when the impact of classical texts was partly shaped by links with French culture. The increase of French influence in Egypt that followed Napoleon's military incursion led to students and scholars from Egypt working in Paris, and as a result Rifa'a Rafie El Tahtawy (1801–1872) translated Fenelon's *Les Aventures de Telemaque* (1699) into Arabic. Fenelon's work had been inspired by Homer's *Odyssey*. Subsequently, interest in Greek texts that had not been previously translated into Arabic profited from the availability of French translations. These stimulated the work on pan-Mediterranean culture of Taha Hussein, who founded the Classics department at Cairo University in 1925 (Pormann 2006), and led to the translation of the plays of Sophocles into Arabic (1939), which in turn influenced Arab theatre. Since then, four Arabic versions of Sophocles's *Oedipus Tyrannos* have been translated into English (Carlson 2005) and have encouraged the reengagement between Arabic and Anglophone classical scholarship and theatre criticism.

The history of translation into English also maps the history of education and popular culture (Hall 2008; Stead and Hall 2015). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, social, gender and educational barriers were increasingly breached and redefined by the availability of inexpensive popular translations, such as those published by Bohn, Everyman, Penguin and the bilingual Loeb series, and female translators took a more prominent role (Hardwick 2000). In the early twentieth century, the best-selling translations of Greek plays by the Oxford Regius Professor Gilbert Murray also led to commercially successful London theatre productions and to the development of a strong BBC radio broadcast tradition (Wrigley 2005). In the USA, the demands made by undergraduate humanities and what came to be known as 'great books' courses from the 1920s and 1930s onwards created a huge market for translations of Greek and Latin texts, especially epic, drama and historiography (Schein 2007). Translations by scholars such as Richmond Lattimore (1951, 1965) and Robert Fitzgerald (1961, 1974), and by Robert Fagles (1984, 1990, 1996), who collaborated with the classicist Bernard Knox,

subsequently influenced both literary criticism and popular conceptions of the ancient world. E.V. Rieu's prose translations of Homer (1946, 1950) sold millions of copies and were publicized as eroding differences between ancient and modern idiom. Rieu's work made direct speech colloquial, with the unintended result of dating it, and was criticized for losing the 'nobility' that had been attributed to Homer by Matthew Arnold (1860–1861; Hardwick 2000). One of Rieu's readers was Patrick Kavanagh, whose poem 'On Looking into EV Rieu's Homer' (1951) both alluded to the influence of translations on poets who did not know Greek, such as John Keats's 'On Looking into Chapman's Homer' (1817), and by using Homer to link parochial squabbles in rural Ireland with global conflict, also braided into the Irish poetic tradition a sense of affiliation that contributed to the use of close translations of Greek and Latin texts by Michael Longley and Seamus Heaney (Harri-son 2008; Hardwick 2007).

Power relationships and the political and moral agency of translators

The scope and influence of translations of Greek and Latin texts have been significant politically and ideologically, as well as linguistically and theatrically. Because of the historical and cultural status of the ancient languages there is a sense in which even the most powerful target language can be perceived as subaltern. Post-colonial contexts reveal paradoxes in which the appropriation of Greek and Latin literature and ideas that had been embedded in imperial education systems provided counter-texts that challenged political and cultural domination, providing themes and forms for the development of postcolonial debates and of new senses of identity (Budelmann 2005). Appropriations also functioned as catalysts for redefining conceptions of the classical which might then be deployed to challenge indigenous cultural and political elites, for example in nineteenth-century Bengal (Riddiford 2013).

Plasticity of form and religious belief also informed the exchange between west African and Greek myths and theatrical practices, for

example in Soyinka's *The Bacchae of Euripides: A Communion Rite* (1973), Femi Osofisan's *Tegonni: An African Antigone* (1999) and Ola Rotimi's *The Gods Are Not to Blame* (1971), each of which includes close translation alongside linguistic and formal variations from the Greek (Hardwick and Gillespie 2007). South African workshop theatre, in which actors and spectators combine in a transformative experience, has drawn extensively on Greek plays as a source of resistance and reconstruction. A feature of this development has been multilingual translation and performance in which the languages used represent (variously) those normally spoken by the actors and/or those prominent among the audiences. Multilingual translation can also give a voice to oppressed groups, for example by singing choral odes and laments in the vernacular, as in Yael Farber's *Molara*, which also used English-language translations of excerpts from the *Oresteia* tragedy of Aeschylus (Hardwick 2010; Steinmeyer 2017).

In the context of theatre, the term translation also covers the semiotics of performing the play-text – costume, acting style, gesture, movement, masks and make-up, music, soundscape, lighting. Studies of the translation of classical drama have to integrate these aspects into analysis of the conventional but problematic criteria of performability, hence adding a practical dimension to the aesthetics and philology brought to bear on rewriting the source text (Bassnett 2000; Walton 2006). An initial close translation based on the source text may be followed by a play-text prepared by a dramatist, who may not work from or even know the source language. The preparation of the play-text may be interwoven with the rehearsal process and the design and direction by theatre practitioners whose knowledge of the source play and its context of production has been mediated via the theatrical traditions to which they belong. Interestingly, this process does give an extended influence to scholarly translations which are used to mediate the source text, such as Heaney's use of Jebb's late nineteenth-century translations as mediators for *The Cure at Troy: After Sophocles' Philoctetes* in 1990, and for *The Burial at Thebes* in 2004.

New translations also involve overt or covert statements about the capabilities and aspirations of the target language. Examples include the blending of literary Scots, pioneered by Gavin

Douglas in his sixteenth-century translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, with demotic idiom to create a theatrical Scots that aimed to bypass the English language and to link Scottish theatre with the European tradition; the Scottish poet laureate Edwin Morgan's *Phaedra* (2000), which was based on Racine's *Phedre* and thus drew on Seneca's *Phaedra* and Euripides's *Hippolytus*, was written in Glaswegian Scots. In South Africa, different linguistic histories have come together in new translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into Southern African English (SAE) by Whitaker, who judged that the hybrid SAE (which has picked up vocabulary from the regions' many languages, 11 of which are official languages in South Africa) would convey the resonances of the source text better than a translation in standard English, which tends to inflate Homeric institutions and titles. For example, in SAE the Homeric term *basileus* is translated as *chief* rather than *king*. This is both more historically accurate and more attuned to the cultural horizons of readers in South Africa (Whitaker 2003).

Future directions

The traditional authority attached to philological accuracy has been problematized by the influence of translations that have become iconic and may be used without analysis of their sociocultural provenance. The view that a translation should not domesticate the ancient text and its values but should demonstrate strangeness (Venuti 1998a) has been disputed in relation to Greek and Latin texts. A major criticism is that demonstrating strangeness usually involves archaizing the receiving language and therefore imports into the new text historic hegemonic values of the receiving society, with possible mistaken alignment between those and the values inscribed in the ancient text. These distorting effects have been exposed by Wilson in her translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, in which she notes how the misogyny and patriarchy of earlier translations transformed Homer's account of the hanging of the maids on Odysseus's return to Ithaca by characterizing them as sluts or whores, whereas the Greek text makes no such judgement and presents the maids as slaves. Wilson's intervention not only exposes how Victorian (and later) translators

exculpated the action described in Homer's text by attributing moral blame to the maids but also complicates Homer by showing that the serving women were slaves to be used and killed at will by dominant males (Wilson 2017:90–91). The underlying issues of the ethics of translation cover a broader remit and challenge any sense that a translator must be welcoming or submissive to ideological elements, whether in the source text or in mediating translations (Theodorakopoulos 2019). Recognition of these aspects of the agency of the translator increases the importance of para-material in translation analysis.

The translation of Greek and Latin texts continues to be a means of negotiating intellectual, aesthetic and cultural status and of practising realignments (Johnston 2007). Its histories demonstrate how rigidly polarized models of alterity and domestication in the treatment of Greek and Latin texts need to be refined in order to take into account the fluidity and contingency of the interactions between translation and cultural practices. Because of the richness of its comparative material, translation analysis of the histories of Greek and Roman texts not only provides an index of scholarly trends but also maps symbiotic relationships with literary and theatrical creativity and with political and ideological shifts. The global role of these translations provides cultural as well as temporal genealogies.

See also:

ADAPTATION; HISTORY OF TRANSLATION; ORALITY; REWRITING; STRATEGIES

Further reading

Bassnett, S. (2014) *Translation*, New York: Routledge.

Shows how translations from Greek and Latin have been integrated into translation studies scholarship.

France, P. (ed.) (2000) *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Includes essays on the translation histories of the main Greek and Latin authors, with useful material on translations from other languages.

Hardwick, L. (2000) *Translating Words, Translating Cultures*, London: Duckworth.

Explores the history of translation and adaptation of Greek and Roman texts and includes case studies discussing the relationship with classical traditions, gender and new writing in postcolonial contexts.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2012) *Globalectics: Theory and the politics of knowing*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Provides a global context in which to situate problematic aspects of the histories of translation of Greek and Latin texts.

LORNA HARDWICK



Healthcare interpreting

Healthcare interpreting is an umbrella term encompassing the set of signed and spoken-language interpreting activities that take place in healthcare settings to support bilingual health communication (Hsieh 2016). As a subfield of community and dialogue interpreting, interpreter-mediated healthcare encounters have attracted interest since the late 1990s, following the increase in demand for professionalization through accreditation and training (Harris 1997) and the need to provide a theoretical underpinning to a fast-developing field of research.

Medical interpreting and hospital interpreting are used interchangeably in the literature to refer to the same activity (Mikkelsen 2009; Tipton and Furmanek 2016). The former term has a longer history (Angelelli 2004; Roat and Crezee 2015); the latter is more restrictive in scope and does not fully capture the variety of communicative scenarios in which interpreters operate. The term healthcare interpreting encompasses a broader range of health-related interpreting activities, just as legal interpreting is a more comprehensive category than court interpreting (Hsieh 2016).

Healthcare interpreting is situated within a larger communicative event, namely patient-provider communication, which is generally understood as an exchange between a medical expert (doctor) and a patient, but that may also involve other types of healthcare practitioners, such as nurses, physiotherapists and speech pathologists, and occasionally administrative staff (Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2007). It thus covers communicative situations that unfold not only in hospital wards and clinics, but also in public health departments, consulting rooms

and patients' homes, community, mental health centres, health tourism, in-patient and out-patient departments, emergency rooms, urgent care units, private and rural clinics, primary and specialty care, pharmacy, rehabilitation and school-based clinics (Tebble 1999; Roat and Crezee 2015; Tipton and Furmanek 2016).

Research has shown that non-societal (Angelelli 2014a) or language-discordant (Hsieh 2016) speakers – patients who do not share the same language as the healthcare provider – may experience significant health disparities in terms of access to and quality of healthcare if communication is impeded by language barriers (Jacobs et al. 2006; Flores 2005; Smedley et al. 2003; Mladovsky et al. 2012; Squires and Jacobs 2016; Suurmond et al. 2016). Poor healthcare communication has been found to lead, for instance, to erroneous diagnoses (Quan and Lynch 2010) or incorrect use of medication (Divi et al. 2007). More importantly, providing “systemic and systematic language access” (Roat and Crezee 2015:238) in healthcare is a fundamental human right and one of the main drivers of social justice, fairness and equality. The status and recognition of the healthcare interpreting profession, however, varies greatly both across and within countries (Angelelli 2004; Hale 2007; Arocha 2009; Pöchhacker 2007b). Studies carried out in different healthcare settings have shown that this challenging activity is performed by agents with varying degrees of professionalism, from trained interpreters to intercultural mediators and ad hoc interpreters such as family members, friends, volunteers, other patients and bilingual staff (Burdeus Domingo and Arumí Ribas 2013; Gray and Hardt 2017; der Rijken et al. 2015; Meyer et al. 2010a). In the different scenarios in which they may work, interpreters' tasks may include a range of activities additional to translating, such as filling in forms, sight translating letters or making notes in the foreign language,

making phone calls, clarifying potential cultural misunderstandings and handling direct questions from one of the parties (Hatton 1992). The mode used to deliver this service may also vary, from on-site bilateral interpreting, carried out in consecutive (dialogic) and/or simultaneous (whispered) mode, to various forms of distance interpreting, which include telephone and video-mediated interpreting.

With the exception of a number of pioneering countries such as Canada, USA, UK and Sweden, which have supported the professionalization and institutionalization of healthcare interpreting early on via relevant legislation and training (Chesher 1997; Niska 2007; Ozolins 2000), there are still relatively few specific regulations or documents that lay down the needs and principles of interpreting in medical settings (Ertl and Pöllabauer 2010; González Núñez 2013). Lack of knowledge about language rights, increasing difficulty to meet the needs of less dominant languages, and prevailing sociopolitical attitudes towards the provision of healthcare interpreting as an additional cost (Garrett 2009), accompanied by widespread cuts in public policy funding for interpreting services, are among the country-specific factors that have led to the current heterogeneous situation. As a consequence, the qualifications and training offered as well as the competences and skills required for working in this field also vary greatly (Tebble 1998; Hale 2012; Roat and Crezee 2015).

Research themes

Healthcare interpreting is a unique communicative situation that is positioned at the crossroads of medicine, health and interpersonal communication, cross-cultural healthcare and medical sociology. As a field of research, it has received attention from a variety of disciplines, which have addressed specific concerns through different conceptual and methodological lenses. This has resulted in a large body of increasingly interdisciplinary, evidence-based studies concerned with different yet complementary dimensions of healthcare interpreting. All studies are ultimately concerned with the link between language access and quality of care: while researchers from the medical field have mostly looked at the clinical and institutional or

organizational impact of healthcare interpreting, researchers from interpreting studies and more broadly those with an interest in cross-cultural healthcare communication have focused on the actual process of healthcare interpreting and the unfolding interaction.

A substantial body of studies has reviewed and evaluated practices for the provision of healthcare interpreting in different institutions, focusing on attitudes and preferences with respect to the type of interpreters and modes used in different scenarios and on the reasons driving such choices. There is evidence that the use of professional healthcare interpreting services has the potential to improve comprehension, clinical outcomes and patient satisfaction (Flores et al. 2003, Flores 2005; Karliner et al. 2007) while reducing costs for service providers (Hampers and McNulty 2002; Jacobs et al. 2004; Bernstein et al. 2002). Using untrained interpreters may lead to increased risk of medical errors, poor health outcomes and compromised patient privacy (Abraham and Fiola 2006; Kaur et al. 2014; Diamond et al. 2009; Jacobs et al. 2004; Flores 2005). Nonetheless, several studies have highlighted why lay interpreters may be preferable at times over professional ones (G. Ho 2008; Bischoff and Hudelson 2010; Meeuwesen et al. 2011; Bot 2013; Meyer et al. 2010b), for instance due to time constraints and ease of access, low budgets and lack of guidance (Arocha 2009; Gill et al. 2009; Jacobs et al. 2004; Hudelson and Vilpert 2009) or for reasons of trust (Zendedel et al. 2018). Practices were also found to vary in relation to different types of clinical contact, with family members, friends or other patients more commonly acting as interpreters with physicians at admissions stage rather than, for instance, in interaction with nurses (Schenker et al. 2011).

Some studies have examined alternatives to on-site interpreting (Azarmina and Wallace 2005; Locatis et al. 2010; Crossman et al. 2007; Gany et al. 2007; Price et al. 2012; Burkle et al. 2017). Telephone interpreting is widespread but has not always proved an effective way of delivering healthcare at short notice while cutting costs (Pointon 1996; Cunningham et al. 2008; Garcia et al. 2004). Video-mediated interpreting was found to increase access to professional interpreters without necessarily compromising quality, and is thus preferred to on-site lay interpreting (Lion et al. 2015; Jacobs et al. 2012).

However, video-mediated interpreting seems to make it more difficult to convey cultural nuances than face-to-face interpreting (Nápoles et al. 2010). In both cases, telephone and video-mediated interpreting, there is evidence of an increased sense of isolation and distrust compared to on-site interpreting (Wilson 2013).

An important line of research has examined the communicative process and dynamics of healthcare interpreting, mostly using qualitative methods such as interviews and analyses of transcribed recorded interaction. Some studies have found evidence that ad hoc interpreters are likely to edit information and impose their own agenda during the medical encounter (Aranguri et al. 2006; Rosenberg et al. 2007; Leanza et al. 2010), thus raising doubts as to whether they are expressing their own or their patients' wishes (Rosenberg et al. 2007; Hsieh 2015). Other studies have highlighted advantages of relying on lay healthcare interpreters, such as increased patients' trust on the basis of long-standing relationships and belief that lay interpreters can act as advocates for the patients and protect their interests (Meyer and Bührig 2004; Edwards et al. 2005; Green et al. 2005; Greenhalgh et al. 2006; Robb and Greenhalgh 2006).

This body of research has also provided insights into one of the most thorny issues in healthcare interpreting, namely the debate over the scope and fluidity of the interpreter's role and the implications of different interactional moves on the outcome of patient-provider communication (Pöschhacker and Shlesinger 2002, 2007). In particular, studies have identified a discrepancy between the traditional conceptualization of interpreters as language conduits, which assumes non-involvement and neutrality (Cox 2015; Dysart-Gale 2005), and the agency that emerges from the interpreters' own narrative and practice and points to their active participation and impact on participation dynamics (Angelelli 2008b), the fluid and dynamic nature of their role, and their constant shifting between translation, coordination and intercultural mediation (Angelelli 2004; Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Metzger 1999; Roy 2000). Interpreters have been found to perform different, at times contradictory, roles (Angelelli 2004; Cox 2015; Hsieh 2006, 2008; McDowell et al. 2011) and to oscillate along a continuum in order to reconcile different realities (Brisset et al. 2013; Merlini and

Favaron 2005), at times operating as (more or less covert) co-diagnosticians (Hsieh 2007, 2016; Mudarikiri 2003) or institutional gatekeepers (B. Davidson 2000, 2001), and at other times as advocates, caregivers or cultural brokers (Green et al. 2005; Leanza et al. 2010; Rosenberg et al. 2008).

A number of studies have proposed different tiers of interpreter participation (Bot 2005), suggesting that these can be placed on a continuum or a tiered pyramid from translator, clarifier, cultural broker to advocate (Niska 2002; Leanza 2007; Sleptsova et al. 2014; Bot and Verrept 2013). Such frameworks attempt to account for interpreters' self-perception of their own role and responsibilities, which is influenced by their level of training and understanding of the communicative goal of the encounter; they also attempt to account for the perceptions of other participants in the interaction, which are driven by their specific needs and expectations. The resulting tension leads to conflicting views about how an interpreter should behave during a medical interaction. End users' perceptions and interpreters' self-perceptions of their role and functions are thus an important thematic line of research, which is mostly pursued through surveys, focus groups and interviews (Leanza 2007; Salaets and Van Gucht 2008; Rudvin and Tomassini 2008; Pöschhacker 2000a; Angelelli 2004; Barron et al. 2010). Fewer studies have accounted for the patients' perspective, which might differ from the perspective of healthcare providers and interpreters (Hadziabdic et al. 2014).

Studies that investigate interaction as it unfolds and examine interpreter behaviour at the micro-analytical level provide more concrete evidence of interpreters' shifting roles and reveal the complexities of mediated communication (Pöschhacker and Kadric 1999), including how conflict is resolved or otherwise (Farini 2008). Despite the generally restricted set of data they build on, these studies have shown that trust is key to rapport building and successful communication in healthcare interpreting, and that power inequalities inherent in healthcare communication give rise to serious ethical dilemmas (Robb and Greenhalgh 2006; Hadziabdic et al. 2009; MacFarlane et al. 2009; Hsieh et al. 2010).

Empirical and bottom-up approaches based on descriptive analysis of naturally occurring

recorded data have highlighted a variety of discursive practices adopted by interpreters to manage dialogic interaction. Interpreter behaviour has been explored mostly through the lenses of conversation analysis (Baraldi and Gavioli 2014; Gavioli 2012, 2015a; Raymond 2014), discourse analysis (Bot 2007; Cambridge 1999), pragmatics (Merlini 2013) and systemic-functional linguistics (Tebble 1999). The findings confirm that interpreters exercise influence over the power dynamics of the event (Pope et al. 2016) by virtue of their access to both languages (Greenhalgh et al. 2006; Rosenberg et al. 2007; Hsieh 2010). Their discursive moves strategically co-construct the interaction and shape the communicative event on a moment-by-moment basis, with different repercussions on the unfolding interaction and on the sharing of relevant knowledge (Merlini 2005; Raymond 2014). On the one hand, despite representing a breach of interpreting norms, expanded renditions, minimal responses, reported speech and other coordinating activities can promote affective support and dialogic transformative mediation (Baraldi 2009; Baraldi and Gavioli 2012a). On the other hand, interpreters have been found to play an active part in history-taking and other stages of the diagnostic process by filtering and controlling what information is relayed according to their own understanding of the interactional goals of the encounter and evaluation of the social and medical relevance of the patient's contribution (Bolden 2000; B. Davidson 2000; Farini 2013; Rivadeneyra et al. 2000). By doing so, interpreters align with health providers' priorities and privilege their normative expectation of eliciting objective data, at the expense of conveying patients' sociopsychological concerns. In other cases, interpreters have been found to start dyadic sequences – for instance, to discuss something with patients without involving doctors in the conversation – in a way that leads to the exclusion of the institutional party (Meeuwesen et al. 2010; Pasquandrea 2011).

Another strand of research has drawn on multimodality to gain a more holistic understanding of interpreter-mediated interaction by integrating the analysis of verbal and embodied behaviour. The focus of these studies ranges from doctor-patient encounters (Pasquandrea 2011, 2012; Ticca 2008, 2010; Krystallidou 2012,

2014; Krystallidou and Pye 2018) to psychotherapeutic (Wadensjö 2001; Vranjes et al. 2018), mental health (Bot 2005) and dementia evaluation settings (Plejert and Majlesi 2016). This body of research complements the analysis of verbal behaviour through the integration of additional resources such as gesture and proxemics, and the impact of seating arrangement and relative position of participants on mutual gaze and handling of artefacts. Methodologically, these studies have relied on different multimodal research traditions to conduct their analyses, including multimodal conversation analysis (Pasquandrea 2011, 2012; Ticca 2008; Plejert and Majlesi 2016) and Poyatos's tripartite model of multichannel communication (Miletich 2015). Other studies have integrated embodied cues within a discourse analytical framework (Wadensjö 2001) or adopted a mixed approach. For example, Bot (2005) integrates fine-grained discourse analysis with interviews and concept maps, and Vranjes et al. (2018) use multifocal eye tracking to investigate gaze direction as an active communicative signal. Insights gained from these studies have shed light on the implications of interpreters' engagement/disengagement and inclusion/exclusion of primary parties and the impact of specific spatial configurations on the dynamics of the unfolding interaction (Pokorn 2017).

In terms of the training and assessment of healthcare interpreters, research has built on the findings of empirical studies to develop guidelines for addressing challenges specific to this type of interaction (Angelelli 2007; De Pedro Ricoy 2010), including managing role shifts and adjustments at different stages of the encounter (Tebble 2014), as well as resolving ethical dilemmas. Methodologically, pedagogical studies have largely relied on role-play simulations of authentic scenarios (Valero-Garcés 2008), though some are now based on the observation of naturally occurring data (Davitti and Pasquandrea 2014).

Future directions

Looking ahead, increasing cooperation across the fields of medicine and interpreting studies is needed to address stakeholders' concerns from different yet complementary angles. Effective interpreting cannot be defined only in relation

to accuracy of translation, but must be understood as a shared responsibility (Ozolins and Hale 2009; Fatahi et al. 2008). This requires dialogue and collaboration among all the parties involved.

Healthcare interpreting is situated within a structured organizational context, where language assistance services are expected to be responsive to specific obligations and constraints. Examining organizational behaviour and processes of decision-making is therefore a potential strand of research that can contribute to integrating healthcare interpreting within institutional structures (Greenhalgh et al. 2007; Zhu 2015). More studies also need to critique established norms and codes of conduct with a view to achieving better alignment of research and practice (Angelelli 2006; Merlini and Favaron 2009). Training similarly needs to adjust to the realities of healthcare interpreting, and to cater for different specializations within the field; increased differentiation of healthcare interpreters' profiles can allow them to better serve the needs of different stakeholders in the specific contexts in which they operate.

Technological developments have impacted the provision of healthcare interpreting, as they have other areas of professional practice. The introduction of remote telephone and video interpreting has implications for how the interaction unfolds in different settings. Existing studies that engage with this dimension have mostly been conducted by medical service providers and outsiders to the interpreting field. This type of research puts the emphasis on client satisfaction and tends to offer mostly positive results. At the same time, empirical research on this mode of interpreting conducted in legal settings has yielded quite different, more negative findings. Research on patterns of communicative behaviour and how they are affected by the impact of new delivery modes in the more collaborative environment of healthcare communication is therefore a promising avenue for future research.

See also:

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; MULTIMODALITY; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; ROLE; TECHNOLOGY, INTERPRETING

Further reading

Davidson, B. (2000) 'The Interpreter as Institutional Gatekeeper: The social-linguistic role of interpreters in Spanish-English medical discourse', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4(3): 379–405.

A pioneering study that reveals the institutional gatekeeping role of healthcare interpreters in crosslinguistic and cross-cultural medical interviews in the United States.

Gavioli, L. (2015) 'On the Distribution of Responsibilities in Treating Critical Issues in Interpreter-mediated Medical Consultations: The case of "le spieghi(amo)"', *Journal of Pragmatics* 76: 169–180.

Offers an empirical, bottom-up analysis of sequences of bilingual mediated interaction with migrant patients in Italian healthcare settings, highlighting the complex distribution of epistemic rights and responsibilities between doctors and interpreters.

Hsieh, E. (2016) *Bilingual Health Communication. Working with interpreters in cross-cultural care*, London: Routledge.

Outlines an interdisciplinary theoretical framework to account for bilingual healthcare encounters, highlighting the interactive and coordinated nature of interpreter-mediated dialogue in these settings through analysis and triangulation of a variety of data sets, including observation of recorded interaction, interviews and survey analysis.

Pöschhacker, F. and M. Shlesinger (2007) *Healthcare Interpreting. Discourse and interaction*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.

The first collection of research articles on healthcare interpreting, covering a range of settings, specialties and language pairs; demonstrates how different interpreter profiles can impact the unfolding communication and the quality and effectiveness of patient-healthcare provider interaction.

ELENA DAVITTI

Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is the discipline concerned with understanding and explicating texts that are not not immediately intelligible. It operates in

the first instance within a given tradition, when the accidents of time and change have rendered access to the meaning of texts problematic and in need of interpretation and clarification. It can also be applied across languages and cultures. Viewing translation in relation to hermeneutics highlights the contiguity of intra- and interlingual translating as the negotiation of difference and otherness. As an interpretive practice translation is framed by hermeneutic concerns.

Hermeneutics takes its name from ancient Greek mythology, in which the god Hermes ran messages between the gods and between gods and mortals. To carry out his task Hermes needed to be able to translate between the divine and the human orders. The ancient Greek verb *hermeneuein*, which resonates with the name Hermes and from which the word hermeneutics derives, means to interpret, explain, narrate, clarify, translate. Its Latin counterpart *interpretari* likewise means to interpret and elucidate.

The historical development of hermeneutics in Europe and the Middle East is rooted in the separate disciplines of exegesis and philology. Exegesis deals primarily with canonical and sacred texts, especially the scriptures. There is a long and rich Jewish tradition of kabbalistic readings of the Bible; the readings tease out as many meanings as possible from a text that is regarded as divine revelation and therefore as harbouring infinite semantic potential. Christianity, too, developed sophisticated ways of interpreting the Bible, and the early Church discerned several levels of meaning in it (most commonly four: literal, figural, anagogical and eschatological). The Muslim world has an equally rich tradition of Qur'anic exegesis. Philology, a secular discipline, came into its own in Early Modern Europe as part of the Humanist engagement with ancient Latin and Greek texts. These texts, often transmitted in damaged or corrupt manuscripts, were collated and studied in order to establish not only their meaning but also their authenticity. Their interpretation called for detailed knowledge of the relevant language and historical context. In a celebrated case, the Italian Humanist Lorenzo Valla used philological arguments to prove that the so-called Donation of Constantine, which purported to be a fourth-century imperial decree granting substantial secular powers to the Pope, was in fact a medieval forgery (Lorch 1988:333).

The Romantic turn

Modern hermeneutics begins in the Romantic period with the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher. Among the major names since then are Wilhelm Dilthey, Martin Heidegger, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Paul Ricoeur and Jacques Derrida. All have dealt with questions of translation, sometimes in considerable and illuminating detail.

Before Schleiermacher, several thinkers had reflected on the general principles of textual interpretation and explication. In Early Modern Europe, the theory of translation tended to be subsumed under these headings. This was the case, for instance, with Lawrence Humphrey's *Interpretatio linguarum* (1559) and Pierre Daniel Huet's *De optimo genere interpretandi* (1661, 1683; DeLater 2002). In the eighteenth century, Johann Martin Chladenius presented perhaps the most thorough account of hermeneutics until then. His *Einleitung zur richtigen Auslegung vernünftiger Reden und Schriften* (Introduction to the Correct Interpretation of Rational Discourses and Writings, 1742/1969) held, in line with Enlightenment ideas, that while understanding required knowledge and practical skill, for example in comparing different viewpoints, it was not fundamentally problematic, provided both speaker and interpreter were led by common sense or reason. The hermeneutic task consisted in removing obstacles of language, genre, perspective or historical distance so as to allow a full and clear view of the meaning of a text. That such a view could be achieved was not in doubt.

The Romantic conception of language changed all that. For the Romantics, language was constitutive of thought. Different languages, with their different conceptual and grammatical structures, embodied different ways of perceiving and organizing the world. As a result, understanding and translating others became fundamentally problematic. The key contribution linking the Romantic philosophy of language with a theory of hermeneutics and translation was made by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), who worked on the subject for decades without gathering his notes into a book (he composed a book-length manuscript at one point, but lost it). For Schleiermacher hermeneutics, as the art of understanding, applies to all verbal communication.

Understanding must be actively sought because we can never take it for granted that we have grasped another person's meaning fully or correctly. In this sense, as Schleiermacher stresses repeatedly, understanding is an unending task (2012:219, 378, 424, 467). Understanding remains problematic because language and thought are not only interdependent but also highly individual. Works of art in particular are expressions of creative selfhood which shape the language in which they are conceived as much as they are shaped by it. To grasp the singular genius of creative authors, one must know the language they had at their disposal and gauge how they moulded it, even awakening meanings the authors themselves may have been unaware of. The differences between languages, and historical and cultural distance, compound the problem because languages change and cross-lingual synonymy does not exist. In his writings on dialectics and psychology Schleiermacher put it starkly: "No knowledge in two languages can be regarded as completely the same; not even . . . A=A" (2002a, Vol. 1:98). The words for 'and' in German, Latin and Greek are not equivalent because they have different usages (1862:173). In his 1813 lecture on translation, he remarks in the same vein that not even the words for 'God' and 'to be' are the same across languages (2002b:89; 1813/2012a:60).

On a practical level Schleiermacher divides hermeneutics into grammatical and technical (subsequently called psychological) interpretation. The former is concerned with existing linguistic structures, the latter with the sovereign transformative power of individual creative thought. The two forms of interpretation operate together and are supplemented by comparison and speculation, the former an exercise in criticism, the latter an imaginative leap into the author's subjectivity. By thus contextualizing the individual utterance both as a product of a given language and as a moment in a life, the interpreter can strive ultimately to understand an utterance even more fully than its original author did (2012:128). This type of interpretation requires continual movement back and forth between individual parts of a discourse and the discourse as a whole, and between textual detail and biographical and historical context. This interpretive to and fro became known subsequently as the hermeneutic circle.

Schleiermacher's 1813 lecture 'On the Different Methods of Translating' is an offshoot of his hermeneutic concerns (Berman 1984/1992). It is informed by the two kinds of interpretation mentioned above and locates the difficulty of translation in ineradicable difference. Translators must seek to articulate, by means of their own language and in mimetic form, the specific but inevitably partial understanding that they, as outsiders, have reached in engaging with an author writing in a different tongue, a tongue that encapsulates a different lifeworld and is being handled in a uniquely individual manner. The form that this articulation takes is neither a matter of bringing the foreign author to the reader nor of taking the reader to the foreign author. Rather, translators should enable their readers to occupy the position they themselves occupy, the position being that of someone who has glimpsed the foreignness of the foreign, who has, as it were, peered over the fence into the foreign world (1813/2012:49; Hermans 2015, 2019).

Modern hermeneutics

If Schleiermacher marks the Romantic break with the Enlightenment, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) wrote at a time when positivism provided the model of the sciences. He is best known today for the distinction he made between the aims of the natural and the human sciences. Whereas the former seek explanation, the latter pursue understanding. This understanding is concerned with history, which does not repeat itself, and with unique creations, which are expressions of lived experience. Indeed, for Dilthey the act of understanding itself is lived experience in a historical context. Hermeneutics thus begins to shift from a theory of knowledge, an epistemology, to a theory of being, an ontology (Ricoeur 1981:53–54). "Tell me what you think of translation and I will tell you who you are", the philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) observed in an essay on the poet Friedrich Hölderlin (1942/1996:63), confirming the ontological dimension of the new philosophical hermeneutics. Heidegger's attempt to rethink western metaphysics led him to question the imposition, ever since Greek philosophy, of overarching schemes on pre-reflexive thought and language. Language for

Heidegger is even more fundamental than for his predecessors. It has the power to open up the world and point to the totality of existence or 'Being'. The meaning of a text consequently exceeds any authorial intention.

Much of Heidegger's own work, like Jacques Derrida's later practice, is grafted on existing texts and seeks to uncover what remains unsaid and unthought in them. It does this by patiently and sometimes idiosyncratically tracing their presuppositions and limits, their incompleteness, the ground that underpins but is not part of the logic they display. When this listening to the speaking of the language itself is verbalized in critique or translation, it requires the reporting language to be stretched and may even provide access to its own unthought. Heidegger's translations of isolated philosophical fragments by ancient pre-Socratic Greek thinkers like Anaximander, Heraclitus and others (Heidegger 1975) are extraordinary exercises, extensive meditations that incorporate repeated and increasingly radical attempts at translation, going beyond dictionaries and philology in trying to reach the thought that preceded the verbal articulation, and, when translating, pushing his own German to the limits of intelligibility.

Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002) also regards language as the distinctive human characteristic, but he is concerned less with metaphysics than with methodology. Gadamer highlights the dialectic of participation and distancing that marks the effort to understand, and stresses the historicity of the interpreter who is confronted with the otherness of the data to be interpreted, even though the latter are part of a historical continuum that comprises the interpreter as well. Being exposed to history is the precondition for understanding but makes self-understanding problematic. While it prevents a globalizing view from above, it permits a fusion of horizons, the always provisional and hard-won meeting of minds at the intersection between the familiar and the alien. This explains Gadamer's invocation of translation as illuminating the hermeneutic endeavour, since "from the structure of translation [is] indicated the general problem of making what is alien our own" (Gadamer 1977:19). In the pages devoted to translation in his major work, *Truth and Method* (1960/1989), Gadamer stresses that translation cannot be a reproduction of an original, it can

only be an interpretation reflecting both empathy and distance (ibid.:385–390).

More than any other writer on hermeneutics, Gadamer influenced theorists and critics of translation, notably George Steiner. Steiner too has asserted "the primacy of the matter of translation" in all cross-cultural comparative work (1995:11) and he thinks of translation as operating both within and across languages. In his major work, *After Babel*, he recast the idea of fidelity in translation in terms of a "hermeneutic motion" consisting of four steps (1975/1992:296–303): initial trust that the foreign text has something valuable to communicate, then an aggressive move of incursion into the alien territory and extraction of meaning from it, followed by incorporation of new material into the receiving language, and finally the satisfaction that the original, too, has been enhanced by being translated. In Germany Fritz Paepcke (1916–1990) also took his cue from Gadamer. His analyses (Paepcke 1986) favoured a holistic rather than a linguistic or analytical approach. If for Gadamer conversation was the archetypal hermeneutic model, Paepcke stressed translation as a personal encounter which called for the translator's emotional and physical as well as intellectual investment, an idea that would be elaborated in terms of somatics in Douglas Robinson's *The Translator's Turn* (1991). Radegundis Stolze (2003) has systematized Paepcke's ideas, while highlighting his holistic approach to texts.

The dialogical principle informing Gadamer's hermeneutics led Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005) to posit that the self only knows itself through the other. Rather than viewing translation as something that happens between texts, Ricoeur sees it as a personal encounter between a Self and an Other. But whereas spoken conversation may provide a model for direct understanding as grasping the meaning a physically present interlocutor intends to convey, written texts are typically divorced from such originary intentions and contexts. This is what makes both translation and interpretation difficult. Ricoeur (2004/2006) stresses that translation has to labour to overcome resistance: that of the original, which cannot be grasped in its entirety and thus defies translation, and that of the receiving language, which cannot hope for a perfect rendering. Yet he also dismisses the twin utopias that would overcome translation: that of an original language which can never be recovered at all, and that of a

universal language which remains forever to be devised. Instead, Ricoeur celebrates the myth of Babel as symbolizing diversity. This allows him to make translation the paradigm of what he calls linguistic hospitality, the site where similarity across languages and cultures is constructed rather than found and where the host language opens itself up to welcome and accommodate the foreign.

The deconstructive practice of Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) is perhaps best described as a hermeneutics of suspicion. Derrida shares Heidegger's scepticism regarding the western metaphysical tradition and its vocabulary, including its two vital translation moments, namely the creation of a philosophical terminology in ancient Greek, and then its transportation into Latin. Like Heidegger, Derrida explores translation not by trying to dominate it through theorizing from above but by close engagement with the practice of translation. His two most incisive essays on translation (Derrida 1985 and 1998/2012) both start by demonstrating the aporia that ensues if we conceive of translation as transfer of meaning. Both go on to suggest that insight into what translation is will come not from general theorizing but from an exercise in practical translating. His 1985 essay 'Des tours de Babel' (the English version leaves the title unchanged) continues by translating, in highly ironic and expansive vein, Walter Benjamin's 'The Task of the Translator' of 1923, a reflection on translation that rejects the idea of translation as the reproduction of meaning. The 1998 lecture 'What is a "Relevant" Translation' goes on to read Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* as a play about translation, before offering a transgressive rendering of a key line from it, suggesting that the limits of translation become visible only when they are exceeded (Derrida 1998/2012). Both essays can be read as conceptually liberating: they challenge conventional understandings of translation by engaging in practices that are clearly translational but that go well beyond routine interlingual translation. Elsewhere Derrida has explored, in patient detail, the double bind of translation as both impossible and necessary (1982:104; 1996/1998:56–57). No other contemporary thinker has lavished such attention on the eminently hermeneutical problems and paradoxes of language, meaning and translation.

The uses of hermeneutics

If hermeneutics concerns the process of gaining understanding of another person's utterance and the verbalization, in the form of explication, of the understanding gained, translation involves both of these and, additionally, the requirement to verbalize one's understanding in another idiom and by means of a broadly mimetic form, i.e. one that exhibits relevant similarity with the source utterance. This is what enables translations to function as representations of their source texts. Several things follow from this. An approach to translation informed by hermeneutics recognizes that every translation embodies an interpretation of the source text. The interpretation as laid down in a translation is open for inspection, as is the source text itself, and a researcher may be able to compare interpretations in light of the particular relation between original and translation that the practice of translation tends to establish. To this modern hermeneutics has added an emphasis on the observer's own assumptions and conditioning. It can make researchers aware of the provisionality of their interpretations and suggest caution in handling possible discrepancies between existing interpretations and their own.

A hermeneutic perspective casts translation as meaningful human interaction, an encounter with an Other. The basic model is dialogic and, as Gadamer's 'fusion of horizons' suggests, it stresses open-mindedness, respect and negotiation. While these terms may evoke a relatively benign and cooperative view of things, it is eminently suited to drawing attention to the multiple allegiances of translators as mediators who have to balance their responsibilities towards the various actors involved in cross-cultural communication. Because it emphasizes the human dimension of translation, hermeneutics can inform the ethics involved in translational decision-making (Goodwin 2010).

See also:

DECONSTRUCTION; ETHICS; PHILOSOPHY; PURE LANGUAGE; TRANSLATABILITY

Further reading

Goodwin, P. (2010) 'Ethical Problems in Translation: Why we might need Steiner after all', *The Translator* 16(1): 19–42.

Makes a case for George Steiner's hermeneutics of translation as providing the basis for an ethics of the translator's decision-making. Hermans, T. (2019) 'Schleiermacher', in P. Rawling and P. Wilson (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Philosophy*, London & New York: Routledge, 17–33.

Explores Schleiermacher's translation of Plato and some of his other other writings to argue that his hermeneutics offers the key to understanding the 1813 lecture 'On the Different Methods of Translating'.

Steiner, G. (1975/1998) *After Babel. Aspects of language and translation*, third edition, London: Oxford University Press.

First published in 1975 but still the most thorough account of translation from the point of view of philosophical hermeneutics.

THEO HERMANS

Historiography

Historiography is intended here as the way in which the history of a given discipline, in this case translating and interpreting, is written about from a theoretical and methodological point of view; in other words, it is the metadiscourse of translation and interpreting history, or what D'hulst has called its "metahistoriography" (D'hulst 2010:398).

Until the early 2000s, translation history was rarely treated as a distinct subject within translation studies. Historical perspectives were adopted in a significant number of studies on translation theory, on literary translation and reception, and in the epistemological debate on the discipline itself and its possible evolution. But translation history was rarely considered a research object in its own right, and it was even more rare to find examples of studies that went beyond considerations of translation practice to treat translation as a social and historical event which exists beyond its textual and linguistic relationship with the source text. D'hulst (2001:21) thus argued that "the history of translation has not received the attention it merits in terms of research and cannot be compared to any other type of research in translation studies". The few significant exceptions to this tendency include St-Pierre's guest-edited special issue of

TTR in 1993, which featured his essay 'Translation as a Discourse of History', one of the first attempts to define a theoretical and methodological framework for research on translation "considered as a discursive practice, situated within a specific social and historical context" (1993b:82). Other examples are Delisle and Woodsworth's *Translators through History* (1995), with its clear focus on translators as people and the historical impact of their work; Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995b/2008), which is subtitled *A History of Translation* and proposes an ethics of translation as a contemporary practice that is informed by historical precedent; and Pym's (1998) *Method in Translation History*, the first English-language monograph in translation studies to treat translation history as a research object. Relevant influential publications by scholars situated outside translation studies include Rafael's (1988) *Contracting Colonialism* and Niranjana's (1992) *Siting Translation*.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, there has been a marked growth in interest in historical research on translation and interpreting and the theoretical and methodological issues it raises. This has manifested itself in monographs and edited collections with a historical perspective on translation, conferences and seminars specifically on translation history, and in a series of special issues of journals such as *Meta*, *Translation Studies*, *MonTI* and *The Translator* (Bastin 2004; Clas and Bastin 2005; O'Sullivan 2012b; Cernuda and Pulido 2013; Rundle 2014b). The meta-reflection on translation history has not evolved at the same pace, however (O'Sullivan 2012a:131–132). This is in part because it is natural for a meta-reflection to gain purchase only when it can engage with a significant body of historical research, and in part because of the very heterogeneous disciplinary backgrounds of the various scholars working on the history of translating and interpreting. This entry focuses on the discourse that has emerged in the twenty-first century, rather than on the earlier literature on translation history discussed in St. André (2009a).

The task of the translation historian

A key theme that has emerged in the metadiscourse on translating and interpreting history

concerns the task of the translation historian. D'hulst (2001) drew up a much-cited list of the questions a historian should look at, based on the rules of thumb used in classical rhetoric, summarized here in an abbreviated form: *Quis? Quid? Ubi? Quibus auxiliis? Cur? Quomodo? Quando? Cui bono?* (who? what? where? with what? why? how? when? to whose benefit?). D'hulst later addressed the methodological specificity of historical enquiry, using the concept of "bricolage intellectuel" (D'hulst 2015:285), and has argued that the translation historian's conceptual framework needs to be continually adapted to the object at hand, and that it is vain to seek a fixed/constant specificity in historical research: "the challenge is to constantly adapt available resources to a particular configuration, while any search for an unchanging specificity of historical inquiry seems destined to fail" (ibid.:286).

Pym (2009) argues that the priority should be to humanize translation history, to move the focus away from texts and towards the translators themselves, including their lives and their professional relations (or networks); to reconstruct the intercultures they inhabited. Pym (2000) also suggests that the ultimate purpose of studying the past is to improve the present and draws a direct connection between translators from quite different historical eras and their practice (Adamo 2006:91). Some translation historians see it as part of their task to engage with the wider historiography that is relevant to their topic: to move beyond the "comfort zone" of their initial discipline (Footitt 2012:221) and either cross into the disciplinary area of history by adopting a similar discourse (Rundle 2011, 2012) or occupy the "disciplinary border area" that lies between translation studies and history (Kujamäki 2017:313–314).

The sources of translation history

A key aspect of any historical research is the sources it is based on. There is a direct correlation between the choice (or availability) of sources and the method the historian will adopt. D'hulst (2010:399) has argued that

[s]ince the set of material objects of translation historiography is virtually identical to the set of objects that may be studied by

all branches of translation research . . . we need to concentrate on the formal objects or the proper historical viewpoints of historiography.

According to this view it is not the sources that define the historical project but the (presumably diachronic) perspective applied to them. And, correspondingly, it is not enough to just "tell the story"; this story needs to be organized according to a set of formal categories (D'hulst 2012). This approach suggests a fairly uncomplicated relationship with the relevant sources. Translation historians who work mainly on source texts, their translations and respective paratexts, and who make less use of other archival material, will tend to see their sources as fairly unambiguous from a historical point of view. Reconstructing what happened is usually not so problematic when it centres around when, how and by whom something was translated. But when attempting a historical reconstruction with a wider perspective that can include publishing, censorship policies, ideological and aesthetic debates and other issues derived more from the *context* than the texts, and therefore using a much wider and more inconsistent range of archival sources, even a supposedly straightforward reconstruction of events can be quite complex.

Wakabayashi (2012a) explains that the approach of the Japanese translation historians she studied is to collect as many primary sources as they can and then comment on them, without feeling the need to extend their analysis on a theoretical level. This means that they also tend not to consider the impact on their historical account of their subjective selection and arrangement of these sources. Wakabayashi notes that the process of relativization of historical knowledge which has taken place in the west since the 1970s has not taken place in Japan, where a positivist approach continues to dominate and where, for example, no translation of Hayden White's *Metahistory* (1973) has yet been published (ibid.:181).

Lung (2011:102) encourages translation historians to broaden their approach and include archival sources that are not directly related to translating and interpreting. But once we move beyond actual translations and their metatexts the difficulty can be identifying and locating sources. A possible solution is essentially to "grow your own", as Richard Aldrich

has recommended to scholars of intelligence, another area in which ready-made sources can be very hard to come by (Aldrich 2002:135; Footitt and Kelly 2012b:2). Kujamäki and Footitt (2016:61) provide an interesting example of how this is done with reference to interpreting in situations of conflict, where institutional archives tend not to have their material organized so that sources relevant to translating and interpreting can be identified directly. Relevant material therefore has to be sought out by a process of guesswork and exploration. Kujamäki and Footitt (ibid.:62) conclude, in reference to Pym (1998:139), that “in military translation history, contextualization and individual archived documents replace lists as ‘the basic tools for translation archaeology’”.

Synchronic and diachronic, specific and general

One of the difficulties that emerges in historical approaches to the study of translation is finding a way to reconcile the diachronic perspective, which is natural in any historical enquiry, and the synchronic perspective, which is apparent in the strongly felt need in translation studies to find definitions and categories that are applicable across different historical contexts, usually with the aim of allowing these to be compared to each other.

D’hulst (2010:403) and Rundle and Rafael (2016:30) have argued against applying contemporary categories to past historical contexts, either because of the potential distortion that this can produce, an anachronistic reading of the past in terms of the present (also known as presentism; Rundle 2018:242–243), or because of a potential loss of historical specificity.

One possible answer to this difficulty lies in integrating a sociological approach in one’s historical enquiry. Two interesting and comparable examples of this kind of integration are Wolf’s (2015) and Tryuk’s (2015) historical research on interpreting. Both these scholars use Bourdieu as a way of drawing more synchronic conclusions from their historical research in order to reflect on the profession of the interpreter and its evolution. In Sapiro’s work on translation and book history, on the other hand, the same sociological

framework serves to support a transnational, global perspective in which diachronic specificity is less of a priority, and the quantitative analysis of “translation flows” is combined with a qualitative analysis based on “interviews, observations, documents and in some cases archives” (Sapiro 2014:7). This approach, Sapiro suggests, “also makes a contribution to the history and sociology of publishing, a research area which has long remained confined within national boundaries” (ibid.).

Another interesting approach that projects a synchronic perspective across a diachronic one in order to enable comparison across different historical contexts to create an interconnected history is *histoire croisée*. This is a complex theory that was developed in sociohistorical studies by Werner and Zimmermann (2004, 2006) to address some of the issues raised by various (often overlapping) comparative approaches to history, such as entangled history, transfer history and transnational history. Its essential purpose is to address “the problem of articulation between an essentially synchronic analytical logic and historically constituted objects” (Werner and Zimmermann 2006:35). It has been used by Batchelor and Harding (2017) as a way of framing the translation and reception of Frantz Fanon across a range of geographical and historical contexts. Reiter (2013) also uses *histoire croisée* in her study of court interpreters in Vienna during the Hapsburg monarchy, an approach which “allows her to consider the interpreters and their functions and tasks, their participation in social networks, the impact of power on their activities, and their labor as mediators between the various ‘clients’ involved” (Wolf 2016b:231).

A distinction that is in some ways related to that between the diachronic and the synchronic, the historical and the sociological, is that between the specific and the general. Rundle (2011, 2012) has argued that while most historical research seeks to identify what is specific and distinctive about a particular context, there is a tendency in translation studies to want to make comparisons and generalize about different historical contexts. This tendency reflects, at least in part, the widespread interest in translating and interpreting practice and professional evolution, where history is used to inform and (implicitly)

improve the present. Batchelor (2017:7), quoting Jordanova (2006:124), makes a similar point:

the crux of these debates hinges on the question of the extent to which the specific, or singular, can or should be related to the general, or in other words the extent to which we “can get at large patterns by looking meticulously at one or a small number of instances”.

Batchelor (2017) suggests that a microhistorical approach can provide a way of constructing narratives that preserve historical specificity but also offer insights into the wider historical context. *Microstoria* is an approach to historical research that was first formulated in the 1970s by a group of Italian historians led by Carlo Ginzburg (1980). It was intended as a reaction to the generalizing and sociological bias of much Marxist history as well as the grand narratives of traditional historical accounts of eminent men and their political lives. It is not surprising that its bottom-up approach, focusing on the documentary traces of ordinary people, has found favour with a number of translation scholars (Adamo 2006; Munday 2014).

Finally, as an alternative to the many binary oppositions and dichotomies that seem to dominate the discussion of historiography in the west, Cheung proposes a ‘pushing-hands’ approach which is inspired by a Chinese martial art: the pushing-hands metaphor is intended to represent the dynamic relationship between past and present, one where

positions and perspectives that are often regarded as existing in a state of tension can also be brought together in a harmonious coexistence of opposites: theory and practice, primary and secondary, East and West, macrohistory and microhistory, universalism and localism.

(2012:161–162)

Interdisciplinarity

Interdisciplinarity is an important feature of translation history and has been the subject of a lively discussion, with some arguing that trans-

lation history should engage more with historical studies in general. Malena argues that first it is necessary for translation scholars doing historical research “to be familiar with methods used by historians and the debates about them”, and second that they need to “define their own philosophical position regarding history as part of their work” (2011:87). Earlier, St-Pierre had stressed that the relationship between history and translation can be approached with two different objectives “that come together but do not coincide”: on the one hand, one’s purpose can be to reach a better understanding of the origins of translation; on the other, it can be to demonstrate the impact of the historical context on translation practice (1993a:9).

Rundle argues that there is a third possibility, that of looking at what the study of translation tells us about the historical context we are interested in, where translation is not so much the object of our research as “the lens through which we research our historical object” (2011:33). This perspective focuses not on the practice of translation but on the way in which translation was perceived in a certain historical context and what it came to represent; and it does so by looking at translation as a political, social, economic – in short, historical – event: a history that goes “beyond the text to uncover the role translation has played in so many different times and settings” (Bastin and Bandia 2006:3). To look at translation in history in this way, it is necessary for translation historians to “start viewing themselves . . . as historians – rather than as translation scholars or practitioners ‘masquerading’ as historians” (Bandia 2006:46). Malena makes a similar point when she argues that “translation scholars who labour to document a history of translation in any given context have to think like historians” (2011:88).

Rundle (2011, 2012) suggests that if we wish to engage with history and contribute to it, we must adopt an appropriate discourse, other than that prevalent in translation studies. It is difficult to address both research communities at the same time because their dominant paradigms and perspectives are very different. First, there is the issue of shared expertise: the scholar who has researched translation or interpreting in a particular historical context will probably share more expertise with other historians of

that context than with other translation scholars (Rundle 2014a:4). Second, scholars' approaches and research objectives can be very different. There is a tendency in translation studies to look for constants, to draw parallels and highlight similarities in translation practice in different historical contexts; while, as Rafael among others has stated, most historians will tend to look for ways in which each historical context is different from others (Rundle and Rafael 2016:38).

Footitt has made a similar point in reference to research being carried out in translation studies and in war studies on the role of language and interpreters in situations of violent conflict. In research by translation scholars, conclusions about the role of language in war contexts such as Afghanistan and Iraq are generally drawn "with an implicit assumption that the position of the interpreter in such conflicts is likely to be somewhat similar to that in other wars", whereas "adopting an historical framework assumes *a priori* that there is no such thing as a typical war, that each conflict will have its own peculiar context" (Footitt 2012:219). Speaking as a historian and in reference to the role of language in theatres of war, Footitt also argues that translation history can make a useful contribution to wider historical studies (Kujamäki and Footitt 2016:64). On the other hand, based on his own experience as a historian with an interest in language, Rafael has stressed how little research that is carried out in translation studies actually filters down into a wider historiography: "what you get instead is an asymmetrical relationship, whereby TS will invariably be interested in historical studies, but historians only occasionally interested in TS" (Rundle and Rafael 2016:30).

Kujamäki (2017), whose historical research on interpreting has engaged with the relevant historiography, refers to a disciplinary border area where the dialogue between the two disciplines (in this case interpreting and military history) is difficult in both directions due to the lack of a shared discourse. Describing a dilemma that is similar to that discussed by Rundle (2011, 2012) in reference to researching translation in Fascist Italy, Kujamäki explains how his project required significant engagement with military historiography and archives, resulting in "an encapsulation in an uneasy disciplinary border area, where it is difficult to find comfortable

common ground either with translation studies or history". On the one hand, "the price of determined contextualization may be that we risk becoming incomprehensible to our colleagues in translation studies", while on the other, "our research interests . . . may occasionally make it difficult to connect ourselves with scholars in the historical field involved" (Kujamäki 2017:314).

The metadiscourse on translation history has thus clearly evolved since its beginnings in the 1990s. There is a greater awareness of the methodological implications of conducting historical research, enhanced by the interdisciplinary experience of some translation historians and their engagement with historical studies. There is also a more extended notion of what constitutes historical research on translation and the way in which this can extend beyond the translated text and the figure of the translator/interpreter to include translation as a historical and sociological event. The one significant absence is any thorough discussion in translation studies of the philosophical implications of history as a mode of research and a form of knowledge.

See also:

GENETIC CRITICISM; HISTORY OF INTERPRETING; HISTORY OF TRANSLATION; WAR

Further reading

Batchelor, K. (2017) 'Introduction: *Histoire croisée*, microhistory and translation history', in K. Batchelor and S. Harding (eds) *Translating Frantz Fanon across Continents and Languages*, London: Routledge, 1–16.

Provides an excellent analysis of much of the theoretical discussion to date, including interdisciplinarity, microhistory and *histoire croisée*.

D'hulst, L. (2015) 'Quels défis pour l'histoire de la traduction et de la traductologie?', *Meta* 60(2): 281–298.

One of D'hulst's many contributions to the theoretical discussion on translation history; proposes a "bricolage intellectuel" as the only way to align the appropriate theoretical approach to a specific historical object.

Kujamäki, P. and H. Footitt (2016) 'Military History and Translation Studies', in Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer (eds) *Border Crossings. Translation studies and other disciplines*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 49–71.

An interesting discussion between two military historians, one from translation studies and one from war studies; both with a focus on interpreting history and the role of languages in war. Discusses questions of interdisciplinarity and the identification of historical sources.

Rundle, C. (2012) 'Translation as an Approach to History', *Translation Studies* 5(2): 232–248; and responses by St-Pierre, Hermans and Delabastita.

A position paper and responses to it that discuss in detail the interdisciplinary relationship between translation and historical studies. Proposes an alternative approach whereby translation is used as a means to gain greater insight into a historical object, rather than as an object in itself.

CHRISTOPHER RUNDLE

History of interpreting

Despite the ubiquitous presence and influence of interpreters across all areas of world history, including the political, military, religious and economic fields, it is not always easy to trace the history of interpreting, given the transient nature of the practice and the general lack of historical documentation on interpreters in many cultures. One of the earliest historical references to interpreting is the hieroglyphic sign , which was found on the inscription of the tomb of general Haremhab in Memphys, Egypt around 3000 BC, indicating that the work of interpreters was overseen by the Elephantine Princes (Gardiner 1953; Kurz 1985a; Hermann 1956/2002). This early reference to interpreting activities is not surprising, given the involvement of Egyptians, Nubians, Libyans and Asians in economic, political and military activities in Pharaonic Egypt (Gardiner 1953; Andres 2013; Kurz 1985a; Delisle and Woodsworth 1995/2012). However, the assumption that this hieroglyph refers to interpreters has been challenged by archaeologists such as Hans Goedicke (1960:60). By comparing it with various groups of inscriptions found near

the borders of Egypt, where interpreting activities were most likely to have taken place at the time, Goedicke convincingly argued that this ancient word means "speakers of a foreign language" rather than "interpreter" (ibid.:64). While these 'speakers' might have engaged in interpreting work, they were not necessarily interpreters in the modern sense (Falbo 2016:112). Goedicke also notes that communication across languages was not a significant issue at the time, given that the population in this area was largely bilingual (ibid.:61n2). His research echoes other arguments relating to the inferior position of interpreters in ancient Egypt (Hermann 1956/2002:15) and raises interesting questions regarding the origin and status of interpreters in history, specifically in terms of who undertook interpreting work and how interpreting activities were recognized in different historical and cultural contexts.

Early historical documentation on interpreters

Although historians tend to pay minimal attention to interpreting in general, references to interpreting activities and interpreters can be found in various historical documents in many cultures around the world, from diaries and memoirs to letters and government records. Identifying and analyzing this type of information is central to the study of interpreting history.

Cultural and linguistic exchange occurred in early civilizations such as ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, Egypt and Persia. Evidence on the existence of interpreters and interpreting has been found not only in the works of authors such as Julius Caesar, Cicero, Horace and Sallust (Gehman 1914; Hermann 1956; Mairs 2011), but also in many historical documents on regional and world affairs (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995/2012; Lung 2011; Roland 1999). This evidence not only helps us understand the role of interpreters in the establishment and consolidation of empires, but also offers important information about the identity, status and training of interpreters in different cultures in earlier times. For example, it is believed that many interpreters in antiquity were likely to have inferior social status, because of their foreign or hybrid origin

or lower class position, for instance in terms of whether they were free men or slaves (Bowen et al. 1995:245–246; Roland 1999:11). However, there is also evidence that in the Roman Empire interpreters were employed by the Senate and Courts as permanent administrative staff (Cicero 1923, II:131, quoted in Andres 2013:3); in Edo period Japan (1603–1868), the position of *Oranda tsūji* (Dutch language officers) was hereditary and could only be occupied by males from around 20 families selected from the class of educated officials (Torikai 2009:29). Research on the lives of early interpreters foregrounds their ambivalent identity, as evident in the well-known example of Malintzin/Malinche, the Mexican interpreter-cum-mistress of Cortes during the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire in the sixteenth century (Valdeón 2013; Karttunen 1994). It also suggests that interpreters could align with both sides and serve employers with conflicting interests, as in the case of Friedrich von Gentz, a German who worked for the British Lord Robert Stewart Castlereagh and the Austrian Prince Klemens von Metternich at the same time (Roland 1999:51–53). As Karttunen (1994:286–320) notes, many early interpreters in the New World were linguistically gifted but marginalized individuals, due to their cultural origin, family history or status as slaves. Their multicultural brokerage further alienated them from their own culture, and in many cases impacted their lives very negatively. These findings problematize the widely held lay definition of the interpreter as someone who merely interprets and anticipates contemporary discussions of interpreters' conflicted identities in contemporary society (Baker 2010b; Cronin 2006; Ing-hilleri 2005a; Rudvin 2015; Salama-Carr 2007).

A prominent feature of this type of research is its focus on interpreters situated in military and political contexts, especially diplomatic interpreters, and its lack of attention to interpreting in other settings. This imbalance is understandable, given that those who participated in important national or international events generally tend to be recognized in history. Nevertheless, although there is little systematic research addressing this gap, evidence of interpreting activities has been found in areas such as commerce, religion and philosophy since early times. A good example is interpreting in the context of team translation of Buddhist scriptures in China in the East

Han dynasty as early as 67 AD. Since there were few translators with knowledge of both Sanskrit and classical Chinese, the translation of Buddhist scriptures usually consisted of three steps: *koushou* (口授, dictation/reading of the original text in Sanskrit), *chuanyan* (传言, interpretation of Sanskrit into [vernacular] Chinese) and *bilu* (笔录, recording/editing in classical Chinese in writing) (Ma 1998:33). An Shigao (or An Qing), a Parthian prince who is also the first known translator of Sanskrit into Chinese, often interpreted Buddhist texts, with explanations, directly into Chinese for his collaborative Chinese translator to record and edit (N. Li 2002:283). The presence of interpreting in scholarly communications can similarly be found in ancient Greece (Andres 2013:2). For example, at a meeting between Greek historian Onesikritos and Indian scholar Dandamis, three interpreters worked together to provide relay interpreting (Greek-Iranian dialect-Aramaic) between these two philosophers (Franke 1992:93, quoted in Andres 2013:2).

Interpreting activities have also been evidenced in the field of trade. The Chinese Tuyunhun (Henan) interpreters on the Silk Road recorded in the *Liangshu* (梁书, History of Liang Dynasty, 635AD) are an interesting example. Many of the Tuyunhun people acquired multilingual skills because of the Tuyunhuns' quick expansion in an area connecting China and Central Asia in the fifth and sixth centuries CE (Lung 2011:32). They often served as linguistic mediators and/or travel guides for both the tributary journeys of foreign envoys such as the Hephthalites and non-Chinese trade caravans to China in the early sixth century (ibid.:31–34). These Tuyunhun interpreters “were affiliated to neither the Hephthalites nor China” and their language mediation was “purely a commercial dealing” (ibid.:34). Such examples of self-interpreting, freelance interpreting and relay interpreting reveal the long-standing existence of varied and non-institutionalized forms of interpreting, and suggest that the rich history of interpreting is yet to be explored.

The history of professional interpreting

Although interpreters have played an important role throughout history, interpreting was

not widely recognized as a professional activity until the early twentieth century. This does not rule out the possibility that it had been an institutionalized, professional activity during certain historical and cultural contexts prior to that. The well-known figure of the Ottoman Empire *tercüman*, or dragoman in English, is one example. Dragomans, the accepted plural form in English, were officially appointed interpreter-translators. They played a significant role in diplomatic, economic and educational contexts in the Empire, starting from the thirteenth century and well into the nineteenth century, and enjoyed a relatively high status as well as certain privileges such as tax exemption (Mansel 1995:148–156). Given that all dragomans were Ottoman citizens and had limited knowledge of European languages, France reached an agreement with the Ottoman Empire in 1669 to establish an interpreter school, known as L'Ecole de Enfants de langues, in the Pera region of Istanbul to train French/Turkish interpreters (Gürçaglar 2004:232).

While increased contact and trade among nations and cultures supported the growth of the interpreting profession, conquests and conflict among international powers played an equally important role in shaping and defining the course of this development. For example, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Spanish colonial authorities established interpreting services at the *Audiencias*, the institution charged with the administration of justice in colonial Spanish territories in America, and employed locals as staff interpreters (Baigorri-Jalón 2015:16). To ensure fair trials for their indigenous subjects in court hearings and prison visits and to monitor the interpreters' performance, the Spanish authorities also produced detailed legislation specifying the interpreters' duties and responsibilities (Alonso-Araguás 2016:36–38). In title 29 in Book II of the *Compilation of Laws of the Indies*, 14 ordinances relate to interpreting practices, including interpreters' qualifications and penalties for interpreter misconduct (ibid.:36). This suggests that, like today's professional interpreters, the practice of interpreters employed by the Spanish authorities during the colonial period was regulated, and their work was influenced by the power structures in which they were embedded.

Professional interpreting as we now understand it, however, was not established until

the early twentieth century. Increased international negotiations of trade agreements and peace treaties among major powers before and during the First World War created considerable demand for skilful interpreters. The establishment of modern international organizations such as the League of Nations, the International Labour Office (ILO), the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Comintern (Communist International) also played an important role in driving the development of professional interpreting (Baigorri-Jalón 1999:29). The first modern School for Interpreters was established in Geneva in 1941 to train professional interpreters, mainly for the League of Nations (Gaiba 1998:29). Not only did the demand for qualified interpreters by these organizations stimulate the birth of professional interpreting in the modern sense, but new forms of interpreting and interpreting technology were also created to resolve the issue of interpreting multiple languages at the same time and under strict time pressures. The first simultaneous interpreting system, the IBM Hushaphone Filene-Findlay, was patented in 1926 and first used at the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1927 (ibid.:30–31).

Prior to World War Two, simultaneous interpreting was very different from the practice as it is known today. It consisted either of reading pre-translated texts or of simultaneous successive interpretation, that is, interpretations into different languages were simultaneous with each other, but not with the original speech (Gaiba 1998:31). Strictly speaking, present-day simultaneous interpreting made its debut on the international scene at the Nuremberg Trial in 1945–1946 (Baigorri-Jalón 1999; Gaiba 1998). The Nuremberg simultaneous interpreting system consisted of three teams of 12 interpreters working at four language desks (English, French, German and Russian), with supervision from monitors (Gaiba 1998:61). The success of this intensive simultaneous interpreting event constituted a landmark in the history of interpreting and led to the image of the professional interpreter becoming more visible to the public. A similar simultaneous system was adopted by the United Nations in November 1946 and quickly became the norm in major international events.

Accelerated globalization and increased immigration flows expanded the demand for

interpreters, further impacting the professionalization of interpreting activities. The two major international employers of conference interpreters, the United Nations and the European Union, created a significant number of positions for conference interpreters. Increased immigration flow created more demand for community interpreting and court interpreting in regions and countries that attract large numbers of international immigrants. The demand for interpreting in specific settings and for different purposes consequently influenced the training of interpreters and led to the establishment of professional organizations such as AIIC. Significant demand for interpreters in courts and other legal settings in the United States similarly led to at least 18 colleges and universities offering court interpreting courses (US National Center for State Courts 2017) as well as the formation of regional and national associations of judicial interpreters, including the Association of Independent Judicial Interpreters of California (AIJIC) and the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT). In turn, these professional organizations have played an influential role in furthering the professionalization of interpreting by setting ethical codes, quality standards and creating training materials, ultimately contributing to raising the professional profile and social status of interpreters.

Research themes and trends

Research on the history of interpreting has developed into a robust area of study since the turn of the century. Some publications focus on the general history of interpreting (Bowen et al. 1995; Andres 2012; Delisle and Woodsworth 1995/2012; Roland 1999; Wiotte-Franz 2001) while others cover interpreting in specific historical and cultural contexts (Torikai 2008; Takeda 2010; Li 2002; Lung 2011; Baigorri-Jalón 2014/2000). Overall, three general trends now characterize research in this area.

First, there is increased awareness of the fact that concepts such as interpreting and interpreters are not universal and do not hold stable meanings across languages and cultures. As Pöchhacker (2013:153) notes, some languages do not have separate terms to refer to oral and

written translation activities, for example. In other words, not only is the history of interpreting and the history of translation often intertwined and difficult to separate, especially during early periods in history, but it is also problematic to map out a history of interpreting in certain lingua-cultures based on the English definition of interpreting. Tracing and analyzing etymological definitions of translation and/or interpreting in different linguistic and cultural contexts is thus a productive avenue of research that can inform the analysis of early historical documents and assist researchers in collecting important data on acts of linguistic mediation that took place before the widespread adoption of the English term in other languages. For example, Lung points out that *yi* (译), the umbrella term for translation and interpreting in Chinese, is only one of four designations denoting translators or interpreters before the Former Han dynasty (206 BC–9 AD), the others being *ji* (寄), *xiang* (象) and *Didi* (狄鞮) (2011:3). According to Lung, the fact that for a significantly long time *yi* in classical Chinese did not distinguish interpreting from translation reflects the marginal place that interpreting occupied in Chinese history. This may be attributed to Chinese *yi* officials' association with foreign 'barbarians' and their low official ranking – the seventh to ninth in a nine-tier system (ibid.:4).

The second notable trend in current research on the history of interpreting is the increased attention to individual interpreters' voices, as evident in the analysis of diaries, letters, memoirs and biographies, as well as the adoption of surveys and interviews as research methodologies. Personal accounts of history are always an important source of our knowledge of interpreting activities in the past (Bowen et al. 1995:245). Rather than simply using information provided by interpreters to fill gaps in the history of interpreting, a growing number of works now focus on individual interpreters' experience as interpreters in past and recent international political conflicts and wars (C. Baker 2010; Baker 2010b; Elias-Bursac 2015; Inghilleri 2005a, 2010a, 2012a; Torikai 2008; Takeda 2010; Dragovic-Drouet 2007; Footitt and Kelly 2012; Guo 2015, 2016; Kelly and Baker 2013). Based on a variety of research methods, including interviews, surveys and analysis of interpreters' memoirs and biographies, these

studies offer firsthand information about interpreters' backgrounds, career development, scope of duties and their affective experience of working for parties that include the enemies of their own communities. For example, Guo's (2016) study of two Chinese interpreters, Xia and Yan, during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1921–1945) is based on analyzing Xia's memoir and interviewing Yan, allowing her to tap into the unofficial history of the period and to demonstrate the flexibility and adaptability of individual interpreters as they face grave danger and exceptional challenges. Torikai (2008) examines the life stories of five pioneer Japanese diplomatic interpreters in post-World War Two Japan to reveal how Japanese interpreting history is intertwined with the history of Japan's reconstruction and growth into a major economic power.

The third trend is increased attention to non-verbal aspects of interpreting history – specifically, the visual representation of interpreters. Although pictures and images of interpreters have featured in earlier studies such as Roland (1999), the history of visual representations of interpreters has now become the subject of research in its own right. This type of research is challenging because interpreters are often invisible in history. Publications that adopt this visual perspective (Fernández-Ocampo and Wolf 2014; Gürçağlar 2004; Baigorri-Jalón 2016) counter this invisibility and enhance our understanding of interpreting history. As Edwards (2014:21) points out, the meaning of visual images is always subject to interpretation and can be influenced by individuals' understanding of the role of interpreters and interpreting activities. Examining how interpreters are staged and framed – for instance, in terms of clothing, facial expressions, geographical and spatial positioning – can thus reveal important information about photographers' and painters' recognition of interpreters and their view of the status and agency of the interpreter. For example, the representation of Ottoman interpreters by European artists shows that despite interpreters' ambivalent position in Ottoman society, these artists clearly recognized the importance of their work and placed them in prominent positions in their paintings (Gürçağlar 2004:238–42). In *Framing the Interpreter*, a collection edited by Wolf and Fernández (2014),

contributors examine the representation and dissemination of the interpreter's image during different periods of history, such as the colonial period, the First and Second World Wars and the Cold War. The figure of the interpreter identified in drawings, engravings, photographs and postcards produced by professionals and amateurs provides insight into the complexity of interpreters' identity and role at different sites, from the colonial courtroom to anthropological field work, during the colonial period (Langford 2014; Mersmann 2014); the deployment and positioning of interpreters in the two World Wars (Footitt 2014); and the production of interpreters' public image in the context of military and political collaboration (Wolf 2014 and Heimbürger 2014). Although images of interpreting and interpreters cannot be directly used as evidence in the study of history, this new research points to the potential of studying the visual representation of interpreters and the significance of a multifaceted approach to research on interpreting history.

See also:

HISTORY OF TRANSLATION; HISTORIOGRAPHY; MEDIA INTERPRETING; ROLE; TRAINING AND EDUCATION, CURRICULUM; WAR

Further reading

Baigorri-Jalón, J. (2006) 'Perspectives on the History of Interpretation: Research proposals', in G. Bastin and P. Bandia (eds) *Charting the Future of Translation History*, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 101–10.

A wide-ranging discussion of existing discourses and issues related to the study of interpreting history.

Delisle, J. and J. Woodsworth (eds) (1995/2012) *Translators through History*, second edition, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A seminal work on the history of translation which includes a very informative chapter on interpreters.

Takeda, K. and J. Baigorri-Jalón (eds) (2016) *New Insights in the History of Interpreting*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A useful collection of case studies on the role of interpreters and their interpreting practice through history.

History of translation

The history of translation, once thought of as a rather marginal subject that was difficult even to locate on Holmes's (1988a) famous map of translation studies, has since become a growth area. Woodsworth (1998) and St. André (2009a) offer an overview of this trend up to 2006; this entry focuses on developments since 2007, a decade in which research on translation history has blossomed. History of translation is taken to be primarily the history of what has been translated when, by whom, for whom, where it was produced and disseminated, in what manner and why. It also encompasses the history of writings about translation, whether these be casual remarks, research-based analyses of metaphors of translation in different geographical and temporal locations (St. André 2010b), prefaces to translations or treatises with full-blown theoretical frameworks, as well as the history of what has been taken to constitute translation, either as an object or as a practice.

From translation history to translation histories

The dangers of attempting a world history of translation are demonstrated by Delisle and Woodsworth's 1995/2012 *Translators through History*. Although it offers a substantial amount of interesting and valuable information, it fails to build any real picture or narrative and sometimes reinforces outmoded concepts. China, for example, is portrayed only as the passive recipient of knowledge from outside through translation (ibid.:98–101), neglecting the long and rich history of translation from Chinese into other languages. But if a general or world history of translation is a Quixotic enterprise, translation historians have enthusiastically embraced a plethora of more restricted topics, which can be grouped into geographic, generic and conceptual ways of delimiting historical objects of study.

Geographically, the nation is a major delimiter. In France, a decade of work by a team of scholars has resulted in the publication of three

large volumes covering 1470 through 1914 (Chevrel et al. 2012; Chevrel et al. 2014; Duché 2015), with a fourth volume under way. These volumes feature short biographies of important translators of each period and cover a variety of genres, including religion, philosophy, arts and sciences, travel writing, history, several major literary genres, as well as a section on the history of discourses on translation. They also feature specific sections on the relation between translation and the history of publishing, as well as a discussion of different professional specializations (civil service, translation agencies and freelancers working in the publishing world). Riikonen et al. (2007) is a substantial history of translation in Finland, and Asimakoulas (2015), in a short case study of translations of Brecht into Greek, refers to an ambitious ongoing project on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greek translation history. Areas that are subunits of larger political entities but with their own language, such as Wales, have also been objects of study (Baumgarten and Gruber 2014).

There are two points of interest here. First, such histories are generally focused on translations into the national language, and thus concern the receptiveness of the culture to outside influences. This is in effect the opposite of the approach espoused by Casanova (1999/2004), whose main thesis is that translation into French has nothing to do with the development of the French literary system, but is rather about consecrating other literatures through deigning to translate them into French. The second point is that these studies are often written in the national language or, in the case of Clements (2015) and Asimakoulas (2015), point us in the direction of such materials. There is thus substantial evidence that English is by no means a lingua franca for translation history, and that translation histories are being written in other languages. Moreover, because translation history involves different languages, many studies concern the relationship between two nations rather than the history of translation in one nation. These studies usually focus on one-way relations. Examples include Kornicki (2013) on translation from Chinese into Japanese, Gamsa (2008) on the history of translation from Russian into Chinese, and a special issue of the *Journal of Translation Studies* (Jun 2017) on the history of translation from Chinese into English.

Flotow and Nischik's (2007) collected volume is interesting in that it covers translations from both English and French Canadian literature into German, and hence is a good example of the frequent mismatch between nation and language.

Slightly more ambitious in scope are regional studies of translation history. McElduff and Sciarrino (2011) examine translation in the ancient Mediterranean world, covering several languages. This work attempts to answer two mirrored questions: what can translation studies do for history of the ancient Mediterranean, and what can the ancient Mediterranean do for translation studies? Hokenson and Munson (2007) look at the history of a restricted type of translation, self-translation, within the geographic region of Europe, documenting how many self-translators over the centuries have produced bilingual texts that when read together offer a richer experience of the work than reading it in one or the other language. Chalvin et al. (2011) is a collection of articles that look mainly at the Soviet bloc, including the Ukraine, Hungary, Bulgaria and especially Estonia. Latin America receives substantial attention in the collection edited by Bastin and Bandia (2006b), with four articles on various aspects of translation history in that region; Bastin (2017) is a more recent example. Asia has also been the subject of translation history, covering both the distant past, especially in relation to the spread of Buddhism in the region, and the eighteenth through twentieth centuries (Hung and Wakabayashi 2005). East Asia as a distinctive region that shared the use of Chinese characters across several countries is the focus in Fogel (2013).

More ambitious still are studies of the history of translation within a particular empire. Feehey (2017) looks at the appropriation of Greek culture as part of the Roman empire's expansion and consolidation of power in the Mediterranean; Wolf (2015) covers the mid-nineteenth century through World War I to explore the plurilingual and pluricultural Habsburg empire; while Aksoy (2017) provides an overview of translation activity in the Ottoman empire.

A number of histories are organized around parameters other than the nation, region or empire. Some look at how the work of one or more authors travelled outward over time and space. Batchelor and Harding (2017) is a

good example; it is a collection of articles that document how the work of Frantz Fanon has travelled through translation into multiple languages. Such studies often engage with the phenomena of retranslation and relay translation.

Since translation history revolves mainly around translated texts, a number of studies focus on the history of translation of specific genres, most notably literary translation. The *Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, a multivolume tome edited by Peter France and Stuart Gillespie (Gillespie and Hopkins 2005; France and Haynes 2006; Ellis 2008; Braden et al. 2010), covers the period from earliest times up to 1900, with a fifth volume for the twentieth century originally planned but not in print at the time of writing. Similar to the French multivolume work cited above, these volumes include short biographies of important translators; they also stretch the definition of literature to include religious, scientific and medical texts in certain periods. Baer (2016a) covers a more restricted time period for literary translation in Russia.

The history of literary translation is most closely rivalled in popularity by the history of translation of religious texts. The Bible is undoubtedly the most studied of these texts, with histories ranging from ambitious overviews (Noss 2007) to detailed studies of individual countries such as colonial South India (Israel 2011) and China (Mak 2017). Some of this history is not written by translation scholars but by scholars and professionals involved in Bible translation and whose research agenda is driven by religious concerns, reflecting the rather heterogeneous nature of translation history.

The history of translation of scientific texts has received some attention, not just as part of national histories – for example in Chevrel et al. 2012) – but also notably in interregional history. Saliba (2007) discusses the importance of Islamic science in the development of European science, while Dodson (2005) considers the role of scientific translation into Indian languages as a strategy to naturalize a British-Indian hierarchy and thus support colonialism. Technology, however, has been relatively neglected. For example, almost nothing has been written on the technical manuals translated from Chinese into French and English in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when Europeans were eager to learn the secrets of Chinese

sericulture, porcelain manufacture and the cultivation and processing of tea, even as they scoffed at the Chinese for being backward in comparison to Europe vis-à-vis science. The history of legal translation, too, has received little attention, with two exceptions. First, some attention has been paid to legal translation in colonial contexts, as in Merrill's (2009a) study of translation in colonial India. And second, the history of legal translation receives some attention when it touches upon international law, especially in terms of how the system of international law developed in Europe was translated into non-European languages. Yin (2016), for example, looks at the translation of international law into Chinese in the nineteenth century. Closely related to this genre is the history of translation in the context of international relations and diplomacy. Wong (2013) considers the role of interpreters and translators in negotiating diplomatic relations between Great Britain and China in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and how one term in particular, *yi* (foreign/barbarian), was the subject of heated debates.

Neither commercial nor news translation history has received much attention. A potential explanation for this gap may be found in a rare article by van Doorslaer (2011), which examines the history of literary translations that appear in newspapers, not the history of news translation. The few remarks van Doorslaer makes about news translation, however, indicate that the complicated process of translation, adaptation and rewriting of news, often combining information from several sources in one article with no regard for values such as fidelity or equivalence, makes it a difficult object of study for translation scholars. This may also partly explain why the history of translating commercial and advertising material has attracted little attention.

Littau (2011) makes a strong case for researching the role of media in the history of translation, with examples from Cicero's pronouncements about the importance of translating sense for sense shown to be tied to the intermedial nature of translation from spoken Greek to written Latin at the time. Littau shows how scribal culture was predisposed to favour literal translation, and how mass printing later

favoured fluent vernacular translations. Another area of historical research where the influence of media can be clearly seen is the history of simultaneous interpreting, with its dependence on the development of new technology in the 1920s.

The interdependence between changes in media technology and changes in translation practice is particularly evident in the history of audiovisual translation. Fong and Au (2009), a collection of essays on audiovisual translation, begins with four essays on the history of subtitling in Europe, China, Japan and Korea which demonstrate different aspects of this interdependence. Ivarsson (2009), in the same collection, details how advances in technology drove innovation in subtitling practice, and Qian (2009) structures her history of subtitling in China around political periodization, with the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1978 as turning points. Ramos Pinto (2012) discusses the variety of phenomena that are considered under the rubric of audiovisual translation, including dubbing, subtitling, audio description, voice-over, theatre subtitling, and even interactive museum subtitles. Cazdyn (2004/2010) connects these historical developments and their impact on the availability of new media to political and ideological struggles.

With the advent of computers and the birth of the Internet, digital media has become more central to the translation process. Although this is relatively recent history, scholars are already writing the history of machine translation (Hutchins 2010) and of machine-assisted translation, including postediting (García 2012) and the development of translation memory tools (Chen 2015).

Approaches to history

The history of translation can be divided according to approach. Many of the studies that feature biographies of translators adopt a 'great men in history' approach, taken over from traditional political history, which features periodization according to political events, geographic boundaries based on the nation and a decidedly androcentric bias. This type of history has been

challenged by studies that embrace various alternative historical approaches. Bastin (2006) and Foz (2006), for example, critique the often uncritical adoption of European periodization and conceptual categories for the study of translation in Latin America. Against this traditional trend, microhistory has become a hot topic, with most studies drawing on Carlo Ginzburg's pathbreaking study (1980). Wakabayashi and Kothari (2009) openly call for more studies that adopt microhistory, and Munday (2014:64) calls for "reclaiming the details of the everyday lives and working processes of sometimes little-known or forgotten translators and contextualizing them to construct a social and cultural history of translation and translators".

Closely linked to microhistory, indeed sometimes treated as identical, is the adoption of cultural history, an approach pioneered by Burke (2007), who has argued that historians are themselves translators of the past. Clements (2015) is a pioneering example of this approach, examining how Japanese culture was already being transformed through translation well before the Meiji era (1868–1912), which is commonly seen as marking the advent of Japanese modernity.

While many would think of history as primarily the telling of a story situated in a particular time and space, and therefore concerning unique actions, translation scholars often use historical material as case studies in order to advance a general theoretical point. This use of translation history is central to the development of polysystems theory, the concept of norms and much of what is now labelled descriptive translation studies or DTS (Toury 1995/2012). Thus, Milton and Bandia's (2009) collection of historical studies focuses on demonstrating that agents (brokers, patrons, publishers and translators themselves) have played a crucial role throughout translation history. Gillespie's (2011) collection of case studies sets out to demonstrate the need to reconsider how we should approach literary history, where the contribution of translation has long been neglected.

One theoretical question in particular has attracted much attention in studies of translation history, namely what counts as translation. Arias Torres and Ferial García (2013) discuss the historical example during the Spanish protectorate in Morocco (1912–1957) of a text written

in Spanish, back translated into Arabic, and the Arabic translation then passed off as an original text, to challenge the limits of what we call translation. Durston (2007) considers the case of Spanish translation into Quechua, a South American language, arguing that many texts during the period 1550–1650 were specially authored in Spanish for translation into Quechua, or were written directly in that language but exhibit features typical of translated texts and thus should be considered as such. St. André (2018b) argues for the importance of including pseudotranslations in the history of translation from Chinese into English and French. Wakabayashi and Kothari's (2009) collection features more than one essay that looks at the term for translation in different languages and explores the historical development of the concept; for example, Wakabayashi's own article examines terms for translation in Japanese (Wakabayashi 2009). Clements (2015) also looks at the different forms of interlingual text production in Japan, some of which were specific to certain language pairs (Classical Chinese translated into Japanese, for example), arguing that they stretch the concept of translation.

Future directions

Digital humanities, formerly known as humanities computing, is an ensemble of methodologies that combine digitally encoded databases and software tools to manipulate large amounts of data in ways not available to a human working with the data manually. While translation history has been slow to take up these methods, recent advances in the size of existing databases such as Early English Books Online, the improvement of optical character recognition software, the advent of crowdsourcing and the availability of an increasingly sophisticated array of tools all promise to revolutionize all areas of the humanities, including translation history. K.J. Anderson (2006) demonstrates how Early English Books Online and Eighteenth Century Collections Online can be used to expand translation history beyond the usual focus on literary translation, while Poupaud et al. (2009) evaluate the usefulness of bibliometric information from the French National Library, publishers' union catalogues

and Amazon in researching translation history. In the June 2018 special issue of the *Journal of Translation Studies* devoted to translation studies and the digital humanities, five of the six articles focus on translation history. Of particular interest are the articles by Kim (2018) on using bibliographic records held in WorldCat and the software tool Gephi to visualize the dissemination of Goethe's works worldwide in translation; Ye (2018) on the use of visualization tools to trace the development of translator networks in early twentieth-century Chinese magazines; and St. André's (2018a) study of text-mining existing databases to look at historical trends in the relation between pseudo-translation and genuine translation. Although at least one study has shown that caution must be used in evaluating the usefulness and the reliability of data gleaned from automated processes (St. André 2018a), there is no doubt that this development offers translation historians exciting prospects, and will play an increasingly important role in the discipline.

See also:

GENETIC CRITICISM; GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS; HISTORY OF INTERPRETING; HISTORIOGRAPHY

Further reading

Baer, B. (2016) *Translation and the Making of Modern Russian Literature*, London: Bloomsbury.

A detailed study which demonstrates the importance of translation in the formation of modern literature, in this case Russian.

Bastin, G. (2017) 'Eurocentrism and Latin Americanism in Latin American Translation History', *Perspectives* 25(2): 260–272.

Short but important consideration of how Eurocentrism continues to inform the history of translation in various parts of the world.

St. André, J. (2018) *Translating China as Cross-identity Performance*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Tells the history of how translation of Chinese literature into English and French developed over time, and simultaneously proposes the metaphor of cross-identity performance as a lens through which to understand that development.

JAMES ST. ANDRÉ

Hybridity

As one of the most widely deployed tropes in post-colonial critical thinking, the enduring appeal of hybridity lies in its inherent polysemy. In English, the term originates in biology and botany. Taken from the Latin *hybrida*, which referred to the offspring of a tame sow and a wild boar, a hybrid was the product of intermixing between different plant or animal species. In the eighteenth century, as interest in the classification of the natural world grew and colonial empires established their presence around the world, the concept was expanded to include human beings and used to categorize different populations according to taxonomies of race (Coombes and Brah 2000:8). In the nineteenth century, as colonialism reached its zenith, hybridity became a cipher for the anxieties of imperial encounter and reflected deep-seated fears about interracial mixing and the possibility of contagion. The issue of cross-cultural sexual relations received significantly different treatments under various colonial regimes; in the Anglophone context, however, discourse around hybridity warned against miscegenation and the dilution of the European 'race'. In the war of words between polygenesists, who believed that all races originated from independent stock, and monogenesists, who believed that every human had a shared set of ancestors, hybridity served to justify ideologies of white European supremacy in the defence of the myth of purity. "In the different theoretical positions woven out of this discourse", Young observes,

the races and their intermixture circulate around an ambivalent axis of desire and aversion: a structure of attraction, where people and cultures intermix and merge, transforming themselves as a result, and a structure of repulsion, where the different elements remain distinct and are set against each other dialogically.

(1995:19)

In the wake of decolonization movements, hybridity took on new meanings, and in the last decades of the twentieth century it emerged in the postmodern, post-structuralist, postcolonial imaginary as a site of resistance to dominant categorizations of race, culture and ethnicity.

Twentieth- and twenty-first-century hybridity

This new form of critique, associated primarily with Homi Bhabha, articulates alternative vocabularies of plurality, disruption and dynamization in the study of nation, identity and (post) coloniality. For Bhabha, within the blended space of the asymmetrical colonial encounter hybridity is created when colonial authorities attempt to frame the cultural identity of the colonized within a singular, hegemonic framework. But in the flux of encounter, the 'signs' of colonialism become arbitrary and lose their mode of intention. Meaning becomes unstable and signifiers no longer have obvious signifieds. Through "hybrid hyphenations" (1994a/2004:313), which Bhabha describes as the "stubborn chunks" of incommensurable difference that continue to make their presence felt (*ibid.*), the performative nature of differential identities is asserted, transforming the presence of power into "something other than what its rules of recognition assert" (*ibid.*:160). It is the indeterminacy of the ambivalent subject position that displaces colonial narratives, "allowing a means of evading the replication of binary categories of the past and developing new anti-monolithic models of cultural exchange and growth" (Ashcroft et al. 2005:137). Bhabha's response to essentialism thus delights in the resistant potential arising from fracturedness and in undoing dominant discourse by disrupting the totalizing presumptions that colonialist representation relies upon. As an "alternative discourse" (Guignery 2011:4), this form of hybridity offers a way of reexamining hegemonic structures and reminding colonial powers that their claim to the world is not total. In this sense, hybridity represents a form of critique from within; it is not imposed from the outside but works inside, and alongside, the same intervening spaces of similarity and difference that function as much to interlink as they do to intervene (Bhabha 2015:ix).

Viewed through the lens of continental critical theory, difference for Bhabha is productive and, in the post-structuralist sense, enshrines undecidability within any system of communication. Through a process of what he terms "cultural translation" (1994a/2004:324–328), meanings become both alien and secondary in

relation to themselves, ensuring that there can be no *a priori* within cultures since they are always subject to translation through the continuous displacement of the literary sign. Cultural identity and the way in which it is expressed and inscribed is always incomplete and open to cultural translation. In this transgressive space, the supremacy of received authorities is constantly renegotiated within a context of cultural relativism, where other possibilities for living, speaking and acting become available. Through migration, diaspora, displacement and relocation, cultural transformation takes on a transnational dimension and the "unifying discourse" of "nation", or "peoples" – held to be synonymous with a culture's "particularity" – can no longer be invoked unproblematically (*ibid.*:247–248). "The great, though unsettling, advantage of this position", Bhabha observes, "is that it makes you increasingly aware of the construction of culture and the invention of tradition" (*ibid.*).

Critical engagements with hybridity

Like translation, hybridity bears the traces of engagement with other discourses, myths, metaphors and cultural practices, and as with translation, the result is always transformative. Proceeding from an act of reading, translation exposes the source text to a range of possible treatments, rendering its meaning inherently mobile. A translation is simultaneously *itself*, in the sense of being a text in its own right, and (its own construction of) *its other*. The immanent ambivalence of this doubled identity gives translation its transformative power. If through (interlingual) translation the original "can never be said to have a totalised prior moment of being or meaning – an essence" (Bhabha, in Rutherford 1990:210), then at the level of human "symbol-forming" activity, cultures, *qua* translations, exist only in relation to their own internal alterity. Through the act of cultural translation, then, the essentialism of originary meaning and originary culture is denied and all forms of culture become imbricated in a continuous process of hybridity (*ibid.*:210–211).

A number of translation scholars have engaged with Bhabha's interrelated notions of the third space and the in-between, and their

connection with hybridity, including Batchelor (2008), Bennett (2012), and Wolf (2000, 2008a, 2008b). Of the Third Space, Bhabha asserts that the very importance of hybridity “is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the ‘third space’ which enables other positions to emerge” (Bhabha, in Rutherford 1990:211). For Wolf, who has engaged with Bhabha in some detail, the Third Space concept enables translation to be construed as an interaction, “a meeting place where conflicts are acted out and the margins of collaborations explored” (2008a:13). To debate differences in culture and identity, therefore, negotiation is required and the translator is no longer the detached mediator but is inscribed directly within the cross-cultural overlappings themselves – between languages, between cultures and behaviours – and shaped by the refractive space of their exilic condition that is simultaneously involved in, yet also on the margins of culture (ibid.:15). The Third Space emerges, in Wolf’s terms, as a contact zone of “controversial potentials” (ibid.:13). For Guldin, with Bhabha, the Third Space does not have an independent existence and does not result from mixing or synthesis. Instead, it is a metaphorical space between the purity of cultures and a “rebellion against the system by transforming power relations in counter-culture” (2016:57). Such a rebellion bears the same remnants of oppression from which it seeks to liberate itself. Here, Guldin notes an important link to Bhabha’s use of translation, which dismisses the notion of self-contained identity and rejects any kind of final, harmonious fusion of the elements, in favour of translations that displace meaning rather than seek to contain it. In this open-ended, non-linear process of negotiation, translations carry within them the footprints of former meaning, now transformed into new interactions and constructions. It is here that the link between hybridity, the Third Space and cultural translation crystallizes.

Batchelor suggests that Bhabha’s concept of the in-between, which is connected with the Third Space, tends to be most commonly presented in the literature on translation as the manipulation and hybridization of language in postcolonial texts; hybrid language is thought to have subversive or challenging effects and to result in the questioning of authority

(2008:52–53). She argues that Wolf focuses on the Third Space as a new and powerful location between binaries (Wolf 2000:138), and hence her approach is conceived in spatial terms and elides the enunciative “split” in Bhabha’s own conceptualization (Batchelor 2008:54). This split, or “disjuncture”, Batchelor explains, represents not a gap of space, but of time, between “event and enunciation” (ibid.). The latter terms, in Bhabha’s evocation of the Third Space, relate to the space of indeterminacy through which all acts of speaking and writing in relation to culture have to pass, and which lead to the same “cultural signs” carrying different meanings at different moments of their enunciation (ibid.). The enunciative aspect of the Third Space functions as a reminder that multiple meanings can be assigned to any given event or sign, and that rather than being contained within them, their meanings are “infinitely negotiable” (ibid.:64).

Bennett (2012) similarly criticizes the lack of precision that accompanies invocations of Bhabha’s notion of in-betweenness and shows that rather than referring to a geographical space the term operates at the level of symbolic discourse. Here, she establishes an explicit link to Derrida’s notion of “dissemination”, through which a textual hybrid of two apparently irreconcilable texts brings to light new ways of understanding them and the “authoritative unity” presumed to govern each is “dispersed” by its reading through the other (ibid.:47). In opposition to spatial conceptualizations of the in-between, therefore, Bennett articulates Bhabha’s notion as a space in which authoritative discourse might be subverted deliberately by its interposition with another. A translation strategy predicated on this approach would seek to undermine the patterns of the target language, “shattering its smooth certainties, producing an estranging or de-naturalizing effect” by introducing material imported from the other world it interposes (ibid.:48).

Simon (2003) is one of the few to locate hybridity outside the domain of the text, as she traces the marks of the two dominant identities of the Anglophone west and the Francophone east in the cosmopolitan cityscape of Montreal. With its intermixing of histories, resistance to interpretation, fusion of symbols and appropriation and juxtaposition of architectural styles, the city enacts the enigma of the foreign. As

landscapes become multifaceted with history, the layering of meanings through successive stories and languages becomes apparent. To be present in the city and to listen to such conversations is to be alert both to the alliances and the frictions they produce. For Simon, this is more than multiculturalism, the so-called world music model of hybridity. While multiculturalism speaks of balance and egalitarian plurality, hybridity demands “creative interference”, unpredictability, contamination, mixed loyalties and transformation (ibid.:119).

This more recuperative usage has seen the concept subjected to a vehement “anti-hybridity backlash” (Pieterse 2009:91–95). Some argue that its dark history as a term of racist abuse makes it unsuitable for contemporary theorization. For others, it uncritically celebrates diversity “without paying adequate attention to economic, political and social inequalities” (Coombes and Brah 2000:1). Terms such as difference, border, diaspora and postcoloniality, for example, become fetishized and “juxtaposed exotica” becomes a marketable category (Hutnyk 2015:119; Tomlinson 1999:145) within the very discourse of capitalist modernity its supporters claim to displace (van der Veer 2015:104). This gives rise to accusations of self-indulgence on the part of postcolonial intellectuals with the financial resources and cultural capital to create cryptic formulations and stylistically abstract theorizations (Parry 2004:56) that not only impede understanding and hinder replication (Pettersson 1999) but are also far removed from the material consequences of colonialism, trivialize present-day struggles and presume equitable conditions of encounter that in reality do not exist. “To speak then of metropolis and colony as inhabiting the same in-between, interstitial ground”, writes Parry, “occludes that this territory was differentially occupied, and that it was contested space, being the site of coercion and resistance, and not of civil negotiation between evenly placed contenders” (1994:19).

A much-cited problem is that hybridity’s central conceit rests on a paradox: it is celebrated as powerful, transgressive, subversive and exceptional; yet, simultaneously, it is theorized as quotidian, mainstream and all-encompassing (Werbner 2015:1). If all cultures are hybrid then hybridity has no heuristic value. If hybridity is the new normal, moreover, it cannot retain

its resistant power. Hybridity also contains the contradiction that to prove its relevance as a transgressive solution to essentialized identity categorizations it must rely on the presence of an essentialized and dualistic cultural divide in the first instance. Presupposing a prior state of purity to legitimize his theory, Bhabha and his supporters must construct the cultural identity of the colonized as a fixed essence that has been misrepresented by the colonizer; a misrepresentation that, in turn, hybridity can correct. As Pieterse observes, without reference “to a prior pathos of purity and boundaries, of hierarchy and gradient of difference, the point of hybridity would be moot” (2009:94).

From a translation studies perspective, Bhabha’s application of literary theory to questions of transnationalism in culture risks subsuming the social to the textual, obscuring the brutality of colonialism and ignoring the global material conditions of exploitation in the passage from critical theory to cognate areas. Pym (2010a), for example, has questioned Bhabha’s use of the postcolonial novel as a site of resistant agency, where the textual bias masks the real-world effects of oppression and disables concrete resistance. Against a backdrop of renewed interest in nationalism, Wolf points to western societies being increasingly resistant to open borders, despite their support for “transcultural flexibility” (2008a:14). Of hybridity, in particular, Wolf remains suspicious. To effect resistance at the periphery, the strategies of the powerful must be subverted. But in doing so, the locus of concern shifts away from the periphery and towards the very centre that ignores it.

When it comes to the practical task of translation within a context of hybridity, moreover, the translator’s hermeneutic positionality as a reader of the source text means that it is not strictly the hybridizing difference of colonialism’s others that effects resistance, but the translator’s reading of such difference. In the context of translation, where it is the translator, and not the colonized, who enjoys the agency to represent, hybrid resistance can be represented on the other’s behalf but not enunciated by them directly. The decisiveness of this politics of translation means that on a strictly theoretical level no resistance can be present in hybridized interlingual translation, except that which is asserted by translators themselves (Maitland 2016).

Future directions

Despite its detractors, as a concept that disavows separateness, privileges entanglement, the messiness of encounter and the fuzziness of borders of nation and identity, hybridity has much to recommend it, and for those interested in challenging the primacy of Bhabha's model within theorizations of hybridity several alternative visions are worth exploring. García Canclini (2005) establishes a foundation for hybridization based first and foremost on bringing different positions and identities into exchange and negotiation. Unlike Bhabha, García Canclini's approach never seeks to fully resolve the tension between the two apparent poles of hybridity – the idea that it is a space between zones of purity or that it is the ongoing condition of cultures wherein no zones of purity exist (Rosaldo 2005:xv). The term hybridity is not limited to the intermixing of races, religions or symbolic movements (García Canclini 2005:xxiv) but, through globalization, extends to the arrival of new communication technologies, the reshaping of the public and private spheres in metropolitan areas, and the "deterritorialization of the symbolic processes" (ibid.:207) that have generated hybrid cultures. The hybrid strategies of which he writes belong not only to the powerful elites of the metropole, but also to migrants from rural areas, and workers confronted with new technology and the need to "reconvert" their skills and knowledge. Hybridization thus refers to sociocultural processes in which "discrete structures or practices" combine to construct all-new structures and processes (ibid.:xxv). The "discrete structures" that become hybridized can develop in an unplanned manner or as the unforeseen result of migrations, tourism and exchange, and betray no originary purity; they themselves are the result of previous hybridizations, suggesting an ever-expanding historical movement from one heterogeneous form to another. Hybridity thus comes from individual and collective creativity, as much in technology as in the arts, from converting professional skills or sets of knowledges for integration into new contexts of production, rural to urban migration, and the adaptation of knowledge and skills in order to access work, from indigenous movements that renew their demands through transnational politics or ecological discourse through

radio, TV and the Internet. García Canclini's object of study is not hybridity *per se*, but the processes of hybridization currently making the most of the benefits of modernity and that are of interest both to hegemonic and non-hegemonic groups (ibid.:xxvii).

For Papastergiadis, the positive dimension of hybridity is its acknowledgement that identity is constructed relationally, by negotiating difference rather than attempting to obliterate it. If "fissures, gaps and contradictions" remain, this is not necessarily a sign of failure but a reminder that selfhood need not have "fullness" as its chief aim, and, in a nod to Bhabha, that hybridity's resistant promise lies not in the "combination, accumulation, fusion or synthesis of various components", but in the transformation of each in the encounter with the other (2015:170). Papastergiadis's model is based on observations of diasporic and indigenous artists who are now active in the dominant institutions of the art world, calling into question through their status within elite structures received ideas about the relationship between contemporary culture and tradition, agency and institution, and the implications of these relationships for cultural identity. While on a basic level hybridity connotes the presence of difference within identity as a result of mixing between foreign elements, such elements can be naturalized or rejected to different degrees within the host culture, and, leading from this, new ways of representing practices in diasporic life can emerge (Papastergiadis 2005:40). This form of hybridity therefore goes beyond mixing; it is about arriving at a critical form of consciousness.

In translation studies, Klinger (2015) focuses on hybridity as a textual feature present both in interlingual translations and cross-cultural writing, such as migrant, travel or postcolonial writing. In the case of cross-cultural writing, the meeting of languages occurs as much in the writing as it does in the story of the text, making translation not just a mode but an object of representation. While many studies focus on the presence of hybridity at the textual level, Klinger is interested in how it relates to the world of the narrative itself. If hybridity at the level of language is critical to the construction of meaning in a given text, she contends, then when this text itself is translated, attention must be paid to any shifts in language-level hybridity in the translation that could transform the worldview

constructed by the narrator and their characters, since translation often either elides or reduces hybridity or reframes it through translators' unconscious importations or conscious attempts at emphasizing the otherness of the text (ibid.:2).

Both Klinger and Papastergiadis draw on the work of Bakhtin, who theorized two types of hybridity that can be discerned in the novel: organic, or unconscious hybridity, and intentional, conscious hybridity. The former develops as part of the natural evolution of all languages: languages change historically through the mixing of various tongues within the boundaries of a single dialect or national language (Bakhtin 2014:359). Fusion still takes place, but the ongoing mixing of worldviews remains opaque and does not make active use of "contrasts and oppositions" (ibid.:360). Hybridity of the conscious and intentional kind concerns the perception and representation of one language structured from the point of view of another. It involves the coming together of two individual authorial consciousnesses, two voices and two accents participating in and intending to deliberately develop a linguistic hybrid. What is significant about intentional hybridity is not so much that two different languages and styles are mixed, but that the different worldviews that are embedded within them come into contact, creating two points of view that become opposed dialogically, in the sense of being set against one another, such that "only one language is actually present in the utterance, but it is rendered *in the light of another language*" (ibid.:362; original emphasis).

Intentional hybridity thus contains a "double-voiced" quality (ibid.:360) that entails a performative gesture; it is a quality that is cultivated deliberately, rather than something that develops organically. Such hybridized dialogue is not resolved, never "rounded-off" (ibid.:361), and represents instead an "artistically-organized" and "premeditated" (ibid.:366) illumination of one language by means of another (ibid.:361). The possibility of a political project arises when the collision of worldviews associated with intentional hybridity leads to the ironizing and unmasking of authority. If the language of authority is monological, then hybrid texts become a means of resistance and critique by undoing the singular order by which the dominant code of one attempts to represent the other. Thus, hybridity is "the condition of language's fundamental ability to be simultane-

ously the same but different" (Young 1995:20), and it is with this sense of artistic artifice, as a deliberate and deliberative act of transformation, that Bakhtin's distinction between organic and intentional hybridity proves useful for theorizing social change. By issuing a challenge to the implied order, aesthetic interventions can not only differentiate themselves from routine cultural appropriations but take on an explicitly political project in the quest for social change (Werbner 2015:5).

See also:

COSMOPOLITANISM; CULTURAL TRANSLATION; DECONSTRUCTION; METAPHORICS; MIGRATION; MULTILINGUALISM; NATION AND NATION-BUILDING; POSITIONING; POSTCOLONIALISM; PURE LANGUAGE

Further reading

Batchelor, K. (née Woodham) (2008) 'Third Spaces, Mimicry and Attention to Ambivalence', *The Translator* 14(1): 51–70.

Provides a critical analysis of the ways in which concepts connected with Bhabha's hybridity have been deployed and argues for new applications of Bhabha's theories to the study of translation.

Bhabha, H.K. (1994/2004) *The Location of Culture*. London & New York: Routledge.

Sets out a detailed case for the relationship between translation, hybridity and questions of identity, migration and postcoloniality. In particular, see chapter 11, entitled 'How newness enters the world: Postmodern space, postcolonial times and the trials of cultural translation'.

Maitland, S. (2017) *What is Cultural Translation?* London & New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Advances an in-depth definition of the concept of cultural translation as a critical tool to examine processes of understanding between different modes of being, living and acting in the world, and to question received ideas in globalized societies.

Pieterse, J. N. (2009) *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Offers comprehensive coverage of the main critiques of hybridity across a range of disciplinary contexts.

SARAH MAITLAND

Ideology

As a word-concept, ideology is at best polysemous and at worst amorphous. Possibly among the most heavily appropriated of academic jargon, it is inflected through by a multitude of disciplinary vectors and semantic senses and has become overloaded with meaning, spinning a discourse unto itself. Eagleton defines ideology as “a *text*, woven of a whole tissue of different conceptual strands . . . traced through by divergent histories” (1991:1; original emphasis). He suggests that these various strands should be assessed on their own merits, rather than compressed and essentialized “forcibly into some Grand Global Theory” (ibid.).

Indeed, there is no grand global theory as such in respect of ideology. The problematic nature of ideology as a general concept is evidenced in Eagleton’s 16-point list of definitions (Eagleton 1991:1–2), which includes several overlapping and mutually incompatible themes. From this list Eagleton filters out two lineages in mainstream intellectual thinking: first, the Hegelian-Marxist conception of ideology “as illusion, distortion and mystification” (ibid.:3), which van Dijk (1998:2) calls the “classical tradition”; and second, the school of thought that is less interested in epistemology, focusing instead on “the function of ideas within social life”, or what van Dijk describes as “the social and political dimensions of knowledge, truth and scholarship itself” (1998:3). Both lineages have impacted fields concerned with the study of culture, including translation studies. Two specific themes have come to the fore. The first theme dovetails with the Hegelian-Marxist conception of ideology, entailing “(false) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power” and “systematically distorted communication” (Eagleton 1991:1). On one level, this strand can be said to operate

in postcolonial studies and studies of Orientalism, which aim to expose “cultural forms of colonial and imperial ideologies” (Young 2001:384), including politically motivated (mis)communications and (mis)constructions of the colonized Other. The second theme corresponds with the sociological dimension, manifested as “a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class” (Eagleton 1991:1). It is this second theme that underpins references such as “the Western ideology of objective description” (Bachmann-Medick 2016:113), “a racist blood-and-soil ideology” (ibid.:212), and “the European ideology of evolutionary development and history as progress” (ibid.:213).

What Eagleton (1991:2) calls “the conjuncture of discourse and power” is precisely what van Dijk’s discourse approach to ideology attempts to address. Insofar as this latter line of enquiry explores how ideology is expressed in social practices, including text and talk, the relations between ideology and institutional structures, and the reproduction of ideologies through discourse (van Dijk 1998:4–5), it could be considered part of Eagleton’s social strand, notwithstanding van Dijk’s positioning of his theory as distinct from earlier traditions by virtue of its multidisciplinary. Ultimately, there is no hard and fast line to draw between the two approaches to ideology. While the first theme focuses on ideology as the driver of political machineries and the second on ideology as a pervasive sociocultural phenomenon with epistemological ramifications, both nonetheless converge on such shared notions as power, hegemony and asymmetry.

In translation studies, most interpretations of the term tend toward the second theme, with an emphasis on normativity. Lefevere (1992) juxtaposes ideology with poetics, thereby suggesting that ideology refers to norms in culture and society outside literary texts and establishments. This understanding is evident in his definition

of ideology as “the conceptual [as opposed to textual] grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time, and through which readers and translators approach texts” (1998:48). Mason (1994/2010:86) echoes this understanding in defining ideology as “the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual’s or institution’s view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts and other aspects of experience”. The prevailing approach is thus to treat ideology as an umbrella concept that subsumes the political (narrowly defined) within its purview but also exceeds it. As Calzada Pérez (2003/2014a:5) argues, this allows translation researchers “to investigate modes of thinking, forms of evaluating, and codes of behaviour which govern a community by virtue of being regarded as the norm”. Based on this inclusive platform, scholars have engaged with a wide spectrum of phenomena which encompass “sites of ideological engagement like gender, sexual identity, religion, secularity, technology and translation studies self-criticism” (ibid.:9).

Research themes

It is useful to distinguish between the ideology of translating, meaning how the act of translating itself is influenced by the ideological environment writ large, and the translation of ideology, or what happens to the values or worldviews embedded in texts in the course of their translation into another language (Hatim and Mason 1997:143). Nevertheless, the boundary between the two may be less than distinct in practice: how a translator handles a text with all its ideological baggage is in part contingent on the sociocultural and institutional setting in which the act of translating occurs. Any discussion of research themes will thus demonstrate the chameleonic character of ideology, which morphs into different shades as it interfaces with different translational phenomena.

The theme of politics is generally regarded as central to ideology. Translation figures instrumentally in diplomacy and international relations (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010:12). In examining translated political texts from an ideological standpoint, the basic premise is that the lexicogrammatical decisions that go into the

making of a translation are to an extent shaped by the ideological milieu in which it is situated. The primary method, accordingly, is to read ideological motivations into micro-textual shifts in the translation in a way that is contextually sustainable. Thus, joint policy documents signed between two countries and written in two languages may frame key concepts differently, for example by metaphorizing the state as a fatherly figure vs a safety net (Schäffner 2003/2014), demonstrating that the same text may be negotiated differently in different ideological contexts. Similarly, in politically sensitive contexts such as European Parliament debates about Guantánamo Bay detainees, simultaneous interpreters’ choice of pronouns (exclusive, inclusive, generic) and lexical labels (*refugees*, *enemy combatants*, *detainees*, *inmates*) project different ideological stances toward the subject matter at hand (Beaton-Thome 2010, 2013). In conflictual diplomatic settings, naming strategies have been shown to be ideologically loaded: to construe US trade bans against Cuba as an *embargo* or a *bloqueo* (blockade) is not a mere choice between linguistic equivalents, but a calculated discursive move that reflects competing perspectives (Munday 2007:205–206, 2012a:41).

The mediation of politicians’ utterances in translation best exemplifies ideological tension between territorial powers, as demonstrated in Gagnon and Kalantari’s (2017) study of the nuances involved in the translation of loaded terms in French-English bilingual speeches by Canadian prime ministers. Translating “negative consequences of separating from Canada” as “conséquences d’une éventuelle sécession et” (consequences of a potential secession), for example, “presents Quebec’s separation in a slightly more neutral light, since the word negative is omitted in the translation” (ibid.:24). Schäffner (2008/2016:223) draws on an interview with Vladimir Putin, where he reportedly comments: “Look at what’s happening in North America, it’s simply awful: torture, homeless people, Guantánamo, people detained without trial and investigation”. The German version in *Der Spiegel* reduces this to “In Amerika wird gefoltert, zum Beispiel in Guantánamo” (There is torture applied in America, for example in Guantánamo), where the passive structure reduces agency. Schäffner compares this with the *Spiegel* International version, “The Americans

torture at Guantánamo”, where the active voice foregrounds the salience of Americans as agents of unjustified violence. The ideologies that different media subscribe to are thus reflected in transitivity choices at the lexicogrammatical level.

Other studies have shown that translation is implicated in the discursive struggle between imperial powers. In translating *Crónica del Perú* by the Spanish chronicler Pedro de Cieza de León, Sir Clements Robert Markham displayed a tendency to demonize the Spanish from the standpoint of the British. This is evidenced in the inclusion of negative commentary such as “the majority were either coarse and avaricious adventurers, or disappointed courtiers” (Zaro 2000:122) in his introduction, and the omission of positive descriptions such as *muy honrados* (very honest) in his translation of a passage that reads “Toda la más de esta ciudad está poblada, como ya dije, de muchos y muy honrados mercaderes” as “The city is inhabited by many merchants” (ibid.:124).

The choice of register in translation may reflect competing ideological positions: nineteenth-century Columbian conservatives preferred archaizing translations, which by virtue of their ostensible etymological authenticity evoked a Spanish legacy that facilitated the revival of the traditional order (Rodríguez García 2010). Translation also figures prominently in revolutionary contexts; for example, subtitling can become a platform for dissenting voices against hegemony, constituting “the *pièce de résistance* against the powers that be” (Díaz Cintas 2012a:289). State modernization in developing countries can be a translational project, where prevailing ideologies dictate the production of national literatures through systematic translations of the European and Anglophone canon, as attested in the modern histories of Turkey (Aksoy 2010) and China (T.K. Lee 2017). Notably, non-translation, too, can be ideologically driven: the dearth of Shakespearean translations in nineteenth-century Portugal, for example, may be explained as motivated by anti-British sentiments at the time (Duarte 2000).

Another important theme addressed in the literature is language ideology, defined by Meylaerts (2007:298) as “a constellation of beliefs, assumptions and expectations, held by groups of people in a certain geo-political and insti-

tutional context, about language use, language values, language users, but also about language contacts and translation”. The issue is especially pertinent in multilingual cities, which may be thought of as translational regimes (Meylaerts 2011), a term that embodies the bond between translation and ideology. In translational regimes language ideology is manifest in questions relating to the choice of language to use, the choice of language to be translated into or out of, who is able to or is allowed to translate, and the type of institutional framework in which translation is conducted (Meylaerts 2007:298). In this context, translation may take on performative as opposed to substantive functions. In South Africa, interpreting into multiple languages is central to the imagining of a multilingual regime in the postapartheid era (Wallmach 2014:576). Similarly, the use of English subtitling in South African soap operas is not so much about providing communicative access; rather, it serves the “very specific ideological goal” of constructing South Africa as an Anglophile country (J.-L. Kruger 2012a:507).

In communities with more than one official or historically important language, asymmetry between competing languages with different symbolic and/or economic capital has considerable implications for policy and planning; as Meylaerts puts it, “there is no *language* policy without a *translation* policy” (2011:744; original emphasis). Examples include Belgium (Meylaerts 2007, 2011) and Singapore (T.K. Lee 2013a). In these complex sociolinguistic territories, the tension between dominant and nondominant languages is not only reflected in language education policies, but also negotiated and reconciled in the literary field. Multilingual literary anthologies are a major ideological institution, where decisions concerning the directionality of translation and the relative degrees of visibility of the languages involved have been closely studied (T.K. Lee 2013a; Seruya et al. 2013).

Research on language ideology and translation includes Venuti’s work on fluency and domestication and his programme of privileging minoritizing and foreignizing translation. Foreignizing and minoritizing strategies aim to resist the dominance of hegemonic languages by foregrounding the alterity of the foreign text as well as empowering minoritizing discourses within the hegemonic language itself

(Venuti 1995b/2008, 1998a), for example by translating a canonical poem into Brooklynese rather than standard English. Beyond literature, Bennett (2007a, 2013) has scrutinized translations of academic articles from Portuguese for publication in English-language journals, the forum of prestige for the dissemination of scholarly work. Here, culture-specific rhetorical structures of non-Anglophone writing – realized, for example, in the use of emotive lexis and meandering syntax – are often recast into the logical, expository textual style with which Anglophone readers are familiar. This ideological-discursive operation, Bennett argues, leads to the obliteration of the knowledges and worldviews of other cultures, a situation which she describes as one of ‘epistemicide’.

Gender is another major theme in the study of translation and ideology. Feminist translators have advocated extensive intervention in translation to push against discourses perceived to be patriarchal, and hence hegemonic. Simon offers several examples of textual strategies adopted in various feminist translations of the Bible, including replacing *Lord* with *Sovereign*, *Brethern* with *Sisters and Brothers* and *Son of God* with *Child of God* (1996:127). Some research has also examined the question of whether translators’ strategies vary according to their gender (Leonardi 2007; Underhill 2011), but it remains unclear whether gender exercises a direct or substantive impact on how translators shape their work. This is partly due to the relative lack of relevant empirical data: source texts translated by both male and female translators tend to be hard to come by. Moreover, gender is never the only dimension of ideology at work in any given translation. It is thus difficult to ascertain whether any differences observed in a translation are gender-motivated. In this connection, Flotow (2009a) proposes a micro-/macro-cosmopolitan intersectional approach to understanding gender in translation. This involves researchers engaging with women translators operating within the cultural and historical confluences of their moment, while simultaneously locating their works within wider theoretical frameworks such as psychoanalytic feminism, that “broad macro-cosmopolitan space within which details

of intersectionality unfold – and which these details may then slowly transform” (ibid.:n.p.).

A number of studies have also engaged with what Harvey (2003/2014:68) refers to as the “ideological trouble” involved in representing queer identities across cultures. Where the receiving culture has a different “horizon of expectation” in relation to non-normative sexualities, translations of queer texts may be subject to “suppressions and reconfigurations” (ibid.), with the effect of diminishing the sexual ideologies of the original text as well as raising questions about the identity of queer communities (Harvey 2000). Other studies that have engaged with ideological shifts in the translation of queer texts include Keenaghan’s examination of the translation of Lorca’s ‘Ode to Walt Whitman’ by the gay American poet Jack Spicer and the strategies he used to render “the gay body lexically visible” (1998:278).

Religion, particularly the translation of scriptural texts, has been the subject of much research, demonstrating that translation can become a site of intense ideological struggle in this context (Rafael 1988; Long 2005; Israel 2006/2010, 2011, Elmarsafy and Bentaibi 2015). In Turkey, for example, Islamist retranslations of western classics often involve overt interventions that have been criticized by secularists, hence turning translation into a nexus of ideological tension between the Islamist and non-Islamist sectors of the country (Baydan 2015).

Ideology in translation studies

As with all academic fields, the models and frameworks that emerge in translation studies are shaped by the worldviews of the scholars who propose them (Shamma 2012). Various paradigms that have made their appearance, and perhaps faded away with time, in the evolution of the field may thus be seen as instantiations of ideology in their own right. Baumgarten, for example, argues that “the gradual move from an essentialist to a non-essentialist *Zeitgeist* since the middle of the last century . . . aids our understanding of shifting ideologies within translation studies research” (2012:62). This self-reflexive stance suggests that translation studies is heading toward maturity as a field capable of critically examining its own ideologies. One of

the topics that have received attention in this context is the conventional positioning of the translator as an in-between figure, which arguably connotes objective neutrality as opposed to embeddedness in specific sociocultural frames. Tymoczko criticizes this ideological-metaphorical construct as “a rather romantic and even elitist notion of the translator as poet” (2003/2014:199). On the methodological front Tymoczko (2007/2014:140–186) concurrently promotes the importation of scientific apparatuses into translation studies research – itself an ideological move that appears to re-brand translation studies as more of a social scientific than a humanities discipline.

It seems likely that the concept of ideology will continue to pervade research on translation, in a variety of ways. It may be incorporated into established frameworks that have traditionally failed to engage with it: for example, Laviosa (2011) proposes that ideology be incorporated as an additional limb into corpus-based methodologies in translation studies. Ideology will also continue to be used in myriad senses. In Venuti's *Translation Changes Everything* (2013a), the term *ideology* appears 14 times (once within a direct quote), collocating with a wide range of items that include *political*, *racist*, *leftwing*, *commercialism*, *absolutist* and *masculinist*. This is symptomatic of the semantic ungroundedness of the term, which is both a strength and a weakness in relation to translation research. Given the enormously wide scope of the term as used in translation studies today, the question arises as to what precisely is *not* ideology – regardless of whether we are speaking of the ideology of translating, the translation of ideology or ideology in translation studies. Fawcett's (2003) work is relevant here. He identifies various techniques involved in the translation of films into English: normalizing, repressing, levelling, censoring – all by now commonplace, assimilationist techniques that fit squarely into the agenda of the ideological strand in translation studies. Fawcett then poses a difficult question that underlies any study of ideological motivation: to what extent can we assume that “film translators really have any other serious option” (ibid.:162) and to what extent might we argue that they are simply conforming to commercial realities and the constraints of modality. The question has to do with the plausibility of assigning ideological intention, however we choose to define ideology, to empirically observ-

able shifts in translations, and of imbuing any discursive move with ideological explanations.

Ultimately, as interest in ideology continues to grow in the field, one question we have to consider is whether the notion of ideology can add substantive value to a specific piece of research. Judicious and selective deployment of the concept is necessary to avoid the risk of turning it into a stale and empty label.

See also:

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS; DUBBING; GENDER; LINGUA FRANCA, TRANSLATION; MULTILINGUALISM; QUR'AN (KORAN); REWRITING; SEXUALITY

Further reading

Calzada Pérez, M. (2003/2014) 'Introduction', in M. Calzada Pérez (ed.) *Apropos of Ideology*, Abingdon: Routledge, 1–22.

Provides a clear overview of the notion of ideology and its applications in translation studies.

Cunco, S. and J. Munday (2007) (eds) *Translation and Ideology: Encounters and clashes*, Special issue of *The Translator* 13(2).

Covers various genres, such as academic writing, legal and scientific texts, political interviews, advertisements, language ideological debates and European Parliament discourse.

Flotow, L. von (2000) *Idéologie et traduction/ Translation and Ideology*, Special issue of *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 13(1).

Specifically addresses the relation between ideology and translation, with gender and state ideologies as prominent themes.

TONG KING LEE

Institutional translation

The term institutional translation most commonly refers to the act or product of linguistic mediation carried out by individual or collective actors on behalf of or for the benefit of institutions. The practice is often regarded as a language service activity undertaken by

linguistically pluralistic governments or organizations for the purpose of upholding such values as equality, democracy, justice, multilingualism, transparency or the right to knowledge. However, institutional translation also occurs in private companies which seek to protect their commercial interests and maximize their profits (Wakabayashi 2014).

Institutional translation is frequently considered a slippery concept because ‘institution’ and ‘translation’, the two components that constitute the term, are complex notions that have been variously defined. In sociology, the discipline most closely linked to the study of institutions, the term is more or less understood as the “enduring elements of social life . . . that affect the behavior and beliefs of individuals and collective actors by providing templates for action, cognition, and emotion” (Lawrence et al. 2011:53). In translation studies, research on institutional translation has tended to focus on translation activities that take place in concrete institutions, although the notion of institution may encompass many different levels, including an abstract level such as religion, a formal level, as when it refers to the church, as well as a concrete level, a local parish being a good example of the latter (Koskinen 2008). Thus, research on institutional translation has in general focused on institutions such as international or supranational organizations, national governments, news organizations and private companies. The term translation denotes various forms of linguistic mediation that involve rendering from one language into another various types of written or oral text, though mostly written, that have symbolic and practical implications for the maintenance, legitimation and in certain cases the transformation of institutions.

The connection between institutional translation and its related terms is also complex. For example, institutional translation’s relationship to official translation and public service translation or interpreting raises questions concerning semantic overlap and fuzzy boundaries. Official translation, which is closely connected to the concept of official languages (OECD 2013), refers to “translation and interpretation between the legislated languages within a legally constituted political entity, such as a State or part of a State, a city, or a supranational organization such as the EU” (Merkle 2013:119). Public service

translation, on the other hand, is associated with the translation of texts that are “generated by the larger community (society) or by smaller communities (linguistic or ethnic communities within the larger society, local communities, religious groups, etc.) in order to ensure communication with all citizens . . . and permit their participation and, therefore, empowerment” (Taibi 2011:214–215). To further complicate matters, public service translation is at times used synonymously with community translation – though not in the sense of collaborative forms of translation carried out by online groups of volunteer translators; in the sense in which it overlaps with institutional translation, community translation denotes written translation of material addressed by “authorities or institutions to people who do not understand texts in the language of the text producer” (Niska 2002:135). Given that a large number of institutional translation activities are carried out in the context of official or multilingual political entities and that various types of commercial entities also operate institutional translation systems, official translation, public service translation and community translation may all be considered subfields of institutional translation.

Research themes

Increasing connectivity and globalization, growing transnational mobility of people and commodities, and the spread of regional and transregional conflicts have underlined the importance of institutional translation in the context of transnational governmental bodies, multinational companies, international relief organizations, churches and various multinational military forces. The rise in scholarly interest in institutional translation, however, is more closely related to two developments that have impacted not only institutional translation but also translation studies in general. One is the expansion of translation and interpreting activities in the context of the European Union (EU) institutions, the largest employer and client of translators in Europe. Employing in-house translators and working with independent contractors, the EU institutions have had to face complex translation-related administrative, financial and training challenges, despite their

commitment to the “ambitious project to enable Europe to speak with one voice but in many languages” (Tosi 2003:ix). This situation has led to extensive debates and supported research projects on many aspects of institutional translation. The other development concerns increased interest in sociological aspects of translation, which has resulted in a shift in research focus – from languages, texts and cultures to individual and collective agents whose actions are embedded in a constellation of relations and structures. Since the early 2000s, an increasing number of research projects have been dedicated to demonstrating that translators, like other agents, are socially positioned in public and private life and that social conditions and pressures serve to influence, regulate and transform the process and product of translation (Inghilleri 2005b; Baker 2006; Pym et al. 2006; Wolf and Fukari 2007; Pym et al. 2008; Pérez-González 2012b; Kang 2014). Both types of development have served to enhance academic interest in institutions and institutional translation.

Research on institutional translation carried out to date may be divided into three groups. The first group focuses on the structure and operation of institutions within which the planning, implementation, regulation and evaluation of translation activities take place (Mossop 1988, 2006; Koskinen 2000a, 2008; Tahir Gürçağlar 2008; Harding 2014). Institutions here are viewed as conditioning, influencing or shaping translators’ behaviour and their responses to various situations, as well as the ways in which they translate texts. The focus is on institutional culture; on the norms, regulations and policies related to translation, which are often described in framework documents; on the evolution of the institution from historical, political and economic perspectives; An example of this type of research is Mossop’s (2006a) study of the Translation Bureau of Canada’s federal government. Examining the ways in which the Translation Bureau evolved historically, Mossop argues that “federal government translation in Canada is now being done increasingly under the sign of economic policy whereas previously it was done mainly under the sign of socio-cultural policy”, and that this change has had a negative impact on “the quality ideal and on the linguistic output of translators, because it has brought time/cost considerations to the fore” (ibid.:25).

Another example of this strand of research is Tahir Gürçağlar’s (2008) examination of Turkey’s Translation Bureau, which operated from 1940 to 1966 and produced over a thousand translations of mainly western classics. Based on an analysis of discourses about the Bureau, Tahir Gürçağlar argues that literature and translation are ideological instruments used to create a common culture, and that in this case the common culture they created served as a basis for the emergence of a new nation.

The most widely discussed institutions in translation studies are perhaps those of the EU. In her analysis of the official institutional documents that frame and regulate translation work in the European Commission, Koskinen (2008) points to the inconsistency and incongruity in the Commission’s positioning vis-à-vis translation. Describing the Commission as a “*translating* and *translated* institution” (Koskinen 2008:v; original emphasis), she states that “translation has been recognized and its status strengthened” in the Commission, as evident in “the reorganization of the translation service into the Directorate-General of Translation” (ibid.:79). At the same time, however, “the fact that approximately 90 percent of the Commission’s written communication originates in translations remains completely undiscussed in the documents, and translation is curiously invisible in them”, which sends a “mixed institutional message” to translators and other relevant parties (ibid.:80).

The second group of studies focuses on the process and product of translation undertaken in institutions. These cover a wide range of topics, ranging from what texts are selected for translation, to translation processes, textual features of institutionally produced translations, and the uses of translated and interpreted texts (Beaton-Thome 2010; B. Davidson 2000; Jacquemet 2005/2010; Kang 2007, 2010; Kim 2017; Koskinen 2008; Pan 2014; Schäffner et al. 2014; Wagner et al. 2014). Schäffner et al. (2014) is a comparative study of translation practices in three types of institution: national, supranational and nongovernmental organizations. The study focuses on the translation service of the German Foreign Office, the translation department of the European Central Bank (CEB) and translation provision by Amnesty International, and examines the ways in which the type of institution

and organizational structure impact translation practices and translated texts. The authors argue that the characteristics of institutional translation as collective, anonymous and standardized, and as a form of self-translation, are present to different degrees in all these examples, depending on the institution type. Furthermore, “ideological aspects do not seem to play the most important role for translation practices and translation strategies” (ibid.:509), and the kind of diversity shown in the function, role and organization of each institution is equally reflected in the ways in which translation is organized, conceptualized and executed. Kang’s (2007) analysis of *Newsweek Korea*’s translation process and of its translated texts on North Korea suggests that the production of translated news stories is the result of complex institutional procedures involving a multiplicity of actors who engage in an institutional routine to re-situate the source text in its new environment. Translation in this context involves processes of decontextualizing and recontextualizing texts, with elements of the prior discourse as manifested in the source text lifted from the original setting, re-perspectivized, differently foregrounded, silenced, elaborated on or blended with other voices for a new context of use – the context of reception by South Korean readers of *Newsweek Korea*.

The third strand of research investigates translators and interpreters working in various institutions and attempts to account for different forms of agency and their impact on the institutional order. The attitudes and perceptions of individual and collective actors who try to cope with the institutional structures within which they work and which assign them specific roles, relationships, resources and routines are addressed in various research projects (Ing-hilleri 2007; Kang 2012; Koskinen 2008; Mossop 2014; Pym et al. 2013). Although the scope and extent of translators’ agency is dependent on the institutional context and their interactions with other institutional actors, translators develop strategies for coping with different types of conditions and pressures. Various scholars have attempted, mostly drawing on practice-oriented approaches, to make sense of the relationship between actors and the cultures and structures in which they are embedded. This perspective contrasts on the one hand with structuralist approaches (Parsons 1960),

according to which human action is limited to the enactment or execution of rules and norms, and on the other with the voluntaristic views of agency which posit that actors have unlimited freedom and capacity to create new arrangements (Lawrence et al. 2009; Ortner 1984). Mossop’s (2014) study of translator motivation in the context of the Canadian government translation service addresses the conditions and activities that constitute motivators and de-motivators. Using a self-diary method, he shows that many of the de-motivators originate from the context of working within a large institution that affords individual actors little control over the types of text they translate and gives no information or feedback about the output of translation. Interpersonal relationships with colleagues are mostly associated with motivators. Mossop makes an interesting observation about the relationship between translator identity and institutional work, stating that as a salaried translator of the Canadian government’s Translation Bureau for almost 40 years, his personal commitment lies more with the profession of translator than the institution for which he works:

I myself identify firstly with the profession of translator and secondly with the particular segment of the civil service where I work (the Translation Bureau); I do not identify at all with the government services ministry (under which the Bureau falls) or the civil service/government in general.

(Mossop 2014:590)

This statement connects to the findings from Koskinen’s ethnographic study of identities of translators of the European Commission. Koskinen emphasizes that translators, who have to accommodate conflicting identities (here, their national and European identities), negotiate the multiple affiliations of their nexus of identities in their daily work, noting that “these identities are not fixed but blurred and constantly re-negotiable” (2008:118). She concludes that the translators working for the Commission “are a unified professional group” and that “they are an integral part of the Commission, but separate from it; they see their task as serving the European citizens” (ibid.:118).

Future directions

The practice of institutional translation has a long history in many parts of the world, but apart from translation in the European Union institutions, institutional translation has not received sustained systematic treatment. Nevertheless, what empirical data and findings are available suggest that institutional translation practices are relatively more pervasive in non-European contexts. In Asia, for example, institutional translation played a crucial role in the transmission of religion, implementation of trade and diplomatic policies, and the introduction of western learning. Translation of sutras from Central Asian languages and Sanskrit into Chinese began around the second century CE and evolved into large-scale government sponsored projects that were carried out in teams (Hung and Wakabayashi 2005). Characterized by a multiplicity of actors assuming different institutional roles and participating in collaborative translation projects, this pattern points to a vital practice that sets the Chinese translation tradition apart from other traditions (Hung 2005a). Furthermore, government translation constitutes the “only continuous translation tradition in history” in the Chinese context (Hung and Wakabayashi 2005:6). In the case of Japan, institutional translation played a significant role in the nineteenth century, when many concepts and ideas were introduced from Europe. The Translation Bureau established in 1811 under the auspices of shogunate’s Observatory played an important role in translating Dutch texts into the Japanese language as part of *rangaku* (Dutch learning) in the enclave of Dejima, where the learning of European mathematics, astronomy, medicine and geography was allowed despite the Tokukawa shogunate’s policy of national isolation (1641–1853) (Howland 2002). The shogun’s Translation Bureau was reconstructed as *Bansho shirabesho* (Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books) in 1856 to translate material written in English, French, German and Russian, in addition to Dutch. Institutional translation also played a critical role in managing Korea’s encounters with other Asian states. For example, the official interpreters and translators of *Sayeogwon* (Office of Interpreters) of the Joseon dynasty, which ruled the Korean Peninsula from 1392 to 1910, were responsible for mediating

communication and interaction between the representatives of Joseon and foreign groups (Baek 2019). Specializing in such languages as Chinese, Japanese, Jurchen and Mongolian, these interpreters and translators were entrusted with the task of not only language mediation but also interstate trade and the transmission of information about external cultural trends to the Joseon society (ibid.).

Further investigation of and reflection on institutional translation practices in diverse cultural and historical settings are thus needed. In addition to recognizing the differences in modes of and values placed on institutional translation practices in various settings, more empirical research is needed on the uses to which institutional translation has been put. Institutional translation has been linked to nation-building, cultural development, governing and/or empowering populations and making profit. Koskinen stresses that institutions are regulatory organizational systems that operate in a multilingual environment and hence “employ translation in performing their governing function” (2014:479). As such, institutions engage in a form of self-translation to construct and maintain their legitimacy and constituencies. The use of discursive and semiotic resources to (re)define a given state-of-affairs in line with the views of the institution is one of the key features of institutional translation, where the texts selected for translation are recontextualized so that the translated output functions seamlessly as part of the discourse of a given institution. More empirical analyses are needed to better understand the roles and purposes of institutional translation in different contexts.

Institutional translation is also inevitably bound up with ethical issues. The links between institutional settings and translators’ ethical judgements, professionalism, accountability and their understanding of their relationship with other actors need to be approached more critically. Institutional translators develop multiple allegiances and cultural belongings, and research needs to address the ethical implications of their complex identities and behaviour in “the socially constructed moral spaces. . . [they] inhabit” (Inghilleri 2012:46). Given that institutional practices frequently restrict translators’ autonomy and choices, which may lead to ethical dilemmas, tension arising from potentially

incompatible agendas or principles and even a clash between professional performance and political judgement, research on institutional translation should critically examine the codes of ethics elaborated by institutions, conflicting norms and expectations operative in the workplace, and the positioning and manoeuvring of translators in ethically ambiguous or conflicting situations. We still know very little about how institutional translators make choices in situations where behaving professionally under the legal obligation to serve the interests of their institutions may be inconsistent with behaving as ethically responsible citizens. Existing research on institutional translation has pointed to the tendency for translation to serve the interest of institutions and for translators to fulfil a gatekeeping role. Furthermore, institutional actors have been shown to perform interconnected yet separate roles, with responsibility for producing a translated text distributed among several layers and “the power relationship among mediators affect[ing] the shaping of perceptions regarding translation and the wording of the TT” (Kang 2012:458). These are all issues that need to be investigated in different spatial and temporal contexts.

See also:

CONFERENCE AND SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING; NEWS TRANSLATION; WAR

Further reading

Baker, M. (ed.) (2010) *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, London & New York: Routledge.

Includes articles by scholars such as Davidson, Jacquemet, Mason, Israel and Inghilleri that offer important critical reflections on the complex positioning and choices of translators and interpreters in institutional settings.

Kang, J.-H. (ed.) (2014) *Translation in Institutions*, Special Issue of *Perspectives* 22(4).

Contains interesting articles that discuss conceptual issues related to institutional translation and detailed case studies of the processes and products of institutional translation from diverse cultural contexts.

Koskinen, K. (2008) *Translating Institutions: An ethnographic study of EU translation*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Provides an excellent theoretical and empirical discussion of institutional translation,

based on an ethnographic analysis of translation and translators in the European Commission.

Ji-Hae Kang

Intersectionality

Intersectionality, a term widely used and much debated across and beyond academia, is gaining traction within translation studies. It is associated most readily with disciplines such as women's and gender studies, sociology, law and public health, and has given rise to a vast body of literature since it was first proposed by Crenshaw in 1989. The term has been mobilized in translation studies by feminist scholars who see intersectionality as a “key area . . . of growth” (Castro and Ergun 2018:134). However, this development is not uncontested. While some argue that it is vital for feminist approaches to embrace intersectionality in order to open up new areas of research, keep up with advances in other fields and contribute to global movements for social justice (Castro and Ergun 2017c; Castro and Ergun 2018:134–143), intersectionality has also been seen as a threat to feminism and an approach which risks undermining the discipline (Flotow, in Alvira 2010:289).

Defining intersectionality

There is no single, commonly agreed theory or definition of intersectionality. It has been called variously a concept, a perspective, a methodological approach, a research paradigm, a nodal point and an analytic disposition (Collins and Chepp 2013:57–58; Cho et al. 2013:788, 795). Intersectionality has its roots in American Black feminisms, and commentators have traced its genealogy through the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s and even back to the mid-nineteenth century (Collins and Bilge 2016:63–77). The American legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw is often credited with having coined and described the term in two seminal articles published in 1989 and 1991. Crenshaw began by examining discrimination against Black women in civil rights cases, leading her

to argue that race and gender should not be regarded as “mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis” and to propose a new framework for understanding the “multidimensionality of Black women’s experience” that attends to the “interaction of race and gender” (1989:139–140). Crenshaw then expanded on this idea, emphasizing how her observations on race and gender pointed to “the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed” (1991:1245) and highlighting race, gender and class as systems of power which work together to disadvantage Black women and other women of colour. Crenshaw’s interest was in the legal, social and political position of women of colour in contemporary America, but she suggested that the tendency to adopt “single-axis” thinking, and thus obscure the experiences of women of colour, characterized feminist theory more generally (1989:139).

Crenshaw’s work was quickly taken up by academics in other disciplines, and intersectionality soon spread well beyond the academy, becoming common currency in politics, in the media and on social media. Along the way, the meaning of the term has evolved: it has been employed and interpreted in a variety of ways and often in looser senses than the one outlined by Crenshaw. “Intersectionality”, conclude Collins and Bilge,

is a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experience. . . . When it comes to social inequality, people’s lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race, gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other.

(2016:1–2)

There has been much debate about the different ways in which intersectionality has been conceptualized. For example, scholars have questioned whether it can or should be applied to marginalized communities other than American Black women (Cooper 2016) and whether it focuses too much on the “marginalized dimensions of varying identities” (Hancock 2016:195).

For Cooper, the most serious consequence of intersectionality travelling between disciplines is that it has been misinterpreted as a “feminist account of identity” (2016:389). Cooper points to the important distinction between personal and structural identities, reminding us that Crenshaw was only ever concerned with the structural; and she urges feminist theorists to

reject any misrepresentations of intersectionality that suggest that the search for a theoretical frame that fully encompasses the bounds of articulable identities takes priority over a framework which sustains critiques of the institutional power arrangements that make those identities invisible and illegible.

(*ibid.*:392)

Intersectionality as an analytical tool

There is no common framework or methodology used in intersectional studies. The most sustained reflection on methodology has come from the social and political sciences. A frequently referenced article by the sociologist McCall (2005), for instance, describes sociological approaches to analyzing the complexity of social relations as a contribution to intersectional methodologies. These approaches range from “anticategorical complexity”, which is based on the notion that social life is too complex to be reduced to categories, to “intercategorical complexity”, which employs accepted categories strategically to study inequalities among multiple social groups (2005:1773); McCall then notes the methods she used for a study of the intersecting dimensions of wage inequality (race, gender, class) in selected American cities using her own preferred intercategorical approach, namely, “advanced quantitative techniques and large data sets from impersonally administered survey questionnaires” (*ibid.*:1791).

Seeking likewise to reach out beyond their discipline, sociologists Collins and Bilge tackle the issue of methodologies by intimating that there have been two “focal points” of intersectional work (2016:31): “critical inquiry”, which means “using intersectional frameworks to study a range of social phenomena” (*ibid.*:33)

and “critical praxis”, which is “an important analytical framework for *doing* social justice work” (ibid.:42; original emphasis). Cho et al. allow for an even more inclusive formulation, suggesting that ‘doing’ intersectionality means understanding intersectionality as an “analytic disposition”:

what makes an analysis intersectional is not its use of the term ‘intersectionality’, nor its being situated in a familiar genealogy, nor its drawing on lists of standard citations. Rather, what makes an analysis intersectional . . . is its adoption of an intersectional way of thinking about sameness and difference and its relation to power.

(2013:795)

This flexibility in approach is seen positively by some as opening up scope for creative thinking on the part of the researcher (Cho et al. 2013:788), but others are more sceptical. For example, there have been questions about what a multiple-axis framework should look like in practice in terms of type and number of categories. Can the classic race-gender-class triad be transposed to non-American contexts (Knapp 2005)? Others have questioned whether there are too many potential categories of identity, once we start taking into account others such as sexual orientation, region/nation, religion, age and (dis)ability. Cooper (2016:402–404) wonders whether the Black female subject should remain present or even central in analyses, given Black women’s foundational role in intersectional scholarship and political activism.

Intersectionality in translation studies

If intersectionality is to be understood as an analytic disposition, then some work in translation studies can be designated as intersectional even if it does not necessarily name the term or claim to use an intersectional framework. Flotow (2009a), for instance, observes intersectional thinking in Spivak’s call for more attention to cultural specificity in the translation of Third World women’s writing (1992/2012), and in Cronin’s account of micro-cosmopolitanism which emphasizes differences “at the

micro-levels of society” (2006:16). Further, Castro and Ergun (2018:134) list a number of recent edited volumes which they suggest demonstrate implicitly the impact of intersectionality on feminist translation studies in addressing “the intertwined operations of gender with race, sexuality and/or geopolitics (particularly in regard to nationalism, colonialism and orientalism) as these materialise in the practice and theorisation of translation”; these studies include Ko and Zheng (2007), Larkosh (2011a) and Epstein and Gillett (2017).

There have also been attempts to apply intersectionality specifically to translation and interpreting, particularly (although not exclusively) on the part of feminist scholars. According to Castro and Ergun, intersectionality has helped feminist translation studies to “grow away from an exclusionary, essentialist focus on gender . . . and become more attuned to geohistorically contingent, multiple, interlocking systems of domination and corresponding, coalitional agendas of resistance pursued in feminist translation praxes” (2018:135). This body of scholarship can be considered under the two areas identified by Collins and Bilge (2016) as critical enquiry and critical praxis, with overlaps between the two areas.

Works of critical enquiry explore how intersectionality can help us think about recent translation practice. For instance, Ergun (2013) and Taronna (2017) examine translations by feminists whose idea of feminism goes beyond resisting patriarchy. Ergun gives an account of her own translation into Turkish of Hanne Blank’s *Virgin: The Untouched History*, a history of virginity in ‘the West’ written for a non-academic audience, which she conceived as a political project aiming to undermine not just gender oppression but various forms of oppression. She describes, for example, how she added a translator’s preface discussing Turkey’s political stance on virginity, underlining how Blank’s insights are relevant in a society not necessarily associated with the “Western world” that Blank is interested in (Blank 2007:x). She reinforces Blank’s central claim about virginity as a historical and “intersectional” fabrication, showing how notions of virginity have been constructed in Turkey “by a vigorous cooperation between the state-sanctioned institutions of medicine, law enforcement, legislation, education,

and language” (Ergun 2013:283). Drawing on Ergun’s work, Taronna seeks to apply a similar notion of feminist translation to the *œuvre* of Joyce Lussu (1912–1998): Lussu may appear to be an unconventional feminist, who critiqued various aspects of the Second Wave, but her feminism can be understood if we see her translation activity not only in terms of gender but as “a praxis of intersectional politics [which] maintains that issues of gender cannot be separated from issues of capitalism, racism, nationalism, colonialism, militarism, antifascism, communism, etc.” (2017:165). de Marco (2016) alludes to intersectionality while outlining a methodological framework for exploring gender issues in audiovisual translation. Her framework is “intersectional” on two levels (ibid.:318). On the one hand, it starts out from the premise that gender identity is based not only on sex but on “social status”, “sexual orientation” and “ethnicity” (the “thematic” level); on the other, it considers how gender identities are carried across in the interlinked linguistic, visual and audio dimensions of AVT (the “structural” level) (ibid.:318). Intersectionality is thus utilized by de Marco to reveal the complexity and heterogeneity of gender (ibid.:321).

Works of critical praxis aim ultimately to guide the activities of practitioners. Tissot (2017) is concerned with developing a feminist ethics of translation which keeps pace with the transnational feminist movement. He acknowledges that feminism has moved on from essentialist notions of woman to recognize difference but is keen to show how the universal is still a useful tool. Tissot proposes an ethical framework which is based on a reconceptualization of the universal: “Conceived as a dynamic space of negotiation at the inter/subjective level of translation, this notion of the universal will provide us with the political framework to practice intersectional justice” (2017:38). He suggests a translation practice grounded in the work of Berman (1985/2012) which would allow us to see the “fragile contingency” of claims for universality (ibid.:39) and at the same time leave us with “the hope that there might be a universal we share” (ibid.:40). Reimóndez (2017) argues along similar lines in setting out her ambitions for the future of feminist translation and interpreting: the goal must be to open up a space for multiple and non-hegemonic voices and listen

to these voices in polyphony in order to arrive at a better understanding of the complex, intersectional workings of oppression. She remarks that feminist intersectional work has failed to take due account of the “oppression of language” (ibid.:44). She makes a number of recommendations for reaching a state of polyphony. On the one hand, she argues for further research, for example into the intersections of coloniality, class and gender in language acquisition, translation and interpreting (ibid.:48). On the other, she presses for more diversity and better training within the profession: “more translator training programmes and courses are needed for non-hegemonic languages” and “special translation projects need to be developed using intermediary translations (through hegemonic languages) to increase the traffic of texts and discourses and communication across languages of non-hegemonic communities” (ibid.:52). In a slightly different vein, Piacentini et al. (2018) propose better training and support for public service interpreters in order to facilitate communication between healthcare providers and increasingly diverse migrant populations. Their study uses an “intersectional perspective” to examine how “the interconnecting variables of immigration status and migratory journey interconnect with language, to influence health care provision and help-seeking behaviours and to shape experiences of interpreted encounters” (2018:3); they conclude by advocating measures which go “beyond diversity and/or race-awareness training and which employ a more rounded approach to understanding how varied social identities and multi-dimensional markers of difference come to be produced and reproduced in healthcare encounters” (ibid.:13).

Intersectionality has not been adopted unquestioningly in translation studies. While translation scholars have not grappled with problems of definition and methodology to the same extent as researchers in other disciplines, a few have expressed reservations about its usefulness and proposed alternative visions for feminist translation and feminist translation studies. Shread (2011), for example, formulates a notion of feminist translation which rejects intersectional thinking in favour of the socio-narrative paradigm advanced by Baker (2006b). Shread makes the case that feminist activism may not

manifest itself explicitly in a target text but “may be at work in more subtle, less clearly indicated routes, tracing out, exploring and forming new narratives rather than acting solely through the exhibition of identity markers” (2011:285–286). If we recognize that becoming a feminist translator is a matter of adopting shared narratives rather than sharing identity attributes this may also make the practice of feminist translation more accessible to those who do not have the identity attributes associated with feminism, such as femaleness (ibid.:286).

Intersectionality has been critiqued most trenchantly by Flotow, who suggests that if we allow gender to become just one of the factors which shape identities and experiences then feminist translation studies risks losing its coherence. She doubts that intersectionality can be employed as a method of textual analysis (Flotow, in Alvira 2010:291) and queries the usefulness of trying to produce case studies that focus on the particular but are no longer obviously linked by a common denominator:

how can the individual case with all its intersections be made meaningful and applicable at a macro-cosmopolitan level . . . how useful is it to produce small case studies, and align their little differences, without abstracting broader concepts and applications from them?

(Flotow 2009a:248; 2012)

While recognizing that gender may intersect with other factors, she argues forcefully, drawing on psychoanalytical theory, for the primacy of gender. She uses two examples in particular to reinforce her point: translations around the world of the women’s health advice book *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, which overcame “intersectional issues of difference” (2012:135, original emphasis; Davis 2007), and the notion of translation as a “metamorphic” or essentially feminine activity (Flotow 2009a, 2012:136–138; Shread 2008). Flotow and Farahzad suggest that problematizing gender is not appropriate when moving outside the “Anglo-American Eurozone” (2017:xvi); for women in other parts of the world, the category of woman is still all-important. They thus seek to acknowledge otherness without exoticizing it and lay emphasis above all on the enduring power of the male-female binary, “as dépassé

as it may seem to some” (ibid.:xvi), as the most appropriate way to build transnational feminist coalitions.

Future directions

Scholars adopting an intersectional approach in translation and interpreting studies often concede that they are testing ideas and indicate that more research is needed. It is striking, for example, that all work so far has focused on the modern or contemporary period. Historians are starting to engage with intersectional ideas (Weikert and Woodacre 2016), and translation history may be one area that is ripe for future research in this respect. Most crucially, there is a need for more reflection on how intersectionality as a concept and analytical tool might usefully be applied in translation studies. A concept that lacks a solid methodological framework can sometimes be employed in a rather imprecise or uncritical fashion, and there are some fundamental, unresolved issues, such as the tension between the local and the global. Castro and Ergun (2018:135) note a growing tendency to emphasize the specificity of every act of translation, following Adrienne Rich’s notion of “the politics of location” (“a place on a map is also a place in history, within which, as a woman, a Jew, a lesbian, a feminist, I am created and trying to create”, Rich 1986:212). Such a tendency does little to answer Flotow’s concerns about feminist studies losing their ability to generalize. Collins and Chepp warn about intersectionality becoming a “required” framework for gender studies: “By tightly linking intersectionality to gender scholarship, gender scholars occupy a potentially confining position whereby they are unable to entertain – or even see – research questions that fall outside the parameters of an intersectional framework” (2013:71). Intersectionality emerged from a specific context; it had specific aims, linked to women of colour; it is useful for reflecting on “operations of power”; but it may not be the best way of reflecting on identity more generally; and it “does not deserve our religious devotion” (Cooper 2016:404–405).

See also:

FEMINIST STRATEGIES; GENDER; SEXUALITY

Further reading

Castro, O. and E. Ergun (2018) 'Translation and Feminism', in F. Fernández and J. Evans (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics*, London: Routledge, 125–143.

Includes an overview of recent research in feminist translation studies which engages – explicitly or implicitly – with intersectionality. Collins, P.H. and S. Bilge (2016) *Intersectionality*, Cambridge: Polity.

An accessible introduction to intersectionality, written by two sociologists and appearing in Polity's 'Key Concepts' series.

Cooper, B. (2016) 'Intersectionality', in L. Disch and M. Hawkesworth (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 385–406.

A helpful survey of current debates about intersectionality among feminist theorists.

Flotow, L. von (2009) 'Contested Gender in Translation: Intersectionality and metamorphics', *Palimpsestes* 22: 245–255.

The first detailed consideration of intersectionality in relation to translation studies, where the author explains why she believes the concept is of limited use.

HILARY BROWN

Intertextuality

Julia Kristeva coined the term *intertextualité* in the late 1960s to denote a radical view of textuality that formed part of her own semiotic theory, known as *sémanalyse*. For Kristeva, the text is a "translinguistic apparatus", a "*productivity*", and this means: first, that its relationship to the language in which it is situated is redistributive (destructive-constructive) . . . and second, that it is a permutation of texts, an intertextuality" (1980:36; original emphasis). The stress here is not on the interconnections between concrete textual products but on "the absorption and transformation" of one text by another (ibid.:66) and, ultimately, on the "transposition of one (or several) sign system(s) into another" (Kristeva 1984:59–60).

Two points are worth pointing out. First, this conception is based on a "global notion of text" which encompasses virtually every

aspect of culture, every semiotic process (Pfiester 1991:212). Second, it "seems to evade human subjects in favour of the more abstract terms, text and textuality" (Allen 2000:36). This is epitomized in Kristeva's famous statement that the "notion of *intertextuality* replaces that of intersubjectivity" (1980:66; original emphasis). Human subjects retain a position in the whole process, but only as "unimportant mediators" in the transformations of texts (Orr 2003:30). Barthes offers a more concrete account of this mediative role by subverting the traditional view of the author and the reader. The text, he contends, is not the substantiation of the author's expression, but a "tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture", and hence the "writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original", can only "mix writings" (Barthes 1977a:146). The text thus reveals itself as an incessant flow of multiple writings, "but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader". And yet, Barthes argues, "this destination cannot any longer be personal: the reader is without history, biography, psychology" (1977a:148).

The early, post-structuralist conceptions of intertextuality were followed by the so-called structuralist approaches of Genette and Riffaterre (Allen 2000:95). Both restrict their scope to issues of literary theory and criticism and inscribe the concept in a significantly different view of textual networks. Genette (1997a:1) opens his *Palimpsestes* with a redefinition of the subject of poetics as "the entire set of general or transcendent categories . . . from which emerges each singular text". The new subject is termed "transtextuality" and is divided into five types: intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality and architextuality (Genette 1997a:1–7). Intertextuality is restricted to "the actual presence of one text within another" and concerns the practices of quoting, plagiarism and allusion (ibid.:2). Genette's concept of intertextuality is a tool that fits perfectly with his view of the literary critic as a Lévi-Straussian *bricoleur* who "takes the work and returns it to the system, illuminating the relation between work and system obscured by the author" (Allen 2000:96).

Riffaterre's approach addresses the referentiality of the literary work and rests on the

assumption that “[t]he text refers not to objects outside of itself, but to an intertext” (Riffaterre 1981:228). Intertextuality is then defined as the “web of functions that constitutes and regulates the relationships between text and intertext” (Riffaterre 1990:57), and is associated with a specific phase of the reading process, which is triggered by various textual incompatibilities, termed “ungrammaticalities” (Riffaterre 1981:230). The intertextual reading of the work does not result in an unresolvable undecidability, but may lead to “a complete decoding, the one fit to be stabilized” (ibid.:228). Riffaterre’s approach is restricted in scope, but it employs a general notion of intertextuality that transcends mere reference to individual sources. It acknowledges textual interdependence as a constitutive factor of textuality, but at the same time asserts the uniqueness of the literary work and the possibility of a complete decoding of it.

Two other prominent variants of the concept of intertextuality as an analytical tool derive from text linguistics and critical discourse analysis, respectively. In the former, intertextuality is defined as one of the seven standards of textuality and is said to concern “the factors which make the utilization of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts” (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:10). Here intertextuality is seen from a cognitive point of view in terms of the “systematic tendencies in interaction of stored world-knowledge and text-presented knowledge” of text users (ibid.:202). In critical discourse analysis, intertextuality is explored in connection with a distinctive type of textual analysis, which focuses on the texts’ selective use of the existing “orders of discourse” and thus “draws attention to [the texts’] dependence upon society and history” (Fairclough 1992a:194–195). Like Kristeva and Bakhtin, Fairclough emphasizes the socio-historical aspect of texts. But unlike them, he uses the concept of intertextuality to analyze texts as instances of specific linguistic practices (1989:152–155).

These early influential approaches were soon followed by derivative ones in various fields of study. Many of these emerged through a mixture of different strands of thought and therefore do not lend themselves easily to clear-cut classifications. Plett distinguishes between a progressive and a traditionalist group of “intertextualists”.

Members of the former “try to cultivate and develop the revolutionary heritage of the originators of the new concept”, whereas “[t]he traditionalists . . . use ‘intertextuality’ as a general term to improve their methodological and terminological instruments” (1991:3–4). This distinction may not cover all cases, especially those that rest on a combination of incompatible elements from both groups. Yet it allows for revealing the mixed (or even contradictory) character of several approaches in terms of both the purposes they are intended to serve and the adopted mode of use of the concept. The “progressive” group uses what Culler (2001:116) calls the “larger concept” of intertextuality, emphasizing the “anonymous discursive practices . . . that make possible the signifying practices of later texts” (ibid.:114). The “traditionalists”, by contrast, prefer a narrower concept that enables them to focus on identifiable sources and determinable relations. However, a conflation of the two concepts is not unusual. Thus, between the stances exemplified by the two groups we could envisage a range of intermediate positions. This would be especially helpful in dealing with disciplines that present no unified approach to intertextuality. Translation studies is a case in point.

Intertextuality and translation

Early references to intertextuality in connection with translation can be found in Eagleton (1977) and Spivak (1976). Both scholars argue for a reconceptualization of translation in terms of non-hierarchical intertextual relations, a theme later widely adopted in translation studies. Translation scholars have shown an increasing interest in intertextuality since the 1980s, resulting in a series of diverse studies on the topic. The mixed character of many of these studies makes a straightforward classification difficult. Yet two dominant tendencies, along with variant applications, can be discerned. On the one hand, there is a tendency to use a specific concept of intertextuality to address general or specific problems of translation. On the other hand, there are studies that seek a redefinition of translation itself in intertextual terms, usually drawing on post-structuralism and deconstructionism.

Studies that exemplify the first tendency subsume under the notion of intertextuality the

background knowledge of text users, together with relevant textual conventions relating to areas such as rhetoric and style. The most typical of these studies draw explicitly on text linguistics and/or critical discourse analysis. Neubert (1981) was the first to discuss translation in intertextual terms, from a text linguistic perspective. Although his approach largely retains the common treatment of translation in terms of equivalence, it does foreshadow a shift in orientation. This is clearly indicated by his statement that “the key notion of translatability is in fact synonymous with intertextuality” (1981:143). His notion of translatability rests on the assumption that “human beings share an experiential world and perhaps also universal processing strategies” and adopts a view of translation as an aspect of the “general . . . human potential to generate textual variants” (ibid.:142). This can be understood as a variation on the dominant understanding of translatability in the 1950s and 1960s in terms of cultural universals (Sakellariou 2017:565–566). The focus on texts as communicative occurrences allows for specific translation problems to be addressed on the basis of a conception of intertextuality as “a phenomenon that a communicatively equivalent translation or interpretation shares with its source” (Neubert 1981:143). Neubert’s study anticipated themes that now enjoy some currency in translation studies, such as the proliferation of intertextual relations triggered by translational activity and the function of translation as a mediative process. The latter theme was taken up by Hatim and Mason (1990a) in connection with the specific issue of the transfer of intertextual references.

Drawing on text linguistics, Hatim and Mason (1990a:132–137) constructed a “unified framework” that starts from the recognition of “intertextual signals” and leads progressively to an evaluation of the intertextual reference’s contribution to its “host text”. As “an essential condition of all texts” (ibid.:137), intertextuality lies at the heart of the work of translators as both critical readers and text producers. The translator can be portrayed as someone who is able to process intertextual references and, more generally, mediate between diverse semiotic practices. Mediation is the new generic term for the complex decision-making process of the translator, which is said to be influenced by temporal

and cultural factors (ibid.:128). An approach to intertextuality that focuses on the translator’s decision-making and mediative role can be easily adjusted to support research on specific translation problems or challenges. Schäffner (2012c:347), for instance, focuses on the challenges posed by “intercultural intertextuality”, by which she means intertextual references to texts that originate in different languages and cultures. She investigates intercultural intertextuality, thus defined, in political speeches and identifies a set of specific translation strategies for dealing with such intertextual relations (ibid.:353–359). Like Hatim and Mason (1990a), Schäffner examined intertextual references from the point of view of their functions for different readers, with emphasis on how these references may shift through the process of translation.

Other studies on particular aspects of intertextuality in the context of translation cover such diverse topics as the choice of metric pattern and lexicon in the translation of poetry (Canani 2014:123–127), translating “the voices and echoes of tradition” in classic plays (Komalesha 2014:231), the use of Shakespearean poetic form and diction in the English translations of ancient Greek drama (Roberts 2010:306–312), the interconnections between conference papers and their impact in simultaneous interpreting (Alexieva 1994) and the translator’s choices at the textual levels of culture-specific works of children’s literature, including the relation between verbal text and illustrations (Desmet 2001). Desmet’s study highlights the interaction between verbal and non-verbal systems. This is a key topic in audiovisual translation, where intertextuality is not an established term to refer to the relationship between verbal and non-verbal systems but has been used in relation to other issues in the literature, both in a general and a specific sense. Some scholars have suggested, for example, that Beaugrande and Dressler’s (1981) concept of intertextuality can be applied to audiovisual products (Sakellariou 2012:687; Zabalbeascoa 2008:22). It has also been suggested that recourse to the concept of intertextuality can help to elucidate the “semiotic status” of subtitling as a “type of translation that is semiotically determined by intersemiotic intertextual relations” (Sakellariou 2012:690). Such intertextual relations may be of various types, encompassing sociocultural allusions

(Hurtado de Mendoza Azaola 2009:70–71) as well as specific references to books, past events and audiovisual programmes (Muñoz Gil 2009:148). In audiovisual translation, intertextuality involves greater inter-semiotic interaction between different elements of the situation, and in that respect the translated text can be said to come closer to Kristeva's concept of a translinguistic apparatus. What all these studies have in common is that they attempt to operationalize a conception of intertextuality that can be used for their specific research interests. They tend to start from a general statement about the significance of intertextuality in processes of textual production and interpretation, and then proceed to investigate its role in specific domains.

Studies that exemplify the second tendency have a similar point of departure, but rather than addressing translation challenges seek instead to redefine the ontological status of translation. An endeavour of this kind typically engages with a set of interrelated issues that revolve around the relationship between the source and the target text. The concept of intertextuality is instrumental in addressing these issues and has been primarily used to challenge accounts of translation based on an essentialist concept of equivalence (Sakellariou 2015:40–44). Essentialist accounts are critiqued for drawing on a view of the text as a self-sufficient work with a unitary meaning and/or a fixed function, which logically leads to a conception of translation as a reproductive process. Against this approach, it has been argued that “[m]eaning is a plural and contingent relation . . . and therefore a translation cannot be judged according to mathematics-based concepts of semantic equivalence or one-to-one correspondence” (Venuti 1995b/2008:13). Translation equivalence is treated as unattainable (Hermans 2007b:59; Littau 1997/2010:440; Venuti 2009:159), and equivalence thus becomes unreliable as a means of defining translation (Farahzad 2008:126).

The emphasis on meaning as a plural relation goes hand in hand with a shift in focus from texts as products to their internal differentiation and the productive intertextual forces that shape textuality. From this perspective, “no text is original; no text is the source of another” (Farahzad 2008:126). Thus “the very distinction between translation and original” is blurred and “the hierarchical relation between . . . what is deemed primary and unique and what is deemed sec-

ondary and second-rate” is undermined (Littau 1997/2010:438). This multidimensional critique is targeted simultaneously at a set of interdependent understandings of textuality, meaning, the relation between the source and the target text, the status of translation as a practice and its character as a meaning-assigning process. The collapse of the specific conception of textuality that underpins essentialist accounts brings about a domino effect, which results in a reconceptualization of translation in intertextual terms. The meaning-transfer analogy becomes untenable, and translation can now be conceived of as a process of recontextualization (Farahzad 2008:126; Roux-Faucard 2006:108; Venuti 2009:159–162). This process “involves the creation of another intratextual context and another network of intertextual and interdiscursive relations” that entails “not only a formal and semantic loss, but also an exorbitant gain” for the source text (Venuti 2009:162). It further results in the enrichment of the target culture's intertextual space with new threads that in turn also impact the source text's intertextual network (Roux-Faucard 2006:116).

The key idea behind this redefinition is not correspondence but proliferation. Rather than striving for accuracy or adequacy, translation is thought to involve choices and thus be inherently partial (Farahzad 2008:127; Hermans 2007:61; Venuti 1995b/2008:13; Venuti 2011b:246). This precludes the attainment of a definitive translation (Hermans 2007:59; Littau 1997/2010:440), which in turn entails an inexhaustible potential for retranslation (Farahzad 2008:126; Hermans 2007:61). In this sense, translation “is nothing other than the celebration of the many multivalent translated versions of an already ‘anoriginal original’”, Littau argues, with the shift “‘from the one to the many’ . . . [constituting] also a shift from loss to gain, a shift from an unattainable equivalence to an unstoppable proliferation” (1997/2010:440). Studies in this second strand of research appear to be breaking new ground, but in a sense they merely provide a theoretical ratification of earlier developments in translation studies. The view of translation they sought to put forward had already started to take shape, gradually, through the numerous novel approaches that evolved over a number of preceding decades. From the descriptive translation studies of the 1970s to the cultural studies

approach and its aftermath, the discipline has undergone a profound, multidirectional reorientation that broadened its research horizon and yielded a wide array of diverse studies (Sakellariou 2017:564–565). Taken together, these studies have variously contributed, through their mutual exchanges and the debates they triggered, to constructing a notion of translation that shares many features with the (largely postmodernist) redefinition of translation outlined above. Yet this notion does not rest exclusively on postmodernist foundations, notwithstanding the key role that post-structuralism and deconstructionism played in this connection (Gentzler 2001:167–186; Gentzler 2002).

Future directions

The reorientation of translation studies at the turn of the century along the lines outlined above was decisive in investigating the relationship between intertextuality and translation. In its diverse variants, the concept of intertextuality started to gain currency in the discipline at a time when translation scholars were experimenting with new perspectives and methods. To this end, it was appropriated both as an analytical instrument and an ideological weapon in theoretical debates. As an instrument of analysis, however, it has not been systematically elaborated; rather, it has remained an underdeveloped category covering heterogeneous phenomena. As ammunition in theoretical debates, the concept may not have been used consistently, especially in its postmodernist variant, but it has proved quite effective as the trademark of an ambitious view of translation.

The concept of intertextuality is likely to lose much of its popularity in translation studies unless a comprehensive typology of intertextual relations can be provided for the specific research needs of the discipline. On the other hand, it has little to offer now as an ideological weapon and will presumably play no significant role in the major debates of the future. Yet the issue of textual interconnections will continue to be highly relevant, and many future developments in the discipline are likely to engage with novel approaches to this theme.

See also:

DECONSTRUCTION

Further reading

Littau, K. (1997/2010) 'Translation in the Age of Postmodern Production: From text to intertext to hypertext', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 33(1): 81–96; reprinted in M. Baker (ed.) *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, London & New York: Routledge, 435–448.

The first and most explicit account of translation and intertextuality along postmodernist lines.

Neubert, A. (1981) 'Translation, Interpreting and Text Linguistics', *Studia Linguistica* 35(1–2): 130–145.

The first text to outline a linguistic approach to translation as an intertextual relation.

Sakellariou, P. (2015) 'The Appropriation of the Concept of Intertextuality for Translation-theoretic Purposes', *Translation Studies* 8(1): 35–47.

An extended account of the redefinition of translation in intertextual terms.

PANAGIOTIS SAKELLARIOU



Language teaching

Since the eighteenth century, when modern languages were introduced in the curriculum of secondary schools in Europe, translation has played a role in language learning and teaching, with one notable exception: the method designed for adult learners by Maximilian D. Berlitz in the late nineteenth century, which explicitly instructed teachers not to use translation (Howatt with Widdowson 2004:224).

In 1783, Johann Valentin Meidinger (1756–1822) wrote a coursebook, *Praktische französische Grammatik*, in which he outlined a method for teaching French to pupils attending the Prussian *Gymnasien*. A decade later, Johann Christian Fick (1763–1821) adopted the same methodology for teaching English (Howatt with Widdowson 2004:152). The Meidinger-Fick method used the L1 as the language of instruction. The syllabus was graded according to grammar rules that were presented one by one in an organized sequence. Each rule was first explained, then exemplified with a set of sentences in the L2 alongside their word-for-word translation in the L1. Practice exercises consisted of translating sentences into and out of the mother tongue, and vocabulary was learned by memorizing bilingual lists of lexical items. The pedagogic objective was to read literary classics and benefit from the intellectual development that results from foreign-language study.

In 1882, Wilhelm Viëtor in Germany, Paul Passy in France, Otto Jespersen in Denmark and Henry Sweet in England launched the reform movement. The reformers advocated the primacy of oral communication skills and the importance of phonetics in teacher training; the use of coherent, interesting, natural texts containing examples of the grammar points being

taught; and the use of the L2 in class. Sweet (1900) recommended three types of translation, each with a specific function. Word-for-word translation was aimed at aiding comprehension of the foreign language; meaning-focused translation was considered useful for understanding lexical and grammatical differences across languages; and translating accurately and fluently was suggested as an additional written exercise for advanced learners. Teachers adhering to the reform movement tended to support the use of translation because it enabled students to understand words and phrases clearly.

In the early 1920s, Harold E. Palmer devised the oral method, which excluded the teaching of grammar in the students' native language but did not exclude translation, because it was thought that withholding translation might engender faulty associations. In the early 1950s, Albert S. Hornby proposed situational language teaching. In line with the views held by Sweet and Palmer, Hornby supported the use of translation in the students' first language as a means of facilitating comprehension in the L2. Meanwhile, in the United States, structural language teaching gained ground in the 1940s and 1950s, after being applied during World War II to teach over 30 languages to selected army officers. The goal of the structural approach was to command the spoken form of the language, with oral translation as one of the learning activities (Velleman 2008:390–391). In the late 1950s, drawing on the principles of the structural approach and B.F. Skinner's behaviourist learning theory, applied linguists developed the audiolingual method. The aim was to achieve oral proficiency through drilling exercises that facilitated habit formation and made it possible to acquire a language by means of analogy. Translation was admitted "only as a literary exercise at an advanced level" (Brooks 1964:142). The teacher's

literal translation into the L1 was recommended only as a means of comparing one language with another “in terms of their vocabularies, item by item”, as bilingual dictionaries do (*ibid.*:184).

In 1973, a new approach was launched at a conference on the ‘Communicative Teaching of English’, held at Lancaster University, UK. The communicative movement was conceived within a functional and social perspective on descriptions of language, and drew on Dell Hymes’s model of communicative competence (1972b) and Michael Halliday’s functional grammar (1973). Central to communicative language teaching is the use of activities designed to engage learners in cooperative work that stimulates the “genuine use of language for communicative purposes” (Howatt with Widdowson 2004:258, 345). Translation into the L1 is recommended “to make sure that the learners understand what they are doing” while undertaking a communicative task (*ibid.*:259).

In the late 1980s, translation began to be valued also “as an activity which, by its very nature, invites speculation and discussion”, and “develops three qualities essential to all language learning: accuracy, clarity, and flexibility” (Duff 1989:7). Moreover, translation was now understood to enable learners to understand the influence of the mother tongue on the L2 and “to explore the potential of both languages – their strengths and weaknesses” (*ibid.*:6). Duff points out that, in the wider world, translation is a natural and necessary activity; hence, learning to translate a broad range of text types, registers and styles enhances a variety of skills that are essential in second language acquisition and in the multilingual work environment (*ibid.*:6–7). The bilingual approach adopted by educators such as Duff is endorsed also in methodologies informed by the principles of community language learning. This is a method developed in the 1970s by Charles A. Curran. It combines counselling-learning theory, which focuses on the idea of personal growth, humanistic techniques, which engage the whole person in the learning process, and bilingual practices. The latter involve language alternation, whereby a message is presented first in the L1 by the learner and then translated into the L2 by the teacher so as to foster a holistic understanding. The learner then repeats the message in the L2 to another learner (Mackey 1972).

Pedagogic research

In the wake of migration and displacement on a global scale at the turn of the century, educational linguistics established itself as a new disciplinary site for addressing critical language-related issues in education. With a focus on language learning and teaching, the field aims to forge close relationships among research, theory, policy and practice so as to produce “knowledge that can give agency to educators, students, and families, and thus create streams of resistance and action that can affect change in arenas where education and language intersect” (Bigelow and Enns-Kananen 2015:2). Educational linguists advocate multilingualism and equal linguistic human rights in instructional settings around the world. Politics and pedagogy are two key dimensions of egalitarian multilingualism. Politics involves debates about language education policies, language planning, monoglossic versus heteroglossic ideologies, unequal power relationships between majority and minority languages, cultural pluralism and the negotiation of multilingual identities. Pedagogy involves elaborating and applying language teaching approaches and methods at all levels of bi/multilingual instruction: from preschool education through primary and secondary schooling to higher education as well as complementary and other community-based learning initiatives. Premised on the tenet that learning is a collaborative, dialogic process between learners and teachers, the pedagogies put forward within the multilingual paradigm advocated by educational linguists assert that learners bring diverse linguistic, cultural and other knowledge to their learning process, and teachers, students and peers are all partners in learning (Meier and Conteh 2014:293).

The model of language description underpinning such multilingual pedagogies is ecological. Language is conceived as a semiotic ecosystem that “takes place in a complex network of complex systems that are interwoven amongst themselves as well as with all aspects of physical, social, and symbolic systems” (van Lier 2004:53). Ecological linguistics, an offshoot of educational linguistics, focuses “on the way individuals relate to the world and to each other by means of linguistic and other sign systems” (van Lier 2002:147). It posits that language learning

requires “meaningful participation in human events”, which in turn involves “perception, action and joint construction of meaning” (van Lier 2004:52–53). In the classroom context, this language as action perspective means that learners engage in meaningful activities as varied as projects, presentations and investigations. These activities are intended to engage students’ interest and encourage language growth through perception, interaction, planning, research, discussion and the co-construction of academic output of various kinds. During such action-based work, language development occurs when it is carefully scaffolded by the teacher as well as by the students working together (van Lier and Walqui 2012:4).

With these new shifts of focus, studies of second language acquisition (SLA) have endorsed pedagogic translation as part of a reassessment of the role of the L1 in language learning. From a psycholinguistic perspective, SLA research has shown that linguistic differences between the L1 and the L2 do not necessarily result in negative transfer, and that similarity can facilitate learning by speeding up acquisition (Ellis and Shintani 2014:245). From a social-psychological perspective informed by sociocultural theory, as elaborated by Lev Semenovich Vygotsky, the L1 is considered a semiotic tool for mediating thought through private/inner speech (i.e. the speech that we direct at ourselves), and a cognitive as well as an affective tool for scaffolding L2 production (Ellis and Shintani 2014:223, 242). These insights have contributed to questioning the monolingual bias in language teaching and opened up the field to a more bi/multilingual outlook (Ortega 2014:37–38). The learner’s goal here is not to emulate native-speaker proficiency, but to develop “bilingual and bicultural identities and skills that are actively needed by most learners, both within the English-speaking countries and the world at large” (Hall and Cook 2012, cited in Ellis and Shintani 2014:233).

In line with this stance, experimental research in TESOL has demonstrated the effectiveness of contrastive analysis and translation in learning vocabulary and grammar vis-à-vis other form-focused exercises (Vaezi and Mirzaei 2007; Källkvist 2008; Laufer and Girsai 2008). Classroom-based survey studies of students’ opinions have further revealed that translation is valued because it helps reveal the

differences and similarities between languages (Zhang and Pang 2014), poses an intellectual challenge, instils confidence, enhances language learning, raises awareness of cultural differences and gives the learner a feeling of achievement (Whyatt 2009a, 2009b). Moreover, research has shown that translation fosters student-teacher interaction. Using an ethnographic and experimental action approach, Källkvist (2013) examined three groups of upper-intermediate undergraduate students of English at a Swedish university, where all three groups were taught a module on grammar and writing over a period of 17 weeks. The first group undertook a mixture of tasks that included the English translation of eight sentences in Swedish. The second group carried out tasks that excluded translation. The third group was composed of language teacher trainees who performed a mixture of tasks that included translation. Student-initiated queries were more frequent when translation tasks were discussed. And the issues addressed were more varied, as they concerned not only features of L2 grammar, lexis and phraseology, but also cross-lingual equivalence. As Källkvist explains, the composition task need not consider the relationship between the source and the target text, hence “fewer matters gave rise to student comments and questions” (2013:129). Within the same line of enquiry, Sio Wai Lo (2016) carried out a longitudinal study involving L1 Chinese students of English majoring in public administration. Her investigation shows that Chinese-English translation tasks facilitate classroom discussions and enhance linguistic competence significantly more than essay writing in English. Källkvist’s and Lo’s findings lend support to the use of translation as an additional activity in the language classroom, since it enhances lexical and grammatical accuracy and diversifies the range of skills developed through language learning.

Translation and translanguaging as pedagogies

Bilingual education offers students the possibility of becoming bilingual and biliterate. Language majority students learn a language other than the dominant one which they speak at home. Language minority students, such as

immigrants, refugees and indigenous peoples, who speak a non-dominant language at home, learn the language used at school in ways that support their home language. To achieve these goals, bilingual education integrates content and language learning, and uses two languages as media of instruction and assessment (García and Homonoff Woodley 2015:132). This pedagogical approach is known as translanguaging (Williams 2012; Lewis et al. 2013; García and Li Wei 2014), a term which refers to the use of the entire language repertoire of bilinguals in order “to make meaning, successfully communicating across ‘languages’ and ‘modes’ by combining all the multimodal signs at their disposal”, without privileging one over the other (García and Li Wei 2015:231). This pedagogy empowers learners to use all the semiotic resources available to them – including verbal signs, gestures, pointing, physical imitations, noises, drawings and onomatopoeic words – to mediate complex cognitive activities, affirm multiple identities and hone agency (ibid.:231, 237). In bilingual education programmes, translation is used as one of several teacher-initiated activities that scaffold learning and develop translanguaging abilities (García and Li Wei 2014:119–125). Translation, together with reading, writing, comparing and listening to multilingual texts, fulfils a wide range of goals (ibid.:121). These include differentiating among students’ levels and adapting instruction to different types of students in multilingual classrooms, for example, those who are bilingual, those who are monolingual and those who are emergent bilinguals; developing and extending new knowledge, critical thinking and critical consciousness; and interrogating linguistic inequality and disrupting linguistic hierarchies and social structures.

A translanguaging pedagogy might involve, for example, the teacher introducing new words and their definitions, followed by students translating the definitions into their home languages. The teacher would allow a student who finds it difficult to say something in the L2 during a presentation to ask a classmate to translate it; the student then repeats the translated utterance (García and Li Wei 2014:124). The Translation Nation project, which ran in the UK from 2010 to 2014 in inner-city primary schools with a high proportion of bilingual children, offers a good example of how literary translation can foster

creative writing and language skills, and raise awareness of other cultures. During a three-full-day workshop, children brought in stories from their home cultures and told them in their home languages. They explained them to the other children in English, and then worked in small groups with fluent English speakers to produce creative English translations and present them to an audience of pupils and parents (Translation Nation 2015).

Beyond educational linguistics, scholars of translation have investigated the form and function of pedagogic translation in primary, secondary and higher education, and have elaborated language teaching methodologies framed within a plurilingual and pluricultural perspective. Pym et al’s (2013b) research focuses on the use of translation activities in courses where the main aim is the acquisition of a second language. Based on the responses of teachers, teacher trainers and researchers in seven European countries as well as China, Australia and the United States, the study reveals that translation tends to be used by primary school teachers and pupils as a form of translanguaging. Teachers use it to aid learners’ understanding of the L2, and pupils use it spontaneously by translating mentally as a way of learning a new language with the help of their mother tongue. In secondary and higher education, translation is used more frequently and as a complex communicative task. The pedagogies that have been proposed, particularly for modern language degree programmes, advocate the use of written translation (Hubert 2016) as well as interpreting (T. Lee 2014) and subtitling tasks (Incalcaterra McLoughlin and Lertola 2014; Talaván and Rodríguez-Arancón 2014). Translation is considered a means of enhancing language learning and a skill in its own right on the basis of the overlap between the communicative, textual, cultural and intercultural components of professional translation competence and the translingual and transcultural abilities that language graduates are expected to acquire (Carreres 2014).

The use of translation is also upheld as a cognitive, metacognitive and socio-affective learning strategy (González Davies 2014). Moreover, when combined with translanguaging activities – such as the analysis of metaphor or the modal system in English and Greek parallel texts – translation contributes to raising language

learners' awareness of cross-cultural variation between the L1 and the L2, thus enhancing their critical thinking and intercultural sensitivity (Sidiropoulou and Tsapaki 2014; Sidiropoulou 2015). Finally, based on the convergent principles underpinning symbolic competence (Kramsch 2009) and holistic cultural translation (Tymoczko 2007), holistic pedagogic translation is valued for its capacity to develop translingual and transcultural abilities that enable multilingual individuals to reflect critically on the world and on themselves through the eyes of another language and culture (Laviosa 2014).

Applied translation studies is increasingly opening up to neighbouring disciplines such as SLA, TESOL and bilingual education, and endorses the principles of the paradigm shift towards multilingualism in educational linguistics. This orientation, which supports translation and translanguaging as language pedagogies, is reflected in the companion volume to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. This programmatic document underscores the importance of mediation as a communicative language activity that fosters – alongside reception, production and interaction – plurilingual and pluricultural competence. Cross-linguistic mediating activities, in particular, consist of different types of translanguaging – relaying specific information, processing text, explaining data across languages and cultures in speech and writing – as well as translating a written text in speech and writing in another language (Council of Europe 2018). Similarly, the Australian Curriculum for languages has adopted an intercultural orientation and includes translation and interpreting as forms of intercultural mediation that involve the analysis and understanding of language and culture as resources for interpreting and shaping meaning in intercultural exchange (ACARA 2014a, 2014b, in Scarino 2016:480–482).

See also:

MIGRATION; MULTILINGUALISM

Further reading

Jessner, U. and C. Kramsch (eds) (2016) *The Multilingual Challenge: Cross-disciplinary perspectives*, Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Examines the beneficial and problematic aspects of multilingualism from different

viewpoints: familial, educational, academic, artistic, scientific, historical, professional and geopolitical.

May, S. (2014) *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education*, London & New York: Routledge.

Expounds the principles and applications of the multilingual paradigm from a cross-disciplinary perspective, encompassing the fields of second language acquisition, English language teaching and bilingual education.

Wright, W.E., S. Boun and O. García (eds) (2015) *The Handbook of Bilingual and Multilingual Education*, Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

A comprehensive reference book that addresses the policies, pedagogies and educational theories of bilingual and multilingual education from an international perspective.

SARA LAVIOSA

Legal interpreting

Legal interpreting takes place in legal and judicial settings, including courts and tribunals, police interviews, asylum hearings and settings where lawyer-client interaction is conducted. Interpreting in such settings is comparable to community interpreting in that it is bidirectional and conducted primarily in short consecutive mode. In contrast to other types of community interpreting, however, legal interpreting is often subject to explicit interpreting norms that are codified in legislation or institutional guidelines. As a consequence, court interpreting in particular tends to be professionalized to a greater extent than other forms of community interpreting. This professionalization is evidenced by the existence of professional associations such as the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT) in the United States, and has been accompanied by the development of specialized training and accreditation procedures, though these may vary greatly by jurisdiction and language pair and may not be extended equally to all settings. For example, several studies have shown that interpreting is offered less consistently for police interviews than for court interpreting within the same jurisdiction, and

may be conducted by untrained ad hoc interpreters, including police officers themselves (Morris 2008; Berk-Seligson 2009), resulting in inconsistent application of language rights across the different stages of the legal process (Berk-Seligson 2000; Marszalenko 2014).

In all legal settings, language use involves professional registers of legal language, with specialized terminology and discourse conventions that interpreters need to be familiar with. It is also characterized by a complex relationship between spoken and written language, where speech is routinely represented in writing or written documents are read out loud. Legal interpreting may therefore overlap with legal translation, as interpreters may work with translated documents, or may be required to engage in sight translation.

The legal context

Legal interpreting occurs in multilingual contexts where individuals lack proficiency in the working language(s) of institutions of law and law enforcement. Consequently, the need for legal interpreting arises from linguistic diversity in multilingual societies, but also from language policies that inherently privilege some languages over others. Such conditions of linguistic diversity represent a challenge to the principle of equality before the law, as an individual's access to justice is mediated by their ability to communicate in the language of the institution. In many instances, access to justice is therefore dependent on legal interpreting, and access to interpreting is thus recognized as a fundamental human right in basic laws such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Section 14) and the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 6.3), even though it is not explicitly stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the United States, the Court Interpreters Act of 1978 guarantees the right of the accused in court to be assisted by an interpreter in order to protect the due process rights of understanding the charges and participating in the defence against them (Pousada 1979). Other jurisdictions extend the right to interpreting to all participants in legal proceedings, or to interactions with the police. Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council

on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings aims to standardize the provision of interpreting across member states, specifying that an arrested person has a right to interpreting during police questioning and court hearings, as well as during communication with legal counsel, and a right to the translation of essential documents pertinent to the case, at the expense of the state (Hertog 2015).

Legal interpreters thus bear considerable responsibility for the functioning of the legal system and its promise of equality before the law, both of which depend on their ability to produce target renditions that are legally reliable and facilitate mutual comprehension. This is not only a question of translation accuracy, however defined, but also of ethics, as legal interpreters are required to act with impartiality and to respect confidentiality. Scholars of legal interpreting have largely joined professional organizations in emphasizing the need for specialized training and accreditation procedures, especially for court interpreting (Pousada 1979; Berk-Seligson 1990; Hale 2004). A number of publications aim to guide current and future interpreters about the profession (Edwards 1995; Colin and Morris 1996; Moeketsi 1999; Mikkelsen 2000; De Jongh 2012).

Failure to provide adequate (or any) legal interpreting may become the subject of a legal dispute when judicial decisions are appealed on the grounds that due process was not followed (Berk-Seligson 2000; Solan and Tiersma 2005). Such disputes frequently centre around the assessment of a person's proficiency in the official language (Méndez 1997; Pavlenko 2008). A common issue concerns the obligation of police officers to inform suspects of their rights prior to an interrogation (the 'Miranda Warning' in the United States). Giving the caution in English to suspects with limited proficiency may compromise the legal validity of any subsequent testimony (Pavlenko 2008). This has prompted a group of linguists and legal scholars to develop the *Guidelines for Communicating Rights to Non-native Speakers of English in Australia, England and Wales, and the USA*, which have been endorsed by several national and international associations (Communication of Rights Group 2016). Similar problems arise when an interpreter speaks a language variety other than that of the lay participant. For example,

Haviland (2003) describes the case of a native speaker of the Mexican indigenous language Mixtec, who was provided a Spanish interpreter by a US court despite having very limited proficiency in Spanish.

Legal interpreting is often perceived as putting speakers of non-official languages on an equal footing with those who speak the language of the institution. However, in bilingual jurisdictions, where courts and other institutions function in two (or more) languages, interpreting is often not seen as a valid substitute for a full use of the co-official language; Morris (2008) discusses this issue in relation to the use of French in Anglophone Canada. Ng (2009b) documents how Cantonese speakers in English-language courts in Hong Kong experience interpreting – conducted in consecutive mode – as cumbersome and disruptive, and opt for Cantonese-language proceedings instead. By contrast, international courts and tribunals often involve interpreting into multiple languages at the same time, typically in simultaneous mode and under working conditions comparable to conference interpreting (Elias-Bursac 2015). National courts typically do not invest the resources required for simultaneous interpreting, except in certain high-profile trials, such as the trial of war criminal Ivan Demjanuk in Israel (Morris 1989; Shlesinger 1991).

Research themes and findings

Legal interpreting has become a vibrant area of research. This is true especially of court interpreting (Berk-Seligson 1990; Eades et al. 1999; Kadric 2001; Hale 2004; Shlesinger and Pöckhacker 2008; Ng 2009b; Angermeyer 2015; Coulthard and Hale 2016), but also of interpreting in police interviews (Wadensjö 1998b; Russell 2002; Berk-Seligson 2009; Mulayim et al. 2015; Nakane 2014; Fowler et al. 2016), asylum interviews (Pöllabauer 2004; Jacquemet 2005/2010; Maryns 2006, 2013b; Inghilleri 2012) and international tribunals (Gaiba 1998; Takeda 2010; Elias-Bursac 2015). Much of this research has investigated the pragmatics of interpreter-mediated interaction, focusing especially on the ways in which the interpreter's translation choices influence the interaction between other participants, and drawing on insights from

research on same-language interaction in the field of language and law. For example, studies of courtroom and police interrogations have often demonstrated that the form of a question (wh-questions, yes/no interrogatives, tag questions, etc.) constrains the range of acceptable answers, giving experienced questioners considerable control over the testimony of an interrogated witness (Conley and O'Barr 2005; Solan and Tiersma 2005). Drawing on such research, Berk-Seligson (1999), Rigney (1999) and Hale (2004) found that court interpreters had a tendency to translate attorneys' questions in ways that made them less controlling and less coercive. Similarly, Berk-Seligson's (1990) comprehensive study of Spanish-English court interpreting in the United States followed research by O'Barr (1982) and associates that had demonstrated the adverse impact of stylistic features such as hesitation and hedging on a speaker's perceived credibility. Using experiments with mock jurors, Berk-Seligson showed that an interpreter's use of such features could likewise lead to negative evaluation of a Spanish-speaking witness.

Scholars have also examined the pragmatic implications of structural differences between languages. For example, the use of subject ellipsis in Korean (J. Lee 2009b) and of reflexive passives and datives of interest in Spanish (Berk-Seligson 1990) enables speakers to minimize the marking of agency and avoid the attribution of blame in ways that are not easily translatable into English. Discourse markers are similarly language-specific (Hale 2004), as are utterance particles (Leung and Gibbons 2009) that convey speakers' emotional or affective stances and contribute to discourse coherence.

The coherence of testimony is also affected by other phenomena, such as variation in lexical choice (Pym 1999; Angermeyer 2015), but especially by the practice of short consecutive interpreting itself, which requires source speakers to pause for the interpreter and subdivide extended turns into short segments of talk (Wadensjö 1998b; Jacobsen 2012). Such fragmentation of discourse may render narratives less persuasive and prompt questioners to ask new questions before an earlier answer is complete (D'hondt 2004; Ng 2009b; Angermeyer 2015). Short consecutive mode is typically used when someone who does not speak the official language of the legal institution is

questioned by a police officer or an attorney in court (sometimes referred to as 'witness interpretation'; Méndez 1997:88). By contrast, interaction between multiple speakers of the institutional language, such as between a judge and an attorney, is typically interpreted simultaneously, in a whispering voice ('chuchotage'), with the interpreter in close proximity to a third participant such as a suspect in a criminal trial. Source speakers in this case do not pause for the interpreter and thus do not suffer from the same fragmentation of their discourse as participants who do not speak the institutional language (Angermeyer 2015). And yet, with the exception of international tribunals (Elias-Bursacá 2015) and certain high-profile trials (Morris 1989; Shlesinger 1991), most jurisdictions do not provide the working conditions necessary for simultaneous interpreting (headphones, soundproof booths, frequent breaks), thus making incomplete or inaccurate interpretation more likely (Angermeyer 2015).

A recurring research topic that is specific to legal interpreting is variation in person-marking in the interpreter's renditions, i.e. whether interpreters speak in the voice of the source speaker or in their own voice, using reported speech. Many legal guidelines explicitly require interpreters to use the first person for the voice of the speaker and generally maintain all person deixis in the source speech. The practice of using the first person to refer to themselves, second person to refer to the target recipient, and third person to refer to the source speaker is generally common in community interpreting but is frowned upon in legal contexts, where it is thought to compromise the impartiality required of interpreters (Shlesinger 1991; Morris 1995; Cheung 2014). This legal approach is based on an ideology which views interpreters as machine-like conduits who produce verbatim translations of their source, translations that are taken to represent the source speaker's words in the legal record (Hale and Gibbons 1999; Haviland 2003). However, as Wadensjö (1998) argues, interpreters need to be able to coordinate interaction between the primary participants in order to facilitate communication and prevent misunderstandings, and this is not possible with strict adherence to source-centred deixis (Angermeyer 2005). In practice, empirical

studies have found that court interpreters tend to use the first person consistently when translating into the language of the court, but may vary their strategies when translating into the language of the lay participant (Angermeyer 2009; A. Cheung 2012).

While the coordination of interaction is viewed as an inherent part of interpreting by some scholars, interpreters may be asked to engage in other activities that go beyond the task of interpreting and raise questions relating to ethics. For example, in asylum hearings, interpreters may be pressured to comment on the claimants' credibility (Jacquemet 2005/2010; Inghilleri 2012), especially given that many governments seek to use a claimant's dialectal variety as evidence of their place of origin (Language and National Origin Group 2004; Blommaert 2009). The ethical implications of blurring the roles of interpreter and investigator have also been examined in police interrogations in which bilingual police officers act as ad hoc interpreters (Morris 2008; Berk-Seligson 2009). In her analysis of several transcripts of police interrogations with Spanish-speaking suspects, Berk-Seligson (2009) shows how police interpreters continue to act as coinvestigators, interpreting selectively and in ways that downplay the severity of accusations or discourage the invocation of the suspect's rights; this amounts to what she calls 'linguistic police misconduct'. Police officers' lack of neutrality is especially problematic when it comes to producing the final written statement, which represents the suspect's testimony in subsequent proceedings. Drafted in English by police officers, this statement has to be signed by the suspect, whose understanding of it depends on sight translation by an interpreter. As Berk-Seligson shows, when this sight translation is conducted by a bilingual police officer, there is ample room for manipulation to further the goals of the police at the expense of the suspect's rights.

Sight translation is one way in which legal interpreters deal with written texts, but scholars have also investigated the role that interpreters play in the entextualization of speech, that is, in the production of written legal records such as police statements or reports by asylum officers (Jacquemet 2009; Maryns 2013b). Such texts feed into different interactional episodes, as a

police statement may be read aloud in court, for example. Accordingly, scholars have increasingly expanded their perspective across interactional settings and modalities, for example by comparing interpreting in police interviews, court interpreting and other settings (Morris 2008; Marszalenko 2014), or tracing individual cases across multiple interactional episodes (Maryns 2006).

Developments and future directions

Since the emergence of legal interpreting as a subject of academic study, researchers have often taken the position of advocates for professionalization and accreditation, for improved working conditions for legal interpreters, and for a rigorous implementation of legal and professional standards. However, despite considerable advances in the professionalization of interpreters and the formalization of legal rights, the provision of legal interpreting remains an ongoing struggle in practice, falling short of existing laws and professional standards, often due to financial constraints or institutional attitudes (Morris 2008; Blasco Mayor and del Pozo Triviño 2015; Ozolins 2016). With studies having demonstrated how the attitudes and practices of judges impact the work of court interpreters (Haviland 2003; Christensen 2008), scholars have increasingly proposed to provide training not only for interpreters, but also for institutional representatives who participate in interpreter-mediated interaction (Hale 2015; Ozolins 2016).

The cost of publicly funded legal interpreting services has become a contentious issue in countries like the United Kingdom, where the Ministry of Justice began in 2012 to outsource the provision of court interpreting to a private company. This decision has been widely criticized by academics and practitioners, as sharp cuts in interpreter pay rates have led to a degradation in the quality and timely availability of legal interpreting, ultimately compromising the delivery of justice for individuals who rely on interpreting (Fowler 2016). Other efforts to reduce costs have relied on the increased use of digital communication technology, specifically

remote interpreting via video conferencing, which enables a single interpreter to cover a wide range of interpreting needs in multiple locations and at relatively short notice. Remote interpreting is also used when prisoners participate in short court hearings via video link from prison, instead of being escorted to court (Licoppe and Verdier 2013; Fowler 2016). Remote interpreting is prone to more communication problems than face-to-face interpreting, sometimes resulting from malfunctioning or outdated technology, but also from the pragmatics of remote interaction (Braun 2013; Fowler 2016). Licoppe and Verdier (2013) show that, due to the physical separation of interpreter and other-language speakers and the fact that communication relies on a single audio channel, simultaneous interpreting of court proceedings is generally not possible via videoconferencing. As a result, the functioning of remote interpreting in court depends very much on the degree to which the presiding judge attends to the interpreter and is willing to enforce consecutive interpreting for all participants.

The widespread availability of inexpensive digital communication technology also facilitates the recording of interpreter-mediated interaction, for example for the purpose of documenting a witness's source speech for the legal record, or for checking the quality of interpreting. While such uses do not yet appear to be widespread in the legal system, they create new opportunities for research, for example when audio or video recordings of police interrogations become available to scholars for the purpose of forensic analysis (Pavlenko 2008; Berk-Seligson 2009).

Another way in which institutions could reduce their costs is to allow interactions to proceed in non-official languages when possible. As proposed by Ng (2009a) and observed by Angermeyer (2014), the high demand for Spanish-language services in many parts of the United States, combined with the availability of bilingual attorneys, judges and police officers, gives rise to situations in which proceedings could be conducted in Spanish without an interpreter. This demonstrates that the provision of legal interpreting is inherently tied to questions of language policy and language ideology in multilingual societies. Researchers

on legal interpreting should strive to incorporate such macro-sociolinguistic questions into their analyses, and be mindful of inequalities between languages. For example, training and accreditation procedures are typically language specific and are available only for certain languages that are in high demand, whereas interpreting for less frequently required languages is much more likely to be done in an ad hoc fashion, by interpreters with limited qualification and experience. This alone creates inequalities that are difficult to overcome in practice and that suggest that linguistic justice remains an elusive goal.

See also:

ASYLUM; COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; LEGAL TRANSLATION; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING

Further reading

Berk-Seligson, S. (1990/2002) *The Bilingual Courtroom: Court interpreters in the judicial process*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

A groundbreaking ethnographic study of Spanish-English interpreting in several different courts in the United States, combining a thorough review of the legal framework and administrative practices that shape court interpreting with a detailed linguistic analysis of interpreter-mediated interaction. A new chapter in the 2002 edition reviews subsequent developments in policy and practice.

Haviland, J.B. (2003) 'Ideologies of Language: Reflections on language and U.S. law', *American Anthropologist* 105: 764–774.

An insightful examination of the language ideologies that underlie judicial attitudes towards translation and interpreting.

Inghilleri, M. (2012) *Interpreting Justice: Ethics, politics, and language*, New York: Routledge.

Examines the ethics of interpreting, drawing mainly on interviews with interpreters in asylum hearings in the UK and in military contexts in Iraq, and argues that interpreters should take a more active and visible role that places the pursuit of justice and mutual understanding above the dogma of interpreter neutrality and impartiality.

PHILIPP SEBASTIAN ANGERMEYER

Legal translation

Although often conceptualized as a special type of translation, seemingly subject to very precise expectations, a vast array of practices that demand very different and at times contradictory approaches coexist under the umbrella of legal translation (Harvey 2002; Mayoral 2002). Many diverse and heterogeneous activities regularly performed by the professionals working in this “multifaceted and dynamically changing profession” (Borja Albi and Prieto Ramos 2013, back cover) are analyzed by scholars of legal translation, or Legal Translation Studies (LTS). This subdiscipline, or interdiscipline, understood to be “concerned with all aspects of translation of legal texts, including processes, products and agents” (Prieto Ramos 2014a:261), has been claiming and gaining recognition as a distinct area of research since the turn of the century. Although a potential definition of legal translation and its categorization according to different criteria have long been the subject of debate in the literature, there seems only to be a general consensus on the vagueness of the scope of the field and the overlap between legal translation and other categories of translation practice and research.

The raw material with which legal translators and scholars of legal translation deal is associated with a type of language that displays distinctive lexical, syntactic, pragmatic and stylistic characteristics (Cao 2007a:20ff.), all of which tend to be examined and exemplified in relation to specific languages; Alcaraz and Hughes (2002:4–46), for instance, explore these features in relation to English. At the same time, researchers also recognize the open-ended and diverse nature of legal language in general. For Cao, legal language includes “language for special purposes in the context of law, or language for legal purposes”, the latter referring to “the language of the law and language related to law and legal process, including language used in various legal communicative situations” (Cao 2014:106). Alcaraz and Hughes (2002:149) go further, including within the scope of legal texts the “fictional representation of the law commonly found in popular novels of the detective story or thriller type”. Even without considering controversial cases located on the margins of the

legal field, the language used in legal texts shows a high degree of variation, extending from convoluted legalese to plain and simple variants recommended for clear drafting, and with multiple diatopic (geographical) and diastratic (social and cultural) varieties, including hybrid variants developed in certain intercultural or supranational settings. Legal language might be used by parties pursuing different communicative goals – for instance, regulatory, informative or argumentative – in a wide range of genres and contexts, and in multifarious interactions with other agents who may have similar or diverging degrees of expertise.

Similarly, what constitutes a legal text has been the subject of considerable discussion. Legal translators may and in fact commonly deal with a vast array of texts, including non-legal texts used in the judicial process and everyday texts that have legal consequences (Harvey 2002:178; Cao 2007a:11–12; Prieto Ramos 2014a:264; Way 2016:1013). They may also deal with hybrid texts that result from the diversity of topics that are subject to regulation and from the interdisciplinary interrelation between law and many other disciplines (Prieto Ramos 2014a:264; Šarčević 2012:188). Expressing varying degrees of explicit acceptance of this reality, scholars have attempted to identify and categorize the main types of text that require legal translation according to different parameters: on the basis of prominent linguistic features characteristically adopted by an identifiable group of expert text producers (Gémar 1995:116ff.); text functions (Šarčević 1997/2000:11); the purpose of the target text (Cao 2007a:10–11) and the status granted to the translated text in the receiving culture (*ibid.*:9); its discursive logic (Bocquet 2008:10–11); and text type or genre (Cao 2010:194; Borja Albi 2000; Alcaraz and Hughes 2002:101ff.). As pointed out by scholars such as Cao (2010), Prieto Ramos (2014a) and Biel (2014:19–22), who have critically commented on and attempted to systematize existing classifications, this variety demonstrates the fuzziness, complexity and heterogeneity of the textual manifestations of what might be considered, with greater or lesser consensus, as falling within the category of legal translation. These texts, moreover, may operate at an intrasystemic or intersystemic level in a variety of multilingual and at times legally

diverse national, international and supranational contexts of different types, giving rise to an additional number of intersections. Research has thus frequently emphasized the overlaps between legal translation and other types of translation, including specialized or technical translation (Cao 2007a:8; Cao and Zhao 2008; Biel 2014:50), institutional translation (Biel 2007, 2014; Koskinen 2008, 2011; Prieto Ramos 2014b), official and sworn translation (Mayoral 2000, 2003; Monzó 2005; European Commission 2012:23; Merkle 2013; AUSIT 2014) and court interpreting (Mikkelsen 2000/2017:107–108). Given the differing degrees of regulation of legal translation and legal interpreting as professions in different countries (European Commission 2012; Ortega Herráez et al. 2013), some interconnections which are well established in some contexts may not feature in other legal settings.

Despite some persistent signs of what Harvey (2002:198), following Kasirer (2001), refers to as “legicism”, meaning the tendency of researchers to focus on the translation of statutory law to the exclusion of other types of legal material, research has increasingly recognized the variety of practices involved and the complexity of legal translation across various contexts, including the private sector, national institutions and international organizations (Borja Albi and Prieto Ramos 2013). Consequently, the specificities of legal translation in given language pairs and thematic areas, and within particular networks of geopolitical relations have been increasingly incorporated into the debate around the limits and possibilities of equivalence in legal translation, which has gradually also integrated ethical and sociopolitical considerations. In addition to a perceived “shift from prescription to description” in the literature (Biel and Engberg 2013:8), scholars have increasingly adopted a view of legal translation as a culturally bound and socially situated phenomenon which operates at many levels in that “assemblage in motion” that is “law-in-translation” (Glanert 2014b:255). In practical terms, different contexts are now understood to call for different and flexible applications of a myriad of translation strategies, depending on the extralinguistic factors impacting the communication process. This is precisely what Šarčević (2010:43) advocates in her review of practices of legal translation in a number of contexts around the globe. In a

similar vein, Prieto Ramos (2015:17) highlights the need to take into account “the legal, contextual, macrotextual and microtextual parameters of decision-making” in order to examine and assess the adequacy and appropriateness of any instance of legal translation.

Research themes

Research on legal translation has developed significantly since the turn of the century, reflecting similar development in other areas of translation studies. Prieto Ramos (2014a) distinguishes three main stages in the current scholarly reflection on legal translation. The initial period, from the 1970s to the mid-1990s, was led to a great extent by Canadian scholars who adopted perspectives linked to jurilinguistics, “considered as a disciplinary expansion from and transcending legal translation” (ibid.:268). Given the heightened awareness of language issues in the Canadian context, and concerns about equal rights, scholars working in this tradition focused on the “challenges of bilingual legal drafting, beyond the confines of traditional perceptions of legal translation” (ibid.:267). A crucial, “catalytic” period (ibid.:269) followed in which functionalist perspectives and other translation theories that had developed in the meantime paved the way for communicative approaches to legal translation. Finally, since the mid-2000s the field has witnessed a growing expansion of its scope and a proliferation of interdisciplinary input, leading to ongoing debate about the potential consolidation of legal translation studies as an interdisciplinary and its relationship both with the larger field of translation studies and other disciplines (Biel et al. 2019a:2).

Cutting across these broad and overlapping chronological divisions, a number of theoretical approaches can be identified as having contributed to the overall development of the discipline and the profession. Including at times reflection on the challenges of equivalence, one strand of research has focused on particular language pairs and has attempted to propose adequate translation solutions in specific legal areas, as in Cao (1997). Functionalist perspectives have helped to detach legal translation from the traditional imperative of literalism (Garzone 1999; Prieto Ramos 2002) and have made it possible to

argue for fluent legal translations (Alcaraz and Hughes 2002:3) and for enhanced “creativity” in legal translation (Šarčević 1997/2000:118ff.), as exemplified by the innovative translations of legislation produced in the Canadian context.

Empirical, descriptive approaches have also contributed to this field of enquiry. Research based on the concept of textual genre, such as that carried out by the GENTT group (Borja Albi 2007, 2013), process-oriented approaches and corpus-based studies have all drawn attention to the need to enhance the linguistic, textual and thematic competence of translators and have identified recurrent patterns and strategies in the work of professional translators which may be taken into account in order to make informed decisions (Acuyo Verdejo 2004; Biel 2010; Prieto Ramos 2011; Vigier Moreno 2016). Researchers who are wary of the alienating effects of the growing technologization of the profession have argued for increased idiomaticity (Bestué and Orozco 2011), and some favour explication strategies, emulating the professional behaviour of translators with higher levels of expertise (Hjort-Pedersen and Faber 2010; Krogsgaard Vesterager 2017). Studies have also revealed differences in the textual fit of translated legal texts compared to original legal discourse. In the EU context, Biel’s (2014) study of pre-accession and post-accession Polish, for instance, demonstrates the productive hybridization brought about by translation in national contexts.

Another strand of research increasingly defines legal translation as a complex negotiation that impacts (and is impacted by) linguistic and cultural processes (Šarčević 2016), as an activity which involves cross-systemic knowledge mediation between different legal cultures (Biel 2009, 2017; Engberg 2013), and which has a decisive role in the construction of societies (Lambert 2009) and the (re)construction of identities (Martín Ruano 2015a). These approaches foster greater reflection on power differentials, ideological considerations and identity issues, thus enriching our understanding of the workings of legal translation in the past (Álvarez Nieves 2013), and enabling critical appraisal of the social, institutional and political implications of current translation practices or regimes from perspectives informed by gender, postcolonial or power issues (Hanzl 2008; Elmiger 2013;

Floros 2014; Koskinen 2014). They ultimately make it possible to identify the challenges facing legal translation in an increasingly asymmetrical global era (Vidal 2013; Megale 2015). In a similar vein, sociological approaches (Vidal 2005; Valero-Garcés and Gauthier Blasi 2010; Monzó 2011) and ethnographic studies (Koskinen 2008) have shed new light on legal translation as a socially situated practice with important cultural, social and political ramifications, by explaining it in terms of the dominant habitus in a given sociohistorical milieu or in terms of institutionalized practices. These theoretical underpinnings have paved the way for critical approaches which call for alternative professional praxis by proactive practitioners with a more self-confident professional identity (Monzó 2005), and for new pedagogical practices that involve raising awareness among trainees of their responsibility and status as expert social agents (Way 2016), thus calling into question models of translation that have become reified and taken for granted (Martín Ruano 2015b).

Research informed by comparative law and legal hermeneutics, including *jurilinguistics* (Solan 1993; Gémard 1995), has similarly encouraged a rethinking and revision of legal translation practices. The analytic methods of comparative law, which involve “comparing and contrasting the legal and linguistic content of legal concepts” (Aodha 2014:3), have long been acknowledged as a means of identifying relevant lexicographical solutions (*ibid.*), as well as fit-for-purpose and explanatory renderings in cases of conceptual incongruency (Pommer 2008; Engberg 2013; Stolze 2013; Dullion 2014). This strand of research allows for a conceptualization of legal translation as active knowledge communication and intercultural transfer effected by intervening practitioners (Soriano Barabino 2016; Engberg 2016; Bestué 2019). Indeed, these approaches have laid the foundation for interrogating calls for uniformity in legal translation (Glanert 2011), an interrogation considered by some scholars as necessary to counteract the effects of uneven globalization (Glanert 2014a), which increases the undecidability of meaning (Engberg 2013). There is now more awareness of the fact that legal translation must confront the uncertainty of language (Cao 2007b) and the contested nature of concepts, as Garre (2009) demonstrates by

drawing on cognitive linguistics to offer an analysis of the translation of human rights legislation. Similarly, many authors have stressed the cultural specificity of law and the cultural dimension of legal translation (Gémard 2002; Monzó 2018a). The need to bridge specific gaps in order to make cultural difference intelligible in legal translation in the context of increasingly globalized and multicultural societies is advocated by Mayoral (1999; 2003:17–26) and Alkhalifa (2000), based on their experience of translating legal documents from non-European countries into European languages. The Canadian experience, where legal translation understood as co-drafting has been practised for a long time (Beaudoin 2009; Gémard 2013), suggests that it is possible for legal translation to go beyond the “ethics of sameness” which, according to Venuti (1982a:82), is cherished by institutions, and effectively explore alternative conceptualizations to embrace the recognition of diversity. These views have also been supported in research informed by post-structuralism and deconstruction, which have called for an approach to translation that is sensitive to the hybridity and diversity of global, postmonolingual societies and that can actively resist the standardizing bias of dominant models in institutional settings (Vidal and Martín Ruano 2003; Vidal 2013; Martín Ruano 2018; Monzó 2018b). It is on the basis of its ability to “create a frame that includes both self and other, both familiar and strange” that translation has been defined as a model for ethical and political thought by legal philosophers (White 1990:xvii).

On the whole, the evolution of research on legal translation parallels that of research on translation studies, with a progressive shift from linguistic and textual issues to larger ideological, political, social and ethical considerations. Legal translation, like translation in general, can thus be understood as a complex, multifaceted phenomenon. Using the image created by Neubert and Shreve (1994:xii) for translation studies, legal translation may be defined as a “house of many rooms”. In order to account for the many factors impinging on this social practice, research on legal translation thus needs to develop interdisciplinary models that can integrate different theoretical and methodological approaches (Biel and Engberg 2013:1; Biel et al. 2019a).

Future directions

Legal translation involves a complex process of decision-making which requires a high level of specialization and the development of a diverse, interdependent range of competences (Prieto Ramos 2011; Scarpa and Orlando 2017), with important linguistic, legal, sociocultural, institutional, political and ethical implications (Vidal 2013). In addition to the challenge of developing interdisciplinary models that can cross various boundaries in order to shed light on the many facets of this social practice (Biel et al. 2019a), research on legal translation and the practice of legal translation itself need to address a number of paradoxes. Continued calls for the professionalization of the sector (Bajčić and Dobrić Basanež 2016), enhancing the visibility and prestige of the profession (Way 2016) and improving quality (Prieto Ramos 2015) coexist not only with pervasive (non)professional practices, market disorder and underprofessionalization (European Commission 2012), but also with growing trends towards deprofessionalization (Katschinka 2016; Gentile 2017) that are aggravated by the economic downturn experienced in various parts of the world. Research thus faces the challenge of accounting for an activity that is increasingly subject to the principles of the market economy. The often stressed need for highly specialized professionals has to be balanced with the perceived needs of translator-training institutions and the reality of today's global markets, which require flexible professionals able to work in a broad spectrum of national, international and transnational translation situations. Scholars working in this area must similarly reflect on how to reconcile the conflicting demands associated with the ideal of sameness with the recognition of diversity in the field of law, translation studies and legal translation. Calls for "target text reorientation" (Biel 2010:6) and an increased concern for the respect of cultural differences and identities (Biel 2014:13; Martín Ruano 2015a, 2017; Monzó 2018b) coexist and collide with ongoing processes of standardization in international organizations and with a revival of literalism in professional settings, the latter fuelled by increased automation of the profession (Bestué 2016), the implications of which need to be reassessed (Biel and Engberg

2013:6). This mixed scenario raises questions in relation to acceptability thresholds; according to Bowker (2009), these differ considerably in the context of postedited machine (legal) translation, depending on whether the purpose of the translation is conceived as the assimilation of information or cultural preservation and promotion.

In the meantime, professional discourses on quality, instrumental visions of language and positivist narratives of translation have been qualified and rethought from post-structuralist perspectives which acknowledge the representational nature of language (Vidal 2005) and the unsustainability of traditionally sacrosanct maxims in legal translation, like fidelity and neutrality (Vidal and Martín Ruano 2003; Vidal 2013; Martín Ruano 2014, 2015b). Empirical research has shown that prevailing expectations derived from the traditional understanding of equivalence as linear correspondence or linguistic concordance are at odds with the attested vision of equivalence as an institutional illusion or a necessarily fictional proclamation involving compromises at many levels (Koskinen 2000a; Hermans 2001). At the same time, continued calls for stricter control mechanisms in the profession, including codes of ethics (Corsellis 2015; European Commission 2009:16, 2012:4–5), have been problematized by critical perspectives that question decontextualized ethical requirements (Ko 2006b; McDonough Dolmaya 2011a), and nuanced by parallel calls for reflecting on ethics from a position that considers practitioners as necessarily intervenient agents, especially in situations of conflict (Martin and Taibi 2010; Inghilleri 2010a, 2010b; Barsky 2005). All these tensions emphasize the need for reflective, critical professionals who are familiar with the academic and professional debates in the field of legal translation and aware of the ethical dilemmas they face, to a greater or lesser extent, with every translation decision they make (Koskinen 2000b:15; Baker and Maier 2011:4).

See also:

LEGAL INTERPRETING

Further reading

Biel, Ł. (2014) *Lost in the Eurofog: The textual fit of translated law*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

A study of the characteristics of the EU Polish variant of legal language and of its impact on subsequent national legislation; quantitative results from corpus-based analyses are interpreted in the light of theories which shed light on sociological aspects of legal translation, including cultural, political and identity issues.

Biel, L., J. Engberg, M.R. Martín Ruano and V. Sosoni (eds) (2019b) *Research Methods in Legal Translation and Interpreting: Crossing methodological boundaries*, London & New York: Routledge.

Addresses legal translation and interpreting as complex social practices and advocates for interdisciplinary research models by presenting examples of complex methodological approaches that integrate diverse theories and viewpoints.

Glanert, S. (ed.) (2014) *Law in Translation*, Special issue of *The Translator* 20(3).

Explores the complex interrelations of law and translation, as well as links and tensions between the global and the local in increasingly transnational scenarios.

Šarčević, S. (1997/2000) *New Approach to Legal Translation*, The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

A comprehensive reference work that offers an overview of a number of legal translation scenarios, defines legal translation as “an act of communication within the mechanism of the Law” and argues for improved readability of legal texts.

M. ROSARIO MARTÍN RUANO

Lingua franca, interpreting (ELF)

The global spread of English as lingua franca (ELF) has impacted interpreting in far-reaching ways. With an estimated two billion people, a third of the world’s population, now using English (Potter and Crystal 2016) – of which only 372 million, or one-fifth, are native speakers (Simons and Fennig 2017) – it is important to examine ELF in its own right rather than as deviation from the Standard English (SE) norm.

At the same time, the claim that ELF use is “functionally appropriate and effective” (Seidlhofer 2011:120) is inconsistent with the reality reported by professional interpreters and translators.

Initial investigations into the impact of non-native English on interpreting were largely confined to the repercussions of foreign accents on interpreter performance, with particular emphasis on student interpreters (Sabatini 2000; Kurz 2008). However, increased awareness of the pervasiveness and impact of ELF led to attempts to investigate it from a number of perspectives, including its wider socioeconomic impact on the profession and market developments, the value of introducing an ELF pedagogy in interpreter training, its implications for interpreters’ cognitive processing and the use of English as a pivot language in relay interpreting. Interest in these issues was sparked by long-standing anecdotal discussions among professional conference interpreters of what some refer to as “BSE” or “bad simple English” (Reithofer 2010:144), “Globish” or even “desesperanto” (Donovan 2011a:12) or “Lego English” (R. Jones 2014). The mandate of this emerging new strand of research is to examine the foundations of such complaints critically, but empirical studies remain extremely limited. According to a bibliometric analysis of the literature on the impact of ELF on interpreting (Albl-Mikasa 2017a), a total of 26 publications had been written (in English) on ELF and interpreting by the end of 2015. Of these, 58% were based on empirical investigations, with two-thirds either concentrating on a single aspect such as foreign accent or using introspective methods. This is astounding given the significant impact of ELF on international communication in general and translation and interpreting in particular. The sheer number of non-native English speakers (NNS) and the widespread use of English as vehicular language in international communication makes it the most frequently used conference language worldwide. Of all reported interpreting assignment days across 33 languages, 27% were found to involve English (Neff 2011), making “the predominance of English in conferences and . . . the world at large . . . the single most significant issue for interpreting today” (Donovan 2011a:7). Among other things, this is due to non-native speakers frequently using English even where

interpretation is provided for their languages (Kurz and Basel 2009:189). The impact on interpreting is twofold. First, “markets are becoming increasingly two-way – the national language plus English, with a corresponding assumption that interpreters will cover both directions, i.e. provide a *retour* into their B language” (Donovan 2011a:14). Second, interpreters are increasingly faced with speakers communicating in a language (English) that is not their first and in which they have less than optimal fluency. This means that truly multilingual events that feature interpreting between native speakers of several languages, with interpreters working in a number of language booths, have largely been replaced by bilingual and bidirectional events with larger numbers of non-native English speakers and listeners.

Research themes

R. Jones (2014) discusses “three particular obstacles” for the interpreting profession today, namely “new technologies” (including ICT and remote interpreting), “poor communication skills” on the part of meeting participants and “the increasing use of international English (*‘glish’*)”. This is echoed in Gentile’s (2016) global survey of interpreters’ perception of their professional status. Of the 469 responses to open questions, 52 professional conference interpreters referred to ELF as negatively affecting the profession, without any explicit formulation in the questions prompting them to do so. The specific issues raised were the decreasing demand for interpreting and consequent downgrading or discrediting of the profession, insufficient communicative power on the part of ELF speakers, and concern that the combination of ELF and new technologies penetrating the market could lead to a “commoditisation” of conference interpreting (Gentile and Albl-Mikasa 2017:60).

More detailed results were obtained in a small-scale survey focusing more directly on ELF in relation to interpreting (Albl-Mikasa 2010). Of the 32 professional conference interpreters who responded, 81% stated that globalization and the spread of ELF had a noticeable adverse effect on their work as interpreters, 72% that conferences were increasingly two-way and that there was a marked decrease in the number

of booths for languages other than English, and 69% reported that the number of interpreting assignments had decreased due to an increase in English-only communication. A majority also entertained fears regarding the profession’s future (59%) or at least foresaw a noticeable shift from conference to community interpreting (16%).

Conference interpreters perceive the shift in their image – from that of indispensable facilitators of multilingual communication to providers of a service which could potentially be replaced by ELF – as a source of pressure, and are frustrated with reduced language and poor communication skills in ELF settings, which result in decreasing job-satisfaction levels and declining motivation (Albl-Mikasa 2010:142). Consequently, it is necessary to rethink the interpreters’ role, broaden their range of professional activities and perhaps re-brand them as intercultural consultants and multilingual communication experts in globalized translational environments (Albl-Mikasa 2014a:31). Researchers also suggest developing a sense of tolerance and empathy in an environment in which “capacity for accommodation is likely to emerge as a crucial factor for communicative success” (Hülbauer et al. 2008:32). The latter is particularly applicable to the increasing use of English as a pivot language in the European institutions, the largest employer of interpreters worldwide. Working on relay from lesser-known languages now involves the English interpreter not only accommodating colleagues taking the pivot on relay, but also adjusting to non-English mother-tongue delegates, while being monitored by the source-speech delegation which typically has some knowledge of English. For R. Jones (2014), these developments mean that “any theoretical model of interpretation and any pedagogy of interpretation” have to develop ways of dealing with such situations, where “the interpreter takes into account multiple audiences and multiple interpreting objectives in the course of one single interpretation”. The trend seems irreversible. With 28 member states, 24 official languages and a total of 552 translation combinations at the time of writing, the EU policy of full multilingualism has changed from “controlled full multilingualism” after the 2004 enlargement to “cost-efficient multilingualism” after further enlargements, combined

with economic crises. While House supports this development, calling the EU's multilingual regime an "expensive illusion" (2003b:561), Gazzola and Grin's (2013) statistical analysis concludes that it is fairer, more effective and less costly than any substitution with ELF is likely to be. Support for the use of interpretation comes from a larger-scale study outside the institutions (Reithofer 2010, 2013), which demonstrated that the level of understanding speeches in conference settings can be significantly higher among participants listening to a professional interpretation into their L1 than those listening to the ELF original.

While external job-related pressure is a factor, it is performance-related stress and the additional cognitive load that stand out in interpreters' critique of ELF. Interpreters often cover up ELF-induced difficulties by drawing on their skills and motivation to produce an improved version of the source speech (Reithofer 2010). This adds to cognitive load, physical exhaustion and post-work stress, and is becoming a de-motivating factor and potential health hazard (Albl-Mikasa 2010; Reithofer 2010). In an AIIC Workload Study (AIIC 2002:25), a sample of professional conference interpreters rated an unfamiliar accent as the fourth most stressful factor (62%) and 71% confirmed that a difficult accent was a source of stress that is "very frequently" encountered in professional assignments. While accent and pronunciation apply to both non-native and native speakers, Gile explicitly mentions bad pronunciation "by the non-native speaker" as taxing the interpreter's processing capacity (2009b:173). Empirical studies have shown that it adversely affects students' interpreting performance (Sabatini 2000; Kurz 2008), with prosody potentially having a greater impact than phonemics (Lin et al. 2013). While the burden is also felt by professionals, they recognize similar disadvantages from native speakers such as Scottish speakers and concede that they get used to Chinese ELF speakers, for example, as they listen to them repeatedly (Albl-Mikasa 2013b:7).

From the very limited body of evidence produced so far, it seems that it is the combination of (a variety of) source-speech-related factors extending beyond accent and pronunciation that causes stress and adds to the interpreter's cognitive load. According to Gile, "the speaker

factor, i.e. the way a particular speaker constructs and delivers his/her speech" (2009b:200) has always been one of the strongest determinants of interpreting difficulty. High source-speech information density and a rapid delivery rate are problematic, as is an excessively slow speech rate because chunks of information have to be kept in one's short-term memory longer. These and similar factors are implicated in addressing the issue of ELF, but the emphasis shifts from identifying speaker-oriented factors to analyzing their interrelation and interdependence. Thus, accent may be closely linked to speech rate, with significantly higher mean comprehension scores for heavily accented slow speech (Matsuura et al. 2014). However, the benefit of slow delivery rates, usually a characteristic of NNS rather than native speakers, may be offset by increased information density. There may be a tendency on the part of ELF speakers to concentrate on content and list factual items in their effort to convey the intended information using limited linguistic resources. Albl-Mikasa et al. (2017) demonstrated this in a study in which technical content was presented on the basis of the same PowerPoint slides by one native (Canadian) and two non-native speakers (Hungarian and Croatian) and interpreted by seven professional interpreters. The native speaker's faster speech rate (187 wpm versus 128 and 156 wpm, respectively) was alleviated by higher redundancy, the use of analogies and paraphrasing, as well as meta-discursive comments such as "I will now show you" and rapport-building stretches addressing the listeners more directly. The findings suggest that despite slower speech rates, non-native speakers may be more difficult to interpret when they lack the pragmatic means and supplementary capacity to present ideas in a listener-friendly manner. Moreover, slow delivery rates may even be detrimental rather than helpful, if formulation problems lead to stuttering, halting speech, self-corrections or false starts, or the overuse of hesitation markers. Rather than granting interpreters a break and extra processing time, the lexical searches typical of ELF speakers (Mauranen 2012:117) may disrupt their speech flow and rhythm, thus impairing their performance.

The findings of Albl-Mikasa et al. (2017) also point to differences between native and non-native speakers with respect to overall text organization and information presentation. Native

speakers' argumentative logic was supported by targeted content development in combination with an explicit outline of the superstructure of the argument and the well-placed use of discourse markers, clearly indicating central ideas and themes. This contrasted with a lack of logical interconnectivity and partly missing or ill-placed interpersonal metadiscourse markers such as hedges and certainty markers in the NNS presentation, which may explain why two-thirds of the interpreters in the study preferred the NS presentation and why 69% of respondents in an earlier questionnaire study preferred NS over NNS source-text producers (Albl-Mikasa 2010:130).

More combinational complexity is manifested on the lexical and phrase level. ELF has been found in corpus studies to be variable, diverse, creatively appropriated and cross-linguistically influenced by a variety of lingua-cultural backgrounds (Seidlhofer 2011:81). Depending on proficiency levels, NNS tend to use expressions and concepts in unconventional or incorrect ways, sometimes embedded in irregular sentence structures (Albl-Mikasa 2014c:300). A particularly frequent phenomenon is negative transfer from ELF speakers' first languages (L1), most of which interpreters are unfamiliar with (Albl-Mikasa 2010, 2014c). ELF users may come from any number of linguistic backgrounds, and low-proficiency users are found to rely heavily on translation from their L1s (Pavlenko 2005a:438, 446). Here, the "shared languages benefit" (Albl-Mikasa 2013a:105) can make a real difference, because knowledge of the speaker's L1 allows the interpreter to link into the logic behind the L1-based L2 structures, clarifying the intentions behind non-standard patterns. This phenomenon has been repeatedly reported by interpreters in introspective questionnaire and interview studies (Albl-Mikasa 2013a, 2014c) and was confirmed in a performance-based experiment involving professional interpreters (Kurz and Basel 2009).

Inconsistent or inappropriate use of style and register similarly put the interpreter under pressure in terms of having to adapt the speech to make it more homogeneous (Albl-Mikasa 2014a:27). A similar phenomenon is the tendency on the part of NNS to "make more use of elements of jargon and technolect . . . as short cuts to communication . . . and as a way

of offsetting deficiencies in creative language use" (Donovan 2011a:12). Taken together, these factors offer some explanation for interpreters' preference for the "reliable structures" of NS (Albl-Mikasa 2010:135; Albl-Mikasa et al. 2017) and their assertion that ELF speakers tend to sound "washy as if the speakers themselves were not sure of what they are talking about" (Albl-Mikasa 2014c:298) or only "superficially as if they were making sense" (R. Jones 2014). They also lend weight to their claim that processing ELF speech poses additional cognitive demands, rendering their work more tiring.

From a cognitive-constructivist point of view, ELF input, when incoherent, inconclusive or imprecise, may impede processes such as inferring, anticipation or the retrieval of translation equivalents and transfer routines (Albl-Mikasa 2015). This is due to the fact that "interpreters use direct linguistic correspondences very often" for reasons of cognitive economics, "whatever the theory" of meaning-based translation (Gile 2009b:239). Such "translinguistic equivalents" or "regular associations or 'links' between particular LCs [Language Constituents] in two languages" (ibid.) may be disrupted when bottom-up processing is impaired. According to the 'Principle of Encoding Specificity' (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:334), this is because the non-standard ELF input does not match encoded items learned and rehearsed during training and practice. As a consequence, the direct links between standard SL and TL items, especially lexical units and set phrases, or automatized transfer routines established over time as a "mental translation memory" of sorts (Albl-Mikasa 2015:55) become dysfunctional. Instead, greater reliance on top-down processing and higher-order inferences comes to the fore; this is more resource intensive and thus more tiring.

The accommodation measures employed during target speech production may add to the cognitive load (Albl-Mikasa 2010:137). The simplification and suppression of sophisticated idiomatic phrases in the interests of NNS audience design, for example, are "cognitively demanding" (Shintel and Keysar 2009:261). For interpreters, they introduce additional pressure, creating a conflict of interest between their role as experts with high linguistic standards and the necessity of acting as communication facilitators (Albl-Mikasa 2010:138).

Future directions

Future research must address the additional skills, competences and strategies needed to cope with the challenges posed by ELF in the context of interpreting. Interpreters' introspective reports stress that violations at the pragmatic, syntactic, morphological and lexicosemantic levels increase the cognitive load for all listeners, making capacity management a central topic both within and beyond interpreting studies. The question as to whether factors related to cognitive load and stress also apply in non-interpreter-mediated settings, be it in academia, politics or multinational corporations, is yet to be addressed. Research is needed to establish which ELF-induced problems are specific to the interpreters' processing conditions, where unidirectional speeches in non-dialogic settings and online delivery under time pressure do not allow for the pragmatic interaction strategies typically employed in conversational ELF encounters. As "first-hand witnesses to actual language use" (Donovan 2009:62, 66) in the "wide range of encounters" in which "intellectual, legal and political . . . knowledge and information" is exchanged and power is negotiated (ibid.:53–54), interpreters can provide insights into communicative settings that are more complex than the small-scale face-to-face discussions and meetings from which ELF data has often been retrieved thus far. This could help identify the parameters of successful communication and define its prerequisites in diverse settings (Albl-Mikasa 2017a).

The interpreting profession would benefit greatly from research that can identify settings in which ELF works and those in which it fails to work, and the extent to which language experts can enhance events with a majority of non-native speakers. These lines of enquiry might be complemented by reflection on whether target speech (re)production can and should level out linguistic weaknesses in the source speech and improve its logical coherence and fluency. It is as yet unclear whether or not normalization and compensation measures should "create and project the illusion of the non-hybrid text" (Pym 2001b:11).

The pervasiveness of ELF invites a rethinking of the interpreter's role and status. From

the neutral voice or channel between competent native speakers to the mediator between less than competent non-native speakers, from language expert to multilingual communication consultant, a redefinition of the professional profile of the interpreter is much needed (Albl-Mikasa 2014b). Empirical studies should shed light on the question of directionality (Beeby Longsdale 2009), investigating, for example, whether English-B interpreters are better equipped to cater to the needs of the new, increasingly non-native client type, and whether they are better able to adapt their style to an international audience and avoid idiomatic phrases and culture-bound terminology. According to Blommaert and Rampton (2011:6), globalization is an amplifier of social, cultural and linguistic diversity, bringing together people "with very different backgrounds, resources and communicative scripts", destabilizing "assumptions of common ground" and "of mutual understanding and the centrality of shared convention". It may be that this scenario calls for a new type of multilingual communication expert.

A major issue in times of increasing migration and refugee movements is the role and impact of ELF in and on community interpreting. To date, only Guido (2013) and Määttä (2017) seem to have broached the topic. Guido describes the different linguistic features as well as underlying conceptualizations and conventions employed by West African refugees and non-native speakers of English and Italian clinical specialists in interpreted trauma reports. Määttä's (2017) account of ELF in telephone interpreting in a police department demonstrates that the ELF context triggers various reformulation and verification procedures on the part of the interpreter, who proceeds from assumptions of limited language and discourse skills on the part of both the interviewer and the interviewee; at the same time, the interviewer brings his or her limited knowledge of English to bear on the assessment of the interpretation. Questions relating to the interpreter's rendition of inarticulate utterances in coherent, standard language in the perceived "best interests of his client" (Mason 2009b:82) appear to be relevant to all ELF-based dialogue interpreting settings, not least in ad hoc-interpreting (Traverso 2012), where ELF is particularly likely to be used.

See also:

CONFERENCE AND SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING; GLOBALIZATION; LINGUA FRANCA, TRANSLATION; MULTILINGUALISM; RELAY

Further reading

Albl-Mikasa, M. (2017) 'ELF and Translation/Interpreting', in J. Jenkins, W. Baker and M. Dewey (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, London & New York: Routledge, 369–383.

Offers a relatively complete overview of the limited research thus far carried out into the implications of ELF for both translation and conference and community interpreting.

Määttä, S.K. (2017) 'English as a Lingua Franca in Telephone Interpreting: Representations and linguistic justice', *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 22: 39–56.

Presents one of the first and very few accounts of the impact of ELF on interpreters in community interpreting settings.

Reithofer, K. (2010) 'English as a Lingua Franca vs. Interpreting – Battleground or peaceful co-existence', *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 15: 143–157.

Illustrates the critical perspective of professional conference interpreters with regard to ELF in conference settings.

MICHAELA ALBL-MIKASA

Lingua franca, translation

As defined by UNESCO in 1951, the term lingua franca (LF) now refers to a language that is used as a vehicle of communication between speakers of different mother tongues. A lingua franca thus offers an alternative to translation, whether on an ad hoc basis between individuals interacting in specific circumstances, or as an institutionalized practice in regulated domains such as science, diplomacy, business or religion.

There have been many lingua francas over the course of human history, rising and falling in line with changing sociopolitical and economic conditions. Some have been pidgins, i.e. linguistic blends forged at the interface of cultures by

traders or migrants to serve a pragmatic need. Others, like Hellenistic Greek, Medieval Arabic, Roman Latin and Persian, have been *koinés*, i.e. established languages or dialects that have overspilled the boundaries of their immediate speech communities due to settlement or military conquest, acquiring new resources to respond to new demands. There have been lingua francas that are effectively dead languages, spoken by no one as a mother tongue though in use for centuries as high-status vehicles of sacred or erudite culture: Medieval Latin, Classical Arabic and Sanskrit belong in this category. Finally, there are artificial languages such as Volapük, Esperanto and Ido, which are deliberately created to serve as neutral vehicles of intercultural communication – though usually with limited success, as their neutrality tends to dissipate as soon as they are required to serve as vehicles for culturally embedded values, as when works of literature are translated into them.

The term lingua franca derives from Frankish language, the pidgin used by traders around the Mediterranean basin between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries, also known as Sabir. However, perhaps because of perceived connections with terms such as *zona franca*/zone franche (tax-free zone) or *feira franca*/foire franche (duty-free fair), it has become associated in the popular imagination with the utopian dream of a free circulation of ideas, unfettered by language barriers or cultural concerns. This is misleading because it obscures the many power issues involved in the use of a lingua franca.

Lingua franca economies are inherently more elitist than translation economies, with implications for the distribution of material and symbolic wealth. With the exception of lingua francas that are imposed by force in the wake of military conquest, such as Medieval Arabic and Imperial Russian, and those that do not expand much beyond the immediate pragmatic needs of trade, such as Sabir, major lingua francas tend to function on a demand-pull basis, attracting new speakers through the accrual of prestige. By offering access to material, social or even spiritual advantage, the lingua franca fosters an elite class of user who can afford to be educated in it and who will usually go on to enjoy special privileges at the expense of the vernacular-speaking masses. Translation, on the other hand, tends to be cultivated in 'supply-push' situations, as when

traders or religious evangelists set off abroad in search of new markets, or whenever there is a perceived need to resist encroachment or monopoly by a dominant language: during the *sakoku* era in Japan, for example, or in the European Union today.

The interface between translation and a lingua franca has not yet been thoroughly researched, though sociologists of language and translation such as de Swaan (2001) and Heilbron (2000) have pointed to some general trends. It is clear, for example, that when a lingua franca is at its peak, i.e. occupying a central or hypercentral position in its world system, it will be used to transport information that is highly valued by that system. Thus, there will be a great deal of translation out of it, as that information is disseminated to the periphery of its sphere of influence, but much less into it, producing an imbalance between imports and exports. At its peak, a lingua franca will also be used as a pivot language for communication between more peripheral languages. On the other hand, when a new language is seeking to establish itself as a lingua franca in a particular terrain, it may try to absorb existing knowledge and expertise by translating intensively from preceding lingua francas: Hellenistic science passed into Latin, Syriac and Arabic through this impulse. Similarly, when a lingua franca is in crisis, losing prestige and threatened with collapse, translation may be a way of refreshing its repertoire and giving it a new lease of life. This is arguably what happened after the demise of the Roman Empire, when translations of the Christian holy texts enabled Latin to become the lingua franca of the Medieval Church.

The inherent elitism of lingua francas makes them highly vulnerable to changes in the socio-cultural climate, and it does not take much for them to drop out of fashion and become extinct. Ostler (2011) identifies three processes that lead to a lingua franca's demise. The first, ruin, occurs when the language dries up, usually as a result of tangible changes in economic circumstances, as happened to Portuguese in the Indian Ocean after the Dutch United East India Company took over most of its interests there. The second, relegation, involves the deliberate demotion of a lingua franca when a new power comes into ascendancy: this is what happened to Persian, the administrative and judicial language of the

Mughal Empire, after the arrival of the British in India. And finally, resignation denotes a general loss of prestige, as occurred when Latin declined in seventeenth-century Europe, or when German was eclipsed as a language of science after the traumatic events of the Second World War. Thus, unless a lingua franca manages to regenerate itself by acquiring new functions, it will enter into decline as soon as the circumstances that sustain it change. This is important to bear in mind when considering the trajectory of English, the language that has dominated international communication since the Second World War.

English as a lingua franca

Although English is a young language compared to some of the major lingua francas of the past, it is the only one to have achieved a truly global spread. Thanks to British imperialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which carried it to all corners of the world, and American economic and political supremacy in the twentieth, which gave it an unrivalled cachet in all spheres of public life, there are now nearly a thousand million speakers of English worldwide, of whom almost two-thirds (612 million) are second-language users (Ethnologue 2017).

The predominance of second-language users over native speakers has had important implications for the way in which English is conceptualized for the purposes of language policy, education and translation. In particular, there has been a gradual erosion of the native speaker's authority as a source of normativity. The first step in this process came in the 1980s with the World Englishes (WE) model. This acknowledged the existence of varieties of English beyond those of the traditional inner circle of the UK, US, Australia, Canada and other English-speaking countries (Kachru 1985) and created the category of English as a Second Language (ESL) to accommodate speakers of the former British Empire for whom English is neither a native language nor a truly foreign one. In the following decade, this still-hierarchical model gave way to a more egalitarian one, variously known as Global English, International English (IE) or English as an International Language (EIL), which placed native and

non-native speakers on the same horizontal plane. Conceived as a culturally neutral and universal vehicular language, the emphasis was now placed on instrumentality and pragmatic communication in an increasingly interconnected world (Crystal 1997; Graddol 1999). Finally, the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) model (Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011; Mauranen 2012) demoted the native speaker even further by advocating that non-native speaker English should be recognized as a legitimate variety in its own right, amenable to description and codification.

Since the second decade of the twenty-first century, however, all these Anglocentric models have been unsettled by a major paradigm shift that challenges the whole idea of English as a pure, self-standing system. With national languages now understood to be artificial constructs, developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to serve new political identities, the multi- or translanguing paradigm has shifted the focus away from formal structure to the process of meaning creation by multilingual speakers (Canagarajah 2013b; Pennycook 2006, 2007; Blommaert 2010), enabling English as *lingua franca* to be redefined as an object that is “intersubjectively constructed in each specific context of interaction” (Canagarajah 2007:925). One of the consequences of this shift has been to attribute a new respectability and status to the various hybrid forms of English that now proliferate around the world, not only the well-known ones such as Chinglish, Japlish and Hinglish, but also lesser-known varieties like Sheng in Kenya, Camfranglais in Cameroon and Irish Traveller English (Schneider 2016; Williams et al. 2015).

These developments in the field of applied linguistics have naturally had significant repercussions on the way that English has been understood in professional translation contexts and in translation studies. The Nairobi Declaration of 1976, according to which “a translator should, as far as possible, translate into his own mother tongue or into a language of which he or she has a mastery equal to that of his or her mother tongue”, was one of the first casualties, with translation into English by non-native speakers soon becoming common practice in response to soaring demand. This has been particularly evident in supranational institutions, where multilingual policies result in higher

translation costs; in the EU, for example, translators have been routinely asked to undertake translation into and out of English since the 2004 enlargement, with English further functioning as a relay language for less-common language combinations. With the development of controlled forms of English, like Globish or ASD Simplified Technical English, and their application to computer-assisted and machine translation, the native-speaker function was restricted even further; as specialized resources, the skills of native speakers are now often channelled into pre- or postediting roles or reserved for the production of highly polished texts for publication (Taviano 2010; Wagner 2005).

In translation studies, the ideological implications of the hegemony of English became a heated topic of debate in the first decade of the twenty-first century, when the International English model was at its peak (Schäffner 2000; Anderman and Rogers 2005). An early landmark was Venuti's (1995b/2008) famous exposé of the translator's invisibility in the Anglo-American book market, which drew attention to the values underpinning the drive for fluency in literary translation into English and its consequences. Another strand of research focused on translation out of English and its potential impact on target-language norms through excessive, and usually unacknowledged, deference to source-text structures and norms; House (2003b) offers examples, drawing on her concept of covert translation. The supposed neutrality of International English was also questioned in specific domains such as legal (Drohla 2008), academic (Bennett 2007a) and audiovisual translation (Díaz Cintas 2009a). Underpinned by Foucauldian notions of discourse as a force that precedes and constrains the author (and, by extension, translator), these studies generally understood ideology to be encrypted into the very structure of the language, making English a surreptitious vehicle of Anglo-Saxon values and agent of cultural hegemony.

A similar sense of authorial constraint had for some time been present in much postcolonial and diaspora literature, where translation was employed as a trope to describe the identity dislocation produced by writing in a language that is not one's mother tongue, as in Salman Rushdie's famous remark, ‘we are translated men’ (1992/1982). However, from the early

years of the twenty-first century, an alternative view began to develop according to which users of a dominant language or lingua franca are not assumed to be at its mercy, but rather endowed with the agency to bend and subvert it to suit their own purposes, often through the introduction of vernacular elements (Bandia 2008). Linguistic hybridity, or heteroglossia, now began to be embraced as a form of identity affirmation and resistance, not only in postcolonial and diaspora literature but also in popular metropolitan genres such as hip-hop (Pennycook 2007; Canagarajah 2013b). Challenging the whole notion of a homogeneous language culture, such hybrid texts have proved fruitful objects of study for translation scholars, raising important questions of both a conceptual and a technical nature (Meylaerts 2006; Klinger 2015).

The classic distinctions between original/translation and author/translator have also been undermined by developments in areas of translation where English has traditionally been used as a pivot language. In the mainstream global news market, for example, stories are disseminated in English by international agencies and then adapted for local consumption by journalists, who not only translate but also rewrite substantially, changing the style and viewpoint to suit particular audiences and editorial policies (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). In international law, a similar process of redrafting, via English, is used to harmonize legal systems (Prieto Ramos 2014b). And in the localization industry, products and digital content traditionally undergo a process of internationalization to strip them of culturally specific features, before being reworked, or transcreated, to suit specific markets or locales (Pym 2004a; Schäler 2010).

With the growth in digital communication, however, English seems to have been losing its pivotal status in many domains. In the localization industry, there is an increasing tendency to release products, particularly software, in various languages at the same time, a process known as 'simultaneous shipping' or 'sim ship', not only to combat 'translator hacking' (O'Hagan 2009, 2016b) but also to avoid the broken formatting and clunky text that often results when the English version is released first and used as a model for others. In global news production, the top-down corporate-driven model that is centred on English is being increasingly complemented by a bottom-up consumer-driven

variety which often bypasses that language, as selected stories and interviews are translated and disseminated via the internet by citizen-activists, often with little consideration for objectivity or reliability (Pérez-González 2014c). A similar decentralization is occurring in crowdsourced projects such as Wikipedia, where translators are encouraged to draw on multiple source texts, which they then edit and adapt to suit different target-culture expectations (O'Hagan 2014) or their own agendas (H. Jones 2018b).

English has been particularly undermined in the context of user-generated translation of Japanese popular culture. Much of the fansubbing of anime films and scanlation of manga comics, not to mention translator hacking of Japanese video games, has systematically bypassed English by producing language versions that draw directly on the Japanese. Indeed, in many cases these amateur forms have emerged precisely to improve on heavily edited English versions and the translations that are based on them (O'Hagan 2009). Particularly significant is the fact that fans of these genres seem to reject smooth domesticated translations in favour of versions that are as faithful as possible to the Japanese originals, even when this means the intrusion of unfamiliar cultural elements and distorted syntax (Fabbretti 2017). This new orientation suggests that English as a global lingua franca may be starting to lose prestige, at least among the younger generations who make up the anime and manga fan base. Whether this will begin to extend to other modes and genres, and to other source languages, remains to be seen.

The future of English as global lingua franca

It is difficult to predict the future of English as the current global lingua franca. While a pattern of grassroots multilingualism is clearly proliferating in digital environments and elsewhere, English continues to be sustained by top-down policies originating in corporate capitalism, much of which is based in Anglophone countries. Yet we can no longer take it for granted that this situation will continue. If the US and UK were to withdraw from the global stage, as some

of their political leaders have at times threatened to do, then the status of English could rapidly decline. That is to say, if those countries took the decision to turn inwards, discourage immigration and pursue narrowly nationalistic policies that substantially reduce their interaction with other countries, they would soon cease to serve as a source of prestige for upwardly mobile individuals elsewhere in the world, drastically reducing the attraction of English as *lingua franca*.

In such a scenario, the policy adopted by supranational institutions such as the European Union and the United Nations is likely to prove crucial. If English were retained by them as the major vehicle of international communication, then it might maintain its vitality as a *lingua franca*, perhaps acquiring a role analogous to that played by Latin in Early Modern Europe. If not, then the situation might change substantially. New *lingua francas* might emerge in specific geographical regions and knowledge domains, in accordance with shifting political and economic circumstances. Or as Ostler (2011) suggests, we might return to a translation economy, one mediated by sophisticated translation technology instead of human professionals. Alternatively, the multilingualism that is already prevalent in every major city of the world as a result of increased mobility and mass migration may become the norm, with everyone expected to know two or three languages as a matter of course. As startling as it might seem to speakers of English and other dominant tongues, such a situation would not be unprecedented: historically and geographically, monolingualism has been the exception rather than the norm (Hokenson and Munson 2007).

See also:

DIRECTIONALITY; GLOBALIZATION; HYBRIDITY; IDEOLOGY; LINGUA FRANCA, INTERPRETING (ELF); MULTILINGUALISM

Further reading

Bennett, K. and R. Queiroz de Barros (eds) (2017) *International English and Translation*. Special Issue of *The Translator* 23(4).

Explores the intersections between English and translation over a range of domains, including literary, academic and translation, from pragmatic, descriptive and critical perspectives.

Canagarajah, A.S. (2013) *Translingual Practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Within the translingual paradigm, communication is understood to transcend not only individual languages but also the verbal code itself, involving instead multiple semiotic resources which acquire their meaning in specific contexts. This work argues for a new orientation towards English as a practice that has been always already diverse.

Ostler, N. (2011) *The Last Lingua Franca: The rise and fall of world languages*, London and New York: Penguin.

A detailed history of the rise and fall of the main *lingua francas* of the world, which argues that advances in technology are about to propel a return to a translation economy, making English the last *lingua franca* of history.

Taviano, S. (ed.) (2014) *English as a Lingua Franca: Implications for translator and interpreter education*. Special Issue of *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 2(7).

Explores the implications of the dominance of the English language for translator and interpreter training.

KAREN BENNETT

Literary translation

A number of studies have discussed typical features of literary texts (Venuti 1996; Pilkington 2000; Berman 1985/2000:296; Stockwell 2002b; Katan 2015:12). Literary texts enjoy high social prestige; they typically aim to provoke emotions and/or entertain rather than influence or inform; they have no real-world truth-value: they are judged as fictional, whether fact based or not; they may demand extra reading or listening effort by audiences, but deliver messages or experiences beyond the commonplace. In addition, their meanings may be ambiguous and/or indeterminate, and they may use poetic language that privileges language form, as in the case of wordplay or rhyme (Jakobson 1960/1988); they are characterized by heteroglossia, depicting different voices with different viewpoints.

A single text may not display all these features, but the more it does, the more literary

it will appear to its readers. If genre is understood as a class of communicative acts whose typical shared features are roughly agreed by a community of users (Andrews 1991:18; Stockwell 2002b:33–34), literature may be seen as a cluster of related genres. Some, like drama or poetry, seem central to the cluster because they typically display most of the above features plus subgenre-specific features, such as live dialogue in drama. Others, like philosophy, appear more peripheral, because criteria such as fictionality are relaxed. Some genres are conventionally seen as non-literary but may still display literary features; advertising copy may use rhyme, for example. Literary translation thus draws on a cluster of strategies and skills, some shared across various literary and non-literary genres and some more genre specific.

Literary translation and the translation of scripture traditionally dominated theoretical debates, largely because few other than literary or scriptural translators wrote about translation, as Weissbort and Eysteinsson's (2006) historical compendium of translation scholarship demonstrates. Oppositions such as faithful-free, literal-communicative-elegant (Yan Fu 1901/2004) and foreignizing-domesticating (Venuti 1995b/2008), which feature repeatedly in such debates, are particularly relevant to literature, but arguably less relevant to technical translation. For Tymoczko (2014), however, the centrality of literary translation in the discipline is justified. Its huge, multi-language, millennia-long corpus of texts – linguistically and stylistically varied, deeply rooted in culture and context – provides ideal material for building translation theories. Literary translation also shows how all translation can make “contradictory demands on the translator” (ibid.:21), is culturally embedded and is interpretive rather than mechanical.

Research themes

Source-target text relations in literary translation have been the topic of millennia-long debate. The nature of these relations is often ranged along a spectrum, with four archetypal positions: cribs, literary best-fits, adaptations or versions, and literary works that closely reference foreign-language works. First, cribs are semantically literal versions, and often annotated. They

may be intended to allow readers access to the source; alternatively, target-language dramaturgs or poets may reshape them into viable literary target texts, often in discussion between initial translator and reshaper (Translators Association 2004; Aaltonen 2013; Csokits 1989; Hughes 1989). Reshaping may sometimes be minimal, as when Ted Hughes took the view that Hungarian poet János Pilinszky's poetic power was best conveyed by staying close to János Csokits's cribs (Bergin 2013; Clegg 2014:21–41). The literal-writer's role is often given less credit in publications: sometimes both translators are equally credited but at other times the reshaper is named as sole translator. Second, literary best-fits try to reflect source semantics and style while functioning as target-language literary works (Holmes 1988b:53–54). Case studies and translators' introductions reveal this to be the most common approach, reflecting an apparent underlying norm (Holmes 1988b:50; F. Jones 2011:179). Balancing the two requirements is notoriously hard in practice, however. Hence different translators may prioritize the former or latter more, or prioritize different aspects of the source text at the expense of others (F. Jones 2011:178–180). Third, adaptations or versions are characterized by looser relationships between source and target texts and are particularly common in drama and poetry, where target-language dramaturgs and poets may see themselves as licenced to creatively reinterpret source works, may wish to connect with a certain audience – localizing Michel Tremblay's Québec drama to Scotland, for example (Findlay 2004) – or may wish to establish relevance to a contemporary context, as in the case of Seamus Heaney supplementing his translation of Sophocles's *Philoctetes* with a speech alluding to the Northern-Irish Troubles (Brazeau 2001:95). Fourth, literary works may closely reference foreign-language works. German poet Barbara Köhler's *Niemand's Frau* (Nobody's wife/woman), for instance, reinterprets Homer's *Odyssey* from its female characters' viewpoint (Johnson 2016). This common creative-writing practice often overlaps with adaptation and versioning (Collins 2016), though many would hesitate to call it translation. Not all texts fit such labels, however. One sentence in a novel may be crib-translated and the next adapted, for instance, depending on the context.

A number of studies have examined literary style as an element that defines the writer's cultural space-time. To modern Italian readers, the language of Dante's *Divina commedia* signals that Dante was a medieval Tuscan. Similarly, non-standard styles – like archaism, dialect or a style idiosyncratic to the writer – can carry crucial literary meaning: encoding the writer's attitudes towards the content, marking different voices and/or structuring the text (Boase-Beier 2004; Federici 2011). Thus nineteenth-century Italian poet Giuseppe Belli used Romanesco (Rome dialect) to mark his sonnets as spoken by working-class characters, underlining their antiestablishment subversiveness (F. Jones 2014:45). Source-text styles may have no obvious target-language counterpart. For some scholars, however, it is more important to convey the source style's literary function or distinctiveness rather than its linguistic form (Woodham 2006:404; Folkart 2007:282; Ramos Pinto 2009:291–292). For Federici, this means choosing creatively from multiple options, giving translators “the same status as the [source] author” (2011:14–15). A best-fit analogy, as in translating Romanesco into Cockney or replacing regional with colloquial speech (Briguglia 2011), is offered as one option. Translating into modern standard language, on the other hand, is considered to undermine the literary function of the non-standard style, and may replace the subversiveness associated with a source style, for example, with standard-language values such as social conformity (F. Jones 2014:48).

Part of the habitus of translators appears to be the convention that they speak for the source writer, and have no independent voice. Some scholars argue that literary translators should deliberately make themselves visible stylistically, or in paratexts such as translators' introductions (Venuti 1995b/2008). For Folkart, however, even in such cases the creative ownership of the work remains with the source writer, not the translator (2007:335). One solution to the question of how far literary translators may be considered independent actors is to see them as ambassadors, in Goffman's sense (1970:88), that is, as actors authorized to act autonomously, but on behalf of another party – here the source writer and culture. Acting autonomously for others implies ethical responsibility. Many literary translators see loyalty to their source writer's intent and/or

style as an ethical imperative (Nord 2001:193–194, 200; F. Jones 2004:718–721). This, however, may conflict with other ethics, like social justice or responsibility to readers, which might demand deviation from the original text (Nord 2001:193–194; F. Jones 2004:720). At the same time, literary messages are often so complex that an ethic of source-writer loyalty still permits a wide spectrum of source-target relations. Some relations may be creative in the cognitive sense (Sternberg and Lubart 1999:3), involving solutions that are both novel, deviating from source-text semantics or form, and appropriate in terms of respecting the norms of loyalty to the source author and/or target-text literary effectiveness.

Translations inevitably reveal the stylistic and lexical preferences of their translators (Baker 2000). They may also reveal their translators' ideological positioning or aspects of their identity. Deviations from the source text may be deliberate, as in the Islamicization of western children's classics in Turkey, where Carlo Collodi's Pinocchio is made to say “Give me some bread for the sake of Allah” (Kansu-Yetkiner 2014:343). F. Jones (2016) argues, however, that translators' reluctance to breach the ethic of source-writer loyalty means that such marked deviations are relatively infrequent, even in ideologically charged contexts such as the ex-Yugoslav states in the 1990s–2000s.

Most knowledge about literary translating processes derives from translators' reports about their practice, for example in translator introductions. These are usually text- or source-writer-specific, and often lack theoretical underpinning and do not adopt systematic data-gathering methods. Together with a small number of studies that have involved interviews (Honig 1985; Flynn 2004), however, they can provide valuable data on translators' techniques and their working relationships with source writers. Think-aloud studies, where translators describe their thoughts and actions while translating, can shed more systematic light on processes. In one of the few such studies in the area of literary translation (F. Jones 2011:109–172), poetry translators were found to spend most of their time addressing issues of lexis and imagery. Wordplay proved the most time-consuming problem type; here, some translators altered source semantics to create target-language wordplays, while others retained the source

semantics while abandoning the wordplay. Another approach to analyzing literary translation processes is informed by literary cognitive stylistics and the pragmatics of translation. Literary texts contain certain signals that allow readers to infer a complex set of meanings from them (Stockwell 2002b). Readers, including translators, do so by using their linguistic, literary and world knowledge; their knowledge of the author; and their developing knowledge of the text world, including events and characters. The translator then provides target-language signals to communicate similarly with target readers (Richardson 1998:136–138; Gutt 2000:134–148, 164) – who also know, however, that the work is mediated by a certain translator.

The setting for real-life literary translation is almost always a project in which one or more texts are selected, translated and published or performed. Projects may be initiated in various ways: for example, through source writers or their agents contacting publishers or translators; publishers buying translation rights and commissioning translators; translators pitching ideas to publishers or journal editors; or journal/anthology editors contacting source writers and translators (Wright 2016:14). Who initiates, and whether the project succeeds, is influenced by the capital held by key actors and the available social resources. A project might be inspired by a source writer's symbolic capital or prestige (Bourdieu 1986), but need a subsidizing body's economic capital (funds). It may then increase actors' capital: for instance, becoming translated can increase a writer's prestige in their home country (Casanova 2002/2010:296). Texts may be drawn from one genre or several: a book of essays may be interspersed with poems, for instance. Some projects retranslate older texts – usually because an earlier translation has aged linguistically or stylistically, or target-culture norms have changed (Cadera 2017:6–9; Walsh 2016:54).

Web publishing is an increasingly important outlet for literary translations. Some web projects follow traditional commissioning procedures: for example, a literary web-journal editor may solicit translations. With others, the relationship of the translator to the project can vary: for instance, a blogger may repost translated poems without permission; or the translator may be the source writer or a native

source language amateur (F. Jones 2010). Most projects, however, involve two or more actors – source writer(s), translator(s), editor(s), graphic designer and/or publishing staff (F. Jones 2011). This means that the whole team, not just the translator, is responsible for a translation's form and effects. Nevertheless, some actors have more power than others in determining project outcomes, with the person who selects what text(s) will be translated playing a crucial role. Recent empirical studies have examined how literary translation teams work. Boll (2016), for instance, shows how a publishing house's policy in commissioning poetry translations depends on the often different preferences of individual editors, translators and copywriters. Buzelin demonstrates how the type of French used in Canadian novel translations is negotiated between translators and editors (2006:149).

The volume of literature exported and imported through translation varies enormously among countries; for example, Anglophone countries are low importers and high exporters. Mathematical modelling shows that translation flows can largely be explained by the relative size of the reader population and cultural proximity, with Scandinavian languages shown to be the most above-expected European-language exporters, and English close to expected levels for its large native-reader population (Ginsburgh et al. 2011). The subset of literary works which do get translated also conveys certain images of the source literature, and often its broader culture – which may in turn reveal the selectors' viewpoints, or ideological biases. Images may be nuanced, as Wilson found for Australian novels translated into Italian (2014:78). Or they may be simplistic. T.K. Lee, for instance, claims that Chinese fiction translated into English portrays China as “repressive [and] dystopic” (2015:251). Moreover, images can be self-perpetuating, because publishers may prefer themes which have already appealed to readers.

Literary translation projects very often contain paratexts where team members, typically a translator and/or editor, outline the purpose of the project, comment on the text and its wider context, and sometimes explain the translation approach adopted. Paratexts can reveal the team's positionality: its ideological standpoint, gender and age profile, and allegiance towards the source and/or target culture (Tymoczko

2003/2014:184; Pym 2007b:746). Metatexts such as reviews and publishers' webpages can also reveal attitudes of literature-producing and reading communities towards translation, and towards the source culture (Fawcett 2000). The project's target audience can be mentioned in paratexts, or implied by the place and format of publication. This may also have ideological implications. By posting English translations of Serbian folk epics on a far-right web forum, for example, one Serbian contributor expressed the covert message to his audience that the translations supported the supremacy of European/Christian cultures (F. Jones 2010:18–19).

Project teams interact with wider networks, including a network of all literary translators working with a particular genre or in a given country. Whether this type of network may be considered a profession is debatable, as few earn a living from poetry translating (F. Jones 2011:187–188). A more useful term to adopt might be Bourdieu's field; fields are understood as "historically constituted areas of activity with their specific institutions and laws of functioning", whose members cooperate, associate and sometimes compete (Bourdieu 1998:87; Ing-hillier 2005b:135; Córdoba Serrano 2007:767). The norms conditioning literary translators' behaviour and output, such as genre conventions or accepted source-target text relations, are negotiated and communicated within such fields. These fields interact with other networks and institutions, such as translator-training courses and bodies that support literary translating. Certain actors in specific fields can be crucial in enabling literary translation, especially for lesser-translated source languages. Zabic and Kamenish (2006) stress the importance of collaboration between "immigrant writers with a significant reputation in the host country", translators connected to its "literary scene", scholars, and publishers interested in world literature, to which Wischenbart (2014) adds specialist publishers. Some translators or editors are key enablers of literary transmission because they participate in many projects; the De Campos brothers in Brazil are a good example (Médici Nóbrega and Milton 2009).

Other networks, conceptualized as communities of interest (Venuti 2000:477; F. Jones 2011), are linked to specific projects; an example might

be readers or source-country-based supporters of a given author. These interact with other communities, not all of them necessarily literary or translation based – politically defined communities, for example. Thus poetry translations from Bosnia during the 1990s war were supported by transnational communities of Bosnian and non-Bosnian writers and readers who aimed to portray Bosnia as a cohesive society in the European cultural mainstream rather than a cluster of incompatible ethnic groups (F. Jones 2011:53–83). These communities opposed other, ethno-nationalist communities who sought the ethnic partition of Bosnia.

Polysystem theory sees literary works as forming networks in their own right: translated poetry from Central/Eastern Europe in 1960s–1980s Anglophone countries, for example (Hermans 1999b; Even-Zohar 2000; Clegg 2014). These systems determine the canon of high-prestige works. They also interact with other literary systems: Eastern European poetry influenced Anglophone poets like Ted Hughes (Bergin 2013; Clegg 2014:21–41). However, textual networks depend on networks of people working on "la création et la négociation d'un espace de réception" (the creation and the negotiation of a space of reception; Córdoba Serrano 2007:766), such as English-language publishers and poets enabling Eastern European translations to enter the Anglophone system of poetry.

Literary translation also interacts with larger, more diffuse, imagined communities whose membership is based more on peoples' beliefs and self-image rather than on interpersonal contact (B. Anderson 1999). One such community is that of culture. Casanova sees a global hierarchy between dominating (high translation exporters, low importers) and dominated (low translation exporters, high importers) literary cultures (2002/2010:289). Referring to US English as a dominating culture, Venuti (1995b/2008) argues that selecting texts and using writing styles which reflect target-culture norms reinforce this imbalance. Instead, translators should foreignize, privileging source-culture values in the selection and translation of texts. Others argue that foreignizing strategies can deter readers new to the source literature and risk stereotyping the source culture – orientализing Arabic culture as other in European eyes,

for instance (Allen 2010; Shamma 2005). Not all literary translation flows involve cultural power imbalances, however. Twentieth-century Indian literary modernism was inspired by translation between Indian languages, and from African, American, European and other Asian languages (Chaudhuri 2012:596). Translated literature also brings fresh impetus to any literary culture. Dugdale argues that translations of Korean poetry can encourage English to “expand to incorporate new works, rhythms, associations” (2017:3). Another relevant imagined community is that of nation. Nineteenth-century translations of Irish literature helped build a sense of Irish nationhood in resistance to British colonial domination (Tymoczko 1999). Literary translation can help validate a marginalized source or target language such as Scots (Findlay 2004:6). Some nation-states seek international publicity by subsidizing outgoing literary translations. Others, like Fascist Spain, censor and even ban incoming translations, in an effort to repel political and moral ideas communicated through literary translation (Lobejón Santos 2015; Tan 2015).

Future directions

Wright argues that literary translation quality depends on how well a translation functions as a literary work that is mediated for target-culture audiences by a specific translator, and that although translators need to understand the source’s literariness, the degree and nature of the textual match between source and target text is less crucial (2016:109–10). Very little work, however, has been done on how key actors such as translators, publishers and readers actually assess the quality of literary translation. Moreover, there is a lack of research examining the processes of literary translating – using think-aloud methods, for example – in genres other than poetry. Further studies are needed to address both issues.

See also:

ADAPTATION; CHILDREN’S LITERATURE; ETHICS; FICTION; GENETIC CRITICISM; GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS; MEMORY; POETRY; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES; THEATRE

Further reading

Jones, F. (2011) *Poetry Translating as Expert Action: Processes, priorities and networks*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Uses case studies, think-aloud methods and surveys to examine the translation of Dutch and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian poetry and to draw up a model of poetry (and literary) translation which incorporates translation processes, the nature of poetic text and social interaction.

Stockwell, P. (2002) *Cognitive Poetics: An introduction*, London: Routledge.

A comprehensive guide to how literary text and literary style work in pragmatic terms as communication between a writer who sends complex signals, and readers who interpret them in light of their knowledge and experience.

Weissbort, D. and A. Eysteinsson (eds) (2006) *Translation – Theory and Practice: A historical reader*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

A compendium of writings about mainly literary translation, largely by translators, from Roman times to the present day; most are from the European and North American tradition, with a strong focus on English-language sources.

Wright, C. (2016) *Literary Translation*, London: Routledge.

Discusses key issues in literary translation, supported by analysis of translation examples; key foci are the role of translation theory, how literary translations are read and how translators read literary source texts.

FRANCIS R. JONES

Localization

Localization involves complex technological, textual, communicative and cognitive translational processes that introduce modifications to source interactive digital texts with the goal of rendering them usable in linguistic and sociocultural contexts other than those of production (Jiménez-Crespo 2013b). It is now a “lucrative, dynamic and interprofessional field, often involving marketing, design, software

engineering, as well as linguistic processes” (Pym 2011c:410), has become one of the main engines of growth for the language service industry (GALA 2016) and is part of what is known as the language technology industry, estimated at over 30 billion dollars annually. It is also widely present in non-professional activities, where crowdsourced, fan or activist localization of webpages, smart phone apps and videogames is widespread (Jiménez-Crespo 2017a). Localization represents a consolidated area within translation studies research, with publications dating back to the late 1990s (Freigang 1996; Parra 1999), journals such as the *Journal of Internationalization and Localization* (JIAL) and the *Localization Focus* now devoted to research in the field, and several seminal monographs dedicated to different subtypes of this translational practice (Pym 2004; Dunne 2006; Jiménez-Crespo 2013b; O’Hagan and Mangiron 2014; Roturier 2015), all contributing to establishing what has been referred to as localization studies (Munday 2012; Jiménez-Crespo 2013b).

Historical overview

Localization emerged in the context of software development for personal computing in the late 1970s and early 1980s in the United States (Esselink 2006; Dunne 2006). As soon as software for personal computing was popularized in the US, companies such as Sun Microsystems, Oracle and Microsoft turned their attention towards international users to increase their market share (Esselink 2006). The initial targets were Japan and the so-called FIGS countries (France, Italy, Germany and Spain). Initially, industry publications conceptualized translation tasks within localization as a discrete step in a global process. Translation was often presented as a simple process of finding equivalents for textual strings immersed in programming code. It was part of a wider cycle, namely localization, that was considered “more sophisticated” (Pym 2004:25). This distinction between localization and translation served to justify the added value and cost of the engineering and management of complex projects (Jiménez-Crespo 2013b), highlighting the complex set of interrelated processes necessary to make digital products available to different sociocultural and socio-

linguistic communities. In the early days, localization engineers and developers would extract textual strings in separate files from programming code. These would then be sent to translators, often referred to in early publications as linguists, and developers would subsequently attempt to reintegrate the translations back into digital products. All interested parties – business partners, developers, localization managers and translators – soon discovered that separating the development stage from the linguistic transfer stage was impractical for a wide variety of reasons; for instance, translated segments may be too long to fit into the space allotted to them, or there may be a need to adapt elements such as date and time formats, paper sizes and script to the requirements of different cultures (Esselink 2000; Dunne 2014). With time, the industry realized that localization had to be collaboratively conceived from the start of the development cycle. This resulted in the emergence of a distinct localization industry.

The 1980s saw the emergence of world localization hubs (Esselink 2006), and by the 1990s the localization service industry was well consolidated. Landmark developments such as the emergence of the World Wide Web in the 1990s, the gaming revolution and the mobile revolution in the 2000s further transformed the localization industry. Its scope expanded with the increase in the number and variety of emerging digital texts, including videogames (O’Hagan and Mangiron 2014; Bernal Merino 2015), websites (Jiménez-Crespo 2013b), smart phone and tablet apps (Serón-Ordoñez 2017; Jiménez-Crespo 2017c) and other small devices, creating further subspecializations within the field (Figure 3).

Today, web and videogame localization represent the largest share of the localization industry. This is not surprising given that there were over 3.73 billion Internet users globally and almost 1.26 billion active websites in October 2017 (Internet Live Stats 2017). Similarly, videogames represent the sector with the largest volume of business in the digital world (O’Hagan and Mangiron 2014). These two new subtypes were developed by adapting software localization models to the specifics of digital hypertexts or multimedia interactive videogames. Web localization requires a lower level of technological competence from intervening

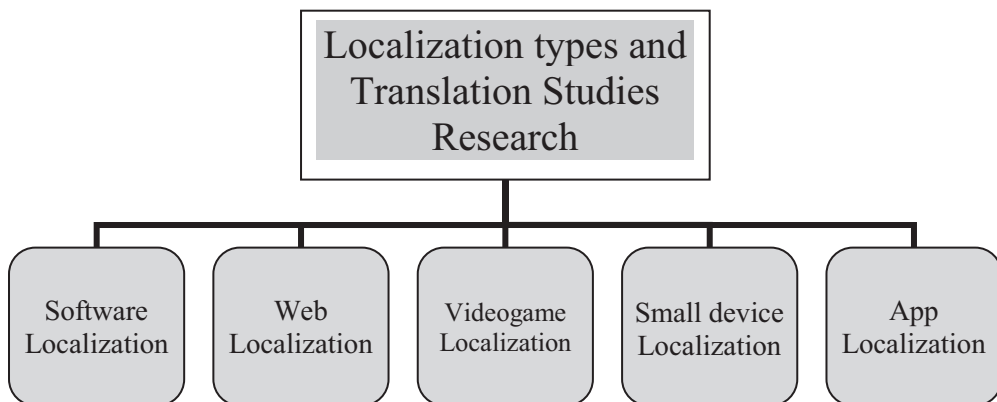


Figure 3 Different areas of research in localization studies

Source: Adapted from Jiménez-Crespo (2011a:4)

participants than software localization (Esselink 2006; Jiménez-Crespo and Tercedor 2012). Videogame localization additionally requires a set of competences related to audiovisual translation (O'Hagan and Mangiron 2014).

The mobile and social network revolution and the emergence of server-based cloud technologies further impacted the development of the localization industry since the late twentieth century. In the participatory and open world created by the Web 2.0 environment, localization crowdsourcing quickly became widely popular (Jimenez-Crespo 2017a), with initiatives to localize websites dating back to the early 2000s (Shimoata et al. 2001) and collaborative localization of videogames dating back even earlier. Crowdsourcing has made use of distinct workflows and volunteers through micro-task approaches as an alternative paradigm to handle the explosion of content in digital societies and the subsequent funnel effect: as more and more digital content is produced and circulated around the world, translation needs greatly surpass the capacities of the professional market (Gambier 2014). New companies are continuously emerging online in a push to offer quicker and more economic services by bringing together professional translators, postediting machine translation and volunteer communities on the web (Jimenez-Crespo 2017a, 2017b). Similarly, social localization initiatives, or what has been referred to as development localization (Schäler 2009), continue to grow. Localization

in industrial settings is primarily carried out in terms of Return on Investment (ROI), with countries with the highest per capita income often included in localization projects even when certain languages such as Danish or Dutch serve a relatively small number of speakers. Development localization, by contrast, is based on the premise that “access to and a presence in the digital world is a right for speakers of any language and should not be dependent on their income” (Schäler 2009:161). A number of initiatives based on crowdsourcing have attempted to bridge this digital divide, both through the online platform (O'Brien and Schäler 2010) or MT postediting app (Moorkens et al. 2017) of non-profit initiatives such as the Rosetta Foundation, and through the crowdsourcing efforts of companies such as Adobe and Skype to reach languages of lesser diffusion (Mesipuu 2012).

Definitions and scope

The term localization emerged in the 1980s and derives from the notion of locale, which covers the combination of sociocultural region and language for business, production and marketing purposes. Different definitions of localization have emerged from the industry (LISA 2003; Brown-Hoekstra 2017) and translation studies (Schmitz 2007; Schäler 2009, 2010; Dunne 2014), and “tend to be contextually bound, reflecting the perspectives of those

who formulate them” (Folaron 2006:197). One of the most widely used definitions is offered by the now extinct Localization and Internationalization Standardization Association (LISA): “[l]ocalization involves taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale (country/region and language) where it will be used and sold” (LISA 2003:13). Translation scholars initially adopted industry definitions and discourses, given the slow pace at which the discipline has embraced the impact of technology (O’Hagan 2013). Some attempted to propose definitions that stressed distinct features of localization compared to general translation processes (Wright and Budin 2001; Gouadec 2007; Schmitz 2007; Schäler 2010). Other scholars have encouraged the development of a distinctive approach informed by translation theory, providing critical analyses of definitions of localization (Pym 2004; Jiménez-Crespo 2013b:12–19, 2018; Achkasov 2017). This has in turn enriched the discipline by highlighting aspects of localization not generally taken into account in theorizing translation. For instance, localization involves managing large multilingual projects (Gouadec 2007; Schäler 2010); it is associated with distinctive procedural features related to technology (Pym 2011c), such as the application of specific quality assessment processes and standards; and its collaborative nature produces distinct job profiles, including quality assessment specialists, localization engineers and localization managers (Gouadec 2007; Pym 2011c; Snopek 2014).

The growth of localization research in translation studies has been accompanied by a broadening of the scope of the term to encompass several types of non-digital texts that involve translation as part of and interdependent with a larger set of processes. Scholars now refer to the localization/translation of news (Bielsa and Bassnet 2008), advertising material (Declercq 2011) and comic books (Zanettin 2008a). Zanettin refers to the localization of comics to mean the “publication of target products designed for markedly different audiences” (2008a:200), stressing the dependence on market and economic forces, the combination of cultural and product adaptation, and the necessity of collaboration among a team of experts. Localization also shares many features with audiovisual translation (AVT). Like AVT, the content of

localization “is often multimodal, it can come as text, audio, or video” (Schäler 2010:201). AVT scholars often use terms such as film localization and audiovisual localization. Gambier (2013:46) explains that both localization and screen translation involve teamwork and their quality is not assessed only in relation to “acceptability” but also with due regard to “compressibility, accessibility and usability” (2013:58).

Research themes

Early publications on localization tended to focus on the technical peculiarities of the localization process, often from a techno-centric perspective, and engaged primarily with the development and management stages (Esselink 2000; Reineke 2005a, 2005b; Schäler 2010; Dunne 2006, 2014; Roturier 2015). These descriptive studies were often based on prototypical production cycles from the industry but were helpful in highlighting the fact that localization processes involve a distinctive network of interrelated processes, none of which exist in isolation, but only as part of what is known as GILT, an acronym for Globalization, Internationalization, Localization and Translation. The rationale for this global cycle was that localization initiatives generally demand a global and radical adaptation of business and development frameworks from the early stages of product development. Localization in this model refers to preparation, management, engineering and quality testing of digital products, with translation often outsourced as a separate task. Today, this separation can be even more pronounced in web cloud solutions that separate, and automatically reintegrate, the textual content from the underlying programming code in software, smart phone apps and websites to facilitate both professional and non-professional localization.

Localization processes involve a prototypical set of stages that are widely discussed in the literature (Esselink 2000; Schäler 2010; Dunne 2014), such as analysis of source material, preparation and distribution of localization packages, translation of textual and multimodal assets, engineering and testing, ending with a project review. In certain cases, for example in dynamic websites (Torres del Rey and Rodríguez 2014), localization can proceed as a cyclical process

that is non-finite. For example, Facebook is continuously adding content through its crowd-sourcing model, pushing it to the crowd and reintegrating the translations into the website.

Research on localization by translation scholars started in the late 1990s. Researchers such as Freigang (1996) and Parra (1999) pioneered research on issues related to software localization, which was followed by early attempts to delimit and define this object of study (Arevalillo 2000). Esselink (2000) provided the first descriptive and practical introduction to localization, thus helping to establish a more central role for this phenomenon in the discipline and in translation training programmes. Since then, research has addressed themes such as quality (Dunne 2009; Jiménez-Crespo 2009b), the didactics of the different localization subtypes (Jiménez-Crespo and Tercedor 2012; O'Hagan and Mangiron 2014), accessibility (Rodríguez Vazquez and O'Brien 2017) and the impact on web content of MT postediting by online communities (Mitchell and O'Brien and Roturier 2014). Descriptive and contrastive studies of digital genres and localization often combine methods drawn from discourse and genre analysis with corpus-based tools. For instance, Baker's (1995) discussion of the language of translation generated interest in studying localized content to identify aspects of the language of localization (Jiménez-Crespo 2009a, 2011b), with Jiménez-Crespo (2009b) arguing that elements such as intratextual coherence and technological constraints are more significant in localized texts than in texts translated in a linear fashion. The recurrent loss of content during translation identified in this type of research (Jiménez-Crespo 2012) is explained in terms of economic constraints and the dynamic and ever-changing nature of websites as opposed to finite and linear printed texts. For instance, Jiménez-Crespo (2012) found that the news or press section is the most likely to disappear in localized websites, because dynamic sections of websites demand ongoing dynamic localization cycles rather than a single one-time process. Other studies that followed a similar line of research focused on patterns of conventionalization (Jiménez-Crespo 2009a) and explicitation (Jiménez-Crespo 2011b) in localized content. These studies did not confirm the conventionalization hypothesis, but Jiménez-Crespo's findings supported

the explicitation hypothesis, both in a study that focused on navigation menus of corporate websites (Jiménez-Crespo 2011a) and in a product-based study where 80 subjects participated in an experimental task that involved the translation of navigation menus (Jiménez-Crespo 2016). Another corpus-based study by Jiménez-Crespo (2009a) found that localized corporate websites show lower degrees of intratextual coherence at the lexical and syntactic level than similar non-localized websites.

Different components of the localization process, such as image localization (Mata Pastor 2009), have also been the subject of research. A number of studies have engaged with cultural, social and political aspects of localization (Tercedor 2005; Dong and Mangiron 2018), including the role of diaspora in localization (Mandiberg 2013), how different cultures are represented in localized websites (McDonough Dolmaya 2010) and the need for development localization (Schäler 2009), also known as non-market localization. Development localization takes a long view of the impact of localization on society and attempts to "bridge social divides", "provide equal access to electronic information" and ensure "linguistic and cultural diversity" (Schäler 2007:130). The rights of linguistic minorities and access to localized content continue to be the focus of research (Anastasiou and Schäler 2010; Wandera 2015), and scholars are increasingly recognizing that the ubiquitous presence of English in the digital world "has reduced all other languages to minority languages, especially in telecommunications" (Cronin 2016:143).

A number of studies have engaged with issues of pedagogy and training (Schäler 2001, 2007; Gouadec 2003; Archibald 2004). Most research has focused on facilitating the teaching of web (Bolaños 2004; Diaz-Fouçes 2004), software (Austermühl 2006; Mata 2007) and videogame localization (Mangiron 2009; Granell 2011; O'Hagan and Mangiron 2014). Few empirical studies have been conducted in this area, with the exception of one experimental study by Jiménez-Crespo and Tercedor (2012) which attempted to map the acquisition of web localization competence.

Quality has received much attention, with case studies in different language combinations focusing on how to improve quality assurance

and how to conduct error analysis (Pierini 2006; Jiangbo and Ying 2010; Diéguez Morales and Rodríguez 2011). Some have incorporated functionalist perspectives (Jiménez-Crespo 2009b), proposed error typologies (Jiménez-Crespo 2011a) or developed dynamic quality evaluation models for web (Jiménez-Crespo 2013b:127–131) and software localization (Dunne 2009).

Future directions

Some research has been conducted on the intersection of localization and web accessibility, but studies on this topic tend to be purely descriptive (Gutiérrez and Martínez 2010; Mangiron et al. 2013; Rodríguez Vázquez and O'Brien 2017), with some adopting a corpus-based methodology (Tercedor and Jiménez 2008, Tercedor 2010) and others (Rodríguez Vázquez 2015, 2016) adopting an experimental process-based approach. There is scope for conducting more varied and sophisticated studies in this area.

To date very few process-based studies have been conducted, despite the growing impact of cognitive research in the discipline (Schwieter and Ferreira 2017). Similarly, sociological studies remain rare. Risku et al. (2016b) is a notable exception. This study focuses on the interconnectedness of translators and their networks and offers a description of volunteer networks that localize user guides and small smart phone apps. More sociological and ethnographic studies are needed in order to gain insight into the

professionals who make up the localization industry and the networks within which they operate.

See also:

GLOBALIZATION; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS

Further reading

Dune, K. (2006) *Perspectives on Localization: The art of the possible*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

An edited collection that engages with various areas of localization, such as management, terminology, quality, education and standards, and includes two chapters on game localization.

Jimenez-Crespo, M.A. (2013) *Translation and Web Localization*, New York & London: Routledge.

A comprehensive study of localization from the perspective of industry that engages with a range of themes relevant to translation studies, such as digital genres, hypertext, quality and education.

O'Hagan, M. and C. Mangiron (2014) *Game Localization: Translating for the global digital entertainment industry*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A seminal and comprehensive study of the evolution and current state of game localization from the perspective of both industry and translation studies.

MIGUEL A. JIMÉNEZ-CRESPO



Machine translation

Machine translation, the automatic conversion of text from one natural language to another, was one of the first non-numerical applications of the digital computer. From its early days in the aftermath of the Second World War to its present incarnations, it has enjoyed varying levels of success, and a relationship with translation studies that has oscillated between hostility and enthusiasm, indifference and acceptance. As is the case with technology in general however (Munday 2009:15; O'Hagan 2012:503), theoretical engagement with machine translation in translation studies was limited for most of the twentieth century, with translation scholars' indifference largely reciprocated by their counterparts in machine translation (Hauenschild and Heizmann 1997:v). Reflection on human translation and machine translation thus proceeded mostly along parallel tracks for the best part of the twentieth century, with rare points of intersection observed primarily in theories of human translation that drew inspiration from various branches of linguistics, or in the work of a small number of computationally oriented linguists who sought to find common theoretical ground between human and machine translation (Bennett 1994, 1998). The availability of free, online machine translation since the late 1990s sparked interest in the area in the wider critical humanities however, and the subsequent boom in data-driven machine translation – along with its increasing integration into commercial translation workflows in the 2000s and 2010s – was accompanied by growing convergence in the interests of machine translation and human translation scholars. Since the turn of the century, discussions of transhumanism and posthumanism have led to increased speculation about machine translation, the only type

of translation that some commentators believe will survive in a post-anthropocentric world (O'Thomas 2017:295–296). This entry focuses on critical issues of likely interest to translation studies scholars and does not give a full account of the historical development of machine translation or its technical implementation, such issues being covered in detail by Hutchins (1986, 2000), Koehn (2010, 2017) and Poibeau (2017).

The growing interdependence of human and machine translation – largely due to the fact that contemporary machine translation is often based on the recycling of translations produced by humans, and that machine translation output is often postedited by humans using the same translation memory tool interfaces as they would use to create human translations – has led many commentators to observe that the lines between human and machine translation are blurring (Kenny 2012; O'Hagan 2012; Doherty 2016; Christensen et al. 2017). Castilho et al. have gone as far as to suggest that, in the context of translation quality assessment at least, “the traditional separation of human and machine is no longer valid, and drawing an arbitrary line between HT and MT no longer serves us in research, teaching and professional practice” (Castilho et al. 2018:28). But while Castilho et al. are correct in claiming that in certain environments it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish human from machine inputs and outputs, this does not invalidate the general ontological distinction between machine and human translation. Nor can any treatment that does not distinguish between human and machine translation attempt to account for the historical development of translation and the myriad practices of contemporary translation (Tymoczko 2007). For these, and other reasons (Kenny 2018), the distinction is maintained here. Human translation is thus understood as a process in which human beings (individually

or in collaboration with others) are the primary agents responsible for the conversion of a source language text into a target-language text, even if those humans may have recourse to multiple technological tools and resources to assist in the process; machine translation, on the other hand, is a process in which the interlingual conversion of text is carried out by a machine, even if the proper functioning of that machine relies on human labour before, during or after run time.

The ‘text’ referred to in the definition of machine translation at the start of this entry is usually written text. Although automatic spoken-language translation has existed for some time, it usually involves a pipeline that integrates speech recognition, in which a speech signal is first automatically transcribed in the source language, followed by a phase in which the transcript is translated into a target language using conventional machine translation (Cettolo et al. 2016). Experiments using artificial neural networks have seen spoken Spanish automatically translated directly into written English without prior transcription however (Reynolds 2017), and similar neural techniques have been used to integrate information from images in multimodal machine translation (Elliott et al. 2017). Translation studies has yet to take stock of such developments.

Rule-based machine translation, linguistics and objectivism

In the second half of the twentieth century the translation theorists who engaged with machine translation in non-antagonistic ways were, for the most part, those who worked with linguistic models of translation. Nida (1964) and Wilss (1977, 1982), for example, both included chapters on machine translation in their surveys of the new ‘science’ of translation. Nida (1964; Nida and Taber 1969) also drew heavily on Chomsky’s (1957) transformational grammar to conceptualize translation as a process in which sentences could be reduced to their deep or kernel structures; the lexical units at this level could then be translated into the target language, and in a third move a target-language sentence could be generated around such translated lexical units. The same analysis-transfer-generation model

was used as the fundamental architecture of second-generation machine translation systems (Hutchins and Somers 1992), which were based on linguistic rules that specified the words and structures allowed in source and target languages, and the interlingual operations needed to link them. Such rule-based systems, along with the linguistic theories that underpinned them, were subjected to much criticism within humanities-oriented translation studies (Kenny 2001:1–2): the approach was characterized as naïve and simplistic, limited as it was to the manipulation of short, invented sentences, and unable to deal with text-level phenomena, let alone account for the cultural import of translation.

Melby’s (1995) critique of rule-based machine translation (RBMT) was especially devastating, coming as it did from a former supporter of the approach. Like the post-structuralists before him, but drawing more on Lakoff’s (1987) experientialism, Melby criticized the objectivist basis of machine translation, according to which meaning was seen as universal, and residing in more-or-less discrete concepts that existed independently of particular languages, speakers or situations, and were labelled by linguistic symbols that could simply be combined according to the principle of compositionality and the rules of grammar. Even if such premises could be defended within the strictly controlled borders of specialized domains, he argued, they could never hold for dynamic general language.

But if symbolist RBMT was ultimately eclipsed by empirical, data-driven approaches in the early twenty-first century, it was as much for practical as for principled reasons: RBMT systems were expensive to develop and frequently hit knowledge bottlenecks, it being difficult to predict and code all the linguistic knowledge necessary to programme a good general-language system. The alternative came in the form of parallel corpora, or texts that had already been translated by humans and were thus available in two languages and, as Isabelle et al. (1993:1137) famously put it, contained “more solutions to more translation problems than any other existing resource”. The growing availability of such parallel corpora since the 1980s heralded the development of machine translation based on empirical approaches.

Empirical approaches to machine translation

In a prescient passage, one that prefigured both Toury (1980, 1995/2012) and later developments in machine translation, Catford (1965:27–31) described textual equivalence as an observable relationship between source and target texts (or portions of source and target texts), and thus as an empirical category that could be induced from such texts after the fact of translation. Textual equivalence could even be expressed in terms of both unconditional and conditional probabilities, and from these probabilities translation rules could be extrapolated. Whereas humans would see features of the wider situation as conditioning factors in their looser contextually based translation rules however, machines would rely rigidly on co-text to specify the conditioning factors in probabilistic translation algorithms (*ibid.*).

Catford's (1965) textual equivalence was, in a way, operationalized in the data-driven approaches to machine translation that would begin to dominate the research agenda by the turn of the millennium. By the early 1990s methods had been developed to automatically align parallel corpora at sentence level, and from there to extract probable translation equivalences between words in source and target sentences. With the help of such word alignments, probabilistic phrase alignments could be surmised, where phrases are simply uninterpreted strings of n contiguous words, also known as n -grams (or segments in Poibeau 2017). These probabilistic phrase alignments, which are learned from parallel corpora and collected in phrase tables, constitute the translation models used in statistical machine translation (SMT). Unlike the textual equivalents envisaged by Catford however, phrase tables can contain non-sensical pairings of source and target n -grams, as phrase alignments are learned automatically from corpora without the benefit of human arbitration and on the basis of n -grams that are not necessarily linguistically coherent. But for all their faults, phrase tables remain the somewhat impoverished machine analogues of bilingual translation knowledge in a human. An attempt is also made to give machines target-language knowledge in the form of models of the target

language, as captured in target n -gram probabilities. At run time, an SMT system has to decide on the most probable translation for a given source language sentence, given the translation model it has learned from a given bilingual corpus, the language model it has learned from a given target-language corpus, and the weights that are assigned to each of the models.

Unlike the response to RBMT, few translation theorists have tried to draw serious parallels between how SMT and human translation operate, or to argue for a common approach to meaning within the two fields. Indeed, Hearne and Way (2011:206), writing from within machine translation circles, have stressed that SMT was not intended to be either linguistically or cognitively plausible, and the pioneers of the approach were careful to point out that it eschewed “the use of an intermediate mechanism (language) that would encode the ‘meaning’ of the source text” (Brown et al. 1988:1). Indeed, developers of SMT systems, and the neural machine translation systems that are now displacing them, have no need to grapple with issues of meaning as they can rely on the human translators, the material traces of whose work they use to train their systems, to have already solved such problems. If machine translation developers such as Koehn (2010:43) refer to the source and target texts on which SMT systems are trained as having “the same meaning” – a position that many translation theorists would find highly suspect (Malmkjær 2011) – they do so in a strategic way, to legitimize the use of parallel corpora in machine translation, rather than through any commitment to objectivist meanings. If anything, the rise of empiricism in all branches of natural language processing has led to a growing interest in nonmentalist, usage-based approaches to meaning, with those promoted by Wittgenstein (1968) and Firth (1957) non-mentalist invoked in the literature (Manning and Schütze 1999:17). This trend is becoming even more pronounced as research attention shifts from statistical to neural machine translation (Koehn 2017).

Neural machine translation (NMT), like SMT, relies on machine learning techniques to build models of translation on the basis of pre-existing parallel corpora, but it does so using very different computational methods (Forcada

2017). NMT uses artificial neural networks, in which the activation states of large sets of connected artificial neurons can be understood as distributed representations of individual words and the co-texts with which they appear in the training data. The approach is thus broadly consistent with theories that see the meaning of a linguistic form as “the total network of relations” it enters into (Catford 1965:35), although such relations in NMT remain, for the most part, relations between linguistic forms, as predicted by Catford (*ibid.*:31). NMT outperforms SMT on a number of counts: it processes full sentences, not just *n*-grams, and handles morphology, lexical selection and word order phenomena better than SMT (Bentivogli et al. 2016b; Castilho et al. 2017), making for more fluent translation. NMT is more resource-intensive than SMT however (Forcada 2017), and more difficult to debug, given the opacity of its inner workings (Bentivogli et al. 2016b).

Machine translation in empirical and applied translation studies

The rise of SMT coincided with a new wave of technology-oriented research in translation studies. In earlier decades, engagement with machine translation tended to be discursive and focused on the perceived misguidedness of the enterprise. One notable exception was the work of Krings (2001), who investigated the temporal, cognitive and technical effort required by participants to postedit machine-translated output. His research, conducted in the early 1990s using RBMT and published a decade later in English, paved the way for a more irenic approach in which scholars increasingly adopted empirical-experimental designs and investigated issues of relevance to the translation profession or to users of translation. Of particular interest was the competition between machine-translated output on the one hand, and fuzzy matches from translation memories on the other. O’Brien’s (2007) eye-tracking experiments, for example, suggested that the cognitive load required to process a segment output by a machine translation system was close to that required to process a high fuzzy match. Guerberof (2009) similarly

pitted machine translation output against fuzzy matches in her investigation of translator/posteditor productivity and translation. Other researchers studied translation quality, translator/posteditor productivity, cognitive effort and economic cost, in scenarios in which different combinations of human translation, raw machine translation and postedited machine translation were used. The studies collected in O’Brien et al. (2014) exemplify such work. Many of them also have a strong meta-evaluative focus, reflecting as they do on the appropriateness of various types of evaluation in a shifting technological landscape.

While Pym’s (2012b) distinction between industry-based machine translation developers, university-based researchers in engineering and related fields, and translation scholars more firmly rooted in the humanities is undoubtedly still valid, the interests of the latter two groups have begun to converge in the area of translation process research. Studies of the translation process are increasingly based on user activity data (from eye tracking, keystroke logging and related techniques) garnered from contemporary translation environments that integrate both machine translation and translation memory. Recent projects, as reported, for example, in Carl et al. (2016), have investigated the effects on productivity, quality and user experience of different modes of machine translation, including interactive machine translation, in which the machine attempts to predict the words that the human translator is currently typing, and adaptive translation, in which the statistical models underlying the machine translation system are updated in real time, as the translator/posteditor changes the output, or at the end of the translation session (Bentivogli et al. 2016a).

Further applied translation studies research, this time into the pedagogy of machine translation, includes O’Brien’s (2002) seminal work on the teaching of postediting and subsequent studies intended to set wider agendas in the teaching of machine translation (Kenny and Doherty 2014; Mellinger 2017) or to provide models that might be emulated elsewhere (Doherty and Kenny 2014; Martín-Mor and Piqué i Huerta 2017; Martín-Mor and Sánchez-Gijón 2018; Moorkens 2018).

Ethics, aesthetics and wider cultural debates

Drugan and Babych (2010) have reflected on the ethical implications of the growing use of machine translation, expressing concern, for example, about possible breaches of client confidentiality when free online systems are used and the lack of compensation for and attribution of the original creators of translation data when it is reused to train machine translation systems. Others have lamented the general obscuring of human translators and their work (Cronin 2003; Kenny 2012) and the undermining of their professional values, in scenarios where they are asked to produce merely 'good enough' post-edited texts (Kenny 2012).

Several writers working within the broader domain of the critical humanities have homed in on the underlying assumptions made by advocates of machine translation, their political and cultural import, and especially their implications for how language itself is viewed. Raley (2003a) takes issue with the functionalist logic of machine translation, its focus on basic, communicative meaning, and its positing of a kind of universality and transparency that has come under fire in post-positivist translation studies. She is also critical of the Anglocentrism at the heart of much machine translation. Such Anglocentrism has its roots in Weaver's (1949:4) infamous description of foreign texts as texts that were "really written in English" in a discursive gambit intended to motivate the use of cryptographic techniques in automatic translation, but the frequent repetition of this trope (Koehn 2010:5), the use of English as a pivot language in many systems (Raley 2003a:300; Poibeau 2017:168) and the notational convention whereby the basic equation used in SMT took 'e' (originally used for 'English' in Brown et al. 1988) to stand for any target language/text, and 'f' (originally for 'French') to represent any 'foreign' language/text (Koehn 2010), did little to dispel the impression that machine translation developers could live with the idea of English as "the master, universal, über language", as Raley (2003a:296) puts it.

Frank et al. (2004), themselves machine translation developers, focus on the output

of selected rule-based systems, showing how they sometimes produce grammatically masculine forms by default, where feminine forms would clearly be more appropriate. More recent work by Prates et al. (2019) shows that gender bias remains an issue in data-driven machine translation. Khater (2010) expresses the related concern that "[i]n a world overflowing with content produced by the dominant", data-driven machine translation will propagate hegemonic narratives, precisely because those narratives are already the most frequently encountered, and thus are the most likely to be reused in a positive feedback effect that will eventually give them monolithic status.

Mitchell (2010) highlights the extent to which data-driven machine translation is based on language as material. This materiality partly explains the tendency of developers to conceptualize parallel corpora as a crop or a foodstuff, from which translation units have to be 'harvested' and then 'fed' to machine translation systems in their training phases (Kenny 2012). It is also behind many artistic uses of machine translation, where outputs are treated as a kind of 'found poetry', serendipitously encountered linguistic 'stuff' that can be manipulated like materials in the plastic arts. In some cases, machine translation is prized for its jarring, ungrammatical, nonsensical, antinarrative character, and is seen as capable of delivering the kind of non-communicative, foreignizing translation advocated by Benjamin (1923/2012) and Venuti (1995b/2008). T.K. Lee's (2011a) discussion of the work of the Taiwanese poet Hsia Yü is based on this premise. Lee (ibid.) argues that in Yü's case machine translation delays or blocks comprehension, while simultaneously drawing attention to the corporeality of the target language. Benjamin's (1923/2012) pure language also looms large in the prose of Julian Dibbell (2000) and Matthew Battles (2009a), both of whom imagine they have caught "a mystic glimpse of the language between languages" (Dibbell 2000) through the use of back-and-forth machine translation.

Machine translation output can be deployed as an end in itself, as in Eckols's (2013) *10 Poems Ruthlessly Mangled by Google Translate*, and it lies at the heart of born-digital creative

artefacts such as Boenigk and Carlough's (2009) *Translation Party*, which uses back-and-forth machine translation between Japanese and English, until equilibrium is reached and the output stops changing. Such endeavours take advantage of the unintended comic effects of machine translation (Malecka and Marecki 2018:79). Machine translation can equally serve as an intermediary in creative processes like that used by Jack Underwood (2018) to write 'replies' to poems he could not read in the original. It has also found its way into performance art, for example in the work of Bill Aitchison (2018), where it supports explorations of third-space hybridity.

Literary machine translation has also received attention from machine translation developers: the ability to customize SMT engines, the availability of plentiful training data and incremental improvements in machine translation, especially with the advent of neural approaches, have emboldened scientists to build machine translation engines that are specially adapted for the translation of literary prose (Toral and Way 2015; Moorkens et al. 2018b). Here, the theoretical touchstone becomes Nida and Taber's (1969) concept of dynamic equivalence, and the ultimate goal is to produce fluent output. Malecka and Marecki (2018) and Taivalkoski-Shilov (2019) discuss some of the legal and ethical issues raised by such applications of machine translation to literary texts.

See also:

CORPORA; LOCALIZATION; MEDIA AND MEDIALITY; SEMIOTICS; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; TECHNOLOGY, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Moorkens J., S. Castilho, F. Gaspari and S. Doherty (eds) (2018a) *Translation Quality Assessment. Machine Translation: Technologies and applications*, Volume 1, Berlin: Springer.

Surveys contemporary approaches to translation quality assessment and predicts how the area will change as neural machine translation advances and human and machine translation continue to converge.

Poibeau, T. (2017) *Machine Translation*, Cambridge, MA & London: The MIT Press. Provides an accessible, non-technical overview of

machine translation, covering its history, major approaches, evaluation and commercial systems.

Taivalkoski-Shilov, K. (2019) 'Ethical Issues Regarding Machine(-assisted) Translation of Literary Texts', *Perspectives* 27(5): 689–703.

Provides a timely critique of current endeavours to apply machine translation to literary texts.

DOROTHY KENNY

Media and mediality

Although translation is above all else an act of mediation, scholars of translation traditionally looked through and/or past the physical, material means by which translation exchanges occur, failing to see these means as agentic objects, communicative vectors and expressive forms in their own right. Increasingly, however, they have come to recognize that both physical and digital media impact interlinguistic, intercultural and intermedial forms of encounter in a variety of ways. This recognition has refocused attention on the inherent physical materiality of digital tools and devices, and has historicized scholarly understandings of what were once considered 'new media', such as television, and even the printed book.

In two landmark contributions, Littau (2011, 2016a) called for explicit reflection on the material carriers of diverse media cultures – oral, scribal, print, film, digital – as constitutive elements of the practices and products of translation. This "medial turn", as she terms it (Littau 2011:261), offers translation studies the possibility of elaborating an enriched theoretical platform which frames these materialities of communication within the wider mediascape, thereby allowing reflection on the forces that shape technologies of culture. Littau's intervention has opened up a new space for productive and complex interactions about the nature of communication and technologies, and has drawn attention to the extensive scholarly activity emerging around new areas of translation and media, in fields as diverse as audiovisual translation, intermedial translation (as in film adaptation), traditional and internet

broadcasting, book history, software studies and machine translation. It also pointed to important convergences and divergences in the theoretical models deployed in these neighbouring areas of enquiry. While some scholars of the history of translation have been attentive to material forms and media carriers, and some studies of interpreting, audiovisual translation and multimodality make the media/medium the foregrounded focus of research (H. Jones 2018a), for the most part the discipline has yet to embrace concepts of media and mediality and become as attentive to the material objects of translation as it is to other dimensions of this social practice.

Media and materiality

Littau notes that “media are the material carriers for all that has been thought and imagined” (Littau 2011:262), and may thus be approached in terms of the basic dichotomy of content and container, the latter sometimes also called carrier. In oral communication, the human body itself is the container and transmitter of the text (here in the form of speech), while text can be captured in a variety of inscription media, including marks scratched into stone, wax or bark, handwritten, impressed onto the page in printed media, captured materially in multimodal storage media such as celluloid film, wax cylinders, vinyl records, cassette tapes and, with the advent of electronic computer systems, inscribed at the microscopic level onto various kinds of computer media such as hard drives, floppy discs, CD-ROMs, mini-discs, smart phone SSD and memory cards, and remote cloud storage banks. All these media exist in the world as material objects, including the so-called virtual formats: even apparently disembodied electronic text is presented *in* and *by* a device.

The tools and objects of translation do not exist in a vacuum, in a simply instrumental way. Media is (and are) much more than the material supports in which texts are carried; the very vagueness and slippages encompassed in the term itself indicate a multiplicity of meanings and functions. Etymologically, *media* is linked to *medium*, of which it is a plural form, and to the action of *mediating*, and hence to translation. Mediality can be understood as “the particular characteristics . . . that define each media

form” (H. Jones 2018a:178). For media theorists, the medium can be at once the mediating object and the system in which it is embedded, since “[t]he medium does not lie between sender and receiver; it includes and constitutes them” (Mitchell 2008:4). It follows that media cannot be conceptualized as “neutral or transparent, subordinate or merely supplemental to the information they convey” (Mitchell and Hansen 2010:vii). In its most expansive definition, then, media can refer to the very essence of human interactions with the world, “the operation of a deep, techno-anthropological universal that has structured the history of humanity from its very origin (the tool-using and inventing primate)” as well as “a technical form or formal technics, indeed a general mediality that is constitutive of the human as a ‘biotechnical’ form of life” (ibid.:viii-ix).

Media forms and objects can be understood as agentic, operating alongside human actants, with each acting upon the other; in practice, media theorists agree that media technologies shape us and constitute our means of thinking. There is no mediation without media, and mediation is thus always materialized. If we accept the fundamental premise of Littau and other scholars of media, that media forms shape meaning and our very ability to conceptualize meaning, it follows that translation, too, should be understood in terms of the “constitutive role that technologies have played” in its history (Littau 2016a:90), as well as the history of theorizing it. Littau argues, for example, that recent theories of translation, from Venuti’s concept of invisibility to the metaphors of Coldiron and Armstrong’s book-history studies are consciously or unconsciously located in the tropes of visual media (especially photography and film), the technologies which mediate a curated view of the world (Littau 2016a:91–92). Rather than simply using media as a lens through which to approach translation, however, Littau proposes using translation and translation studies, with its multiplicity of critical approaches and long history of enquiry into the mechanics and dynamics of mediation, as the impetus for an expanded comparative media studies. Subsequent responses to Littau’s position paper (published in *Translation Studies*, 2016–2017) provide an excellent introduction to different dimensions of the debate on media and translation.

Media history and the media objects of translation

Approached from the perspective of technology – understood as the media object, or the container which carries the text – interlingual translation is not necessarily separable from non-translation or textual inscription in terms of its material output: a spoken oration, a handwritten poem, a printed novel, text displayed on a webpage or a screen. At the same time, the practices of translation – the production of a new text and its reception by its audience(s) – are always facilitated materially, and often intermedially, in a specific media context (Littau 2011:264). Where the translation activity and status of the output are to be foregrounded, the translation object often expresses this in its form and formal qualities, whether materially embodied in the person, as in sign language interpreting, designed as an expressive form in and of itself, as in a parallel/bilingual text edition or made manifest through the mediating paratexts that frame the translation for specific audiences.

Much of the material record from ancient civilizations has been lost, and the earliest surviving media storage and retrieval devices are now museum pieces. One of the most iconic translation artefacts of all time is the Rosetta Stone, a large stele (inscribed slab) made in ancient Egypt around 196 BCE, which bears an inscribed decree written in three scripts: Egyptian hieroglyphs, Egyptian demotic script and ancient Greek (Cronin 2013:12). As media, this monumental translation object can be read in many ways. As an ancient object which has survived for over two thousand years, its textual and social functions have evolved over time: it originally functioned as a reaffirmation of monarchical authority; its discovery in the late eighteenth century made it instrumental in the scholarly study of Egyptian culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the similarities between the three texts providing the key to deciphering the hieroglyphic writing system; today, its name is indexically associated with the most widespread commercial language-learning software package, Rosetta-Stone™. As a material object, it has been spatially and temporally ‘translated’ from Egypt to its present-day location in the British Museum

in London, and as Cronin points out, “the object itself, symbol of, and aid to, a culture of translation, is the clue to understanding a larger whole, the entire web of human-*technē* interaction presupposed by systems of entailment” (2013:13).

In classical textual cultures, translation work then, as now, was necessarily multimedial. A Roman orator such as Cicero would translate from the Greek into Latin, working with what are now obsolete text technologies, the principal physical support for writing being the scroll, or *volumen*. But he would also work intermedially: reading from one text-object in Greek, translating into Latin and orally dictating it to a scribe, who would write it down into another roll (Littau 2011:264). Text technologies and artefacts change, but the process of remediation through a series of physical supports endures in much the same way through manuscript and print culture. In medieval manuscript culture, every element of a book was rendered by hand, and it is at that time that the visual codes of interlingual translation began to become conventionalized on the page, especially in texts which are functionally concerned with intercultural and interlingual exchange, such as school textbooks, dictionaries, language-learning manuals and literary texts. Textual strategies included interlinear translation (more common in manuscript than early print), marginal glossing, integrated exegetical commentary and, most extensively, the parallel bilingual or multilingual page layout, which performs a rudimentary but powerful visual expression of linguistic equivalence (Armstrong 2015:84). These conventional forms, which *represent* and facilitate translation practices, endure in artefacts as varied as the medieval manuscript, the hand-press book, the large national dictionary projects and scholarly editions. They also endure in the manuscript study objects we create for ourselves, such as school exercise and vocabulary books.

Attentiveness to the material objects of translation in their various media allows us to challenge conventional linear narratives of cultural history and transmission. In a series of landmark contributions, Coldiron (2003b/2010; 2015) has demonstrated the dynamic and continually evolving nature of literary textual productions in the first century of English print. She shows how the rise of print is intimately bound up with

transnational translation practices, both textual and social, from the outset, urging us to read the printing house, its agents and its products as a privileged site of international and cross-cultural multilingual contact, and as revealing deeply embedded ‘foreign’ presences in canonical and supposedly monolingual English literary culture. For Coldiron, translations are “moving creations against moving cultural backgrounds” (2003b:337/2010:355) which breach conventional national, linguistic and temporal categories. Similarly, in her work on the history of the medieval Italian author Giovanni Boccaccio in English translation, Armstrong (2013) reads the material, paratextual and visual design features of the historic book-object as expressive of each context of production, and as evidence of broader translational and transmissive trajectories between agents and linguistic cultures. Armstrong and Coldiron both argue for new dynamic, generative and non-linear conceptual models to better understand the material-translational system at this new media moment of early print: Coldiron suggests “meme theory” (2003b:333/2010:353); Armstrong proposes the branching structure of neural networks and cultural evolutionary tree models (2014:130–131).

While Coldiron and Armstrong have sought to complicate Anglocentric narratives of Early Modern literary translation through their work on historical media, other scholars such as Sajdi (2009) have shown how media histories themselves are bound up in narratives of cultural domination and supremacy. The technology of the printing press, for example, has been used within an orientalist power dynamic to confer a subordinate status on Middle Eastern cultures, justified on grounds of the latter’s late adoption of mechanical printing (Sajdi 2009).

Bodies, media and machines

New technologies are constantly developing, some using phone cameras and microphones linked to image and audio recognition software. Google Translate already offers a suite of multimodal translation options, including text, optical, video and speech-to-speech translation, making it possible to point a phone at a sign or piece of writing, or speak into it, and be provided immediately with a text or audio translation.

The embodied human, as intermediary medium of interlingual and intermedial translation, may soon be sidelined as an agent, their translational action confined to the enacting of software commands, rather than being the primary processor themselves.

Despite these technological advances, the human agent as embodied medium and mediator remains essential in some areas. While some of the functions of speech-to-speech interpreting may now be replaced by computationally mediated processes, the intermedial real-time mediation between hearing and deaf people, for example, relies entirely on the human agent. Here, unlike the largely inscribed media mentioned above (scroll, printed book, electronic media), mediation is enacted and actualized in and by the physical body of the interpreter, in speech or signed language. In both, the body itself is the support, the physical carrier and principal medium of communication, although additional technological media may also be implicated, as in the case of remote video interpreting. Unlike other forms of spoken interpreting, the sign language interpreter must be physically *visible* to the signer, and *audible* to the non-deaf audience. Like inscription media, the translation performance is here enacted by hand and in space, but whereas the function of those media is to store and retrieve, in sign language interpreting the mediation is tied to the temporal moment of the encounter, notwithstanding the fact that it can itself still be transmitted, stored and retrieved through digital AV media.

The proliferation of digital media has resulted in new media objects and practices, such as television teletext subtitling, live subtitles, text-to-speech software and text-to-Braille hardware which can be used to access online text. It is also becoming increasingly common to find haptic and tactile representations of artefacts in museums and galleries, which facilitate an intersensorial mediation of the cultural object. Research on media technologies and translation has thus engaged with concepts such as relationality and spatiality, multiplicity, temporality and simultaneity, whether this relates to the continuous infostream of the cable news running subtitle, or the sixteenth-century parallel-display plurilingual printed book. In all these cases the content continually seeks to expand (and breach) the standard forms of

its media containers in multiple and dynamic ways. Cazdyn (2004/2010), who explored the multimedial and multimodal capacities of the screen space of rolling TV news channels, shows that the running subtitle has changed our way of interacting with 24-hour news media: the running subtitle expands the functions of the conventional cinematic or assistive subtitle by presenting different information to the audio track and video content, allowing the superimposition of additional layers of meaning. The running subtitle foregrounds the coexistence of different media and modes, and allows the possibility of discontinuous and multiple narratives and perspectives to be presented in a relation of simultaneity. Cazdyn draws analogies with the pre-digital phenomenon of the Japanese *benshi*, who would perform a live translation and commentary on films as they were projected, thereby transforming and enlarging the semiotic meaning of the media object in performance. H. Jones (2018a), following Pérez-González (2014b), meanwhile notes how the production and distribution of audiovisual media has seen a “gradual shift from a once-dominant top-down industry-controlled mode of audio-visual translation practice towards today’s more open and ‘participatory’ field” (H. Jones 2018a:181). New digital technologies have allowed certain communities of media consumers to become prosumers (coproducers), as when fandoms intervene on the digital audiovisual text with their own subtitles, audio tracks and text commentary (H. Jones 2018a:188).

The specific affordances and potential capacities of machine translation and automation are also an important focus of research. On the one hand, the increasing use of automation in translation has led to an often noted discursive flattening and simplification of linguistic structures (Raley 2003b/2010:426); on the other hand, the glitches and formal qualities of machine-generated language have opened up a new space for artistic and creative experimentation (Littau 1997/2010; T.K. Lee 2011b). Raley (2003b/2010) reflects on the cultural-linguistic effects that automated electronic tools such as machine translation software have had on language, and more broadly, our perceptions of the functions of language and information exchange. The rise of vast global communication networks has led to the development of

an English which is “[n]ot only. . . ‘Basic’” but also “‘broken’” (2003:301/2010:427), a non-standardized and utilitarian form of the language, which in turn “literally informs the Simplified and Controlled English systems as they are used in machine translation” (2003:302/2010:427). Raley notes that “[b]ecause ‘going digital’ ultimately means translation into a basic, common, putatively neutral medium for communicating information on a global scale, codes and iconic images are our new universal languages of transaction” (2003b/2010:431), and that we must be attentive not only to new electronic media and their effects, but also to their technological substrates, that is, the codes on which the whole systems run.

Electronic forms and the affordances of digital textual media are similarly of concern in Littau (1997/2010), an early and important article which anticipates the media landscape to come. Littau argues that hypertext (that is, electronically rendered text delivered online) can be seen to display the fullest potential of translation as it is increasingly conceived: “as the rewriting of an already pluralized ‘original’” (1997/2010:437), with the facility to make visible – and thereby de-hierarchize – many versions of a text and its translations. By displacing the text from a specific physical container, the book, into a dynamically generated electronic space, hypertext presents a fundamental challenge to conventional categories, in that it opens up a space for more direct translatorial and readerly interventions into the process. Just as Cazdyn has shown how the digital medium allows for an expansion of meanings, narratives, temporalities and subject positions, able to coexist alongside one another, Littau demonstrates that the hypertext system itself is endlessly multiple and generative, and that every act of online interaction reconfigures the traditional roles of author, reader, translator and text producer into a series of endlessly variable and ephemeral versionings.

T.K. Lee (2011b) explores the aesthetic possibilities of machine reproducibility as afforded by machine translation software. He describes a literary experiment by the avant-garde poet Hsia Yü in which machine translation software is used to generate a series of 33 bilingual Chinese-English poems. The poems themselves begin as text randomly harvested from websites, and are repeatedly cycled through translation software

from English to Chinese and back again, eventually culminating in a bilingual physical volume of “pseudo-poems” (T.K. Lee 2011b:9) – pseudo in the sense that their production defies all common conceptions of literary writing. Digital translation technologies are thus used once again to destabilize critical commonplaces of authority and agency in translation, and to produce a textual product which would have been literally unproducible in a past media era. The publication of the output of Hsia Yü’s computer-mediated, electronic text-generating process as a physical, material book serves to further underline the incongruities and anachronisms of this laborious, artificial and explicitly non-fluent process. Indeed, the book-object itself is designed to be barely readable, with the poems printed on clear transparencies, thereby requiring the reader to interact physically with this unfamiliar and unwieldy container in order to access the computer-generated text within.

With the media ecosystem constantly expanding and evolving so rapidly, and with a paradigm shift currently taking place in communication media, with the public infrastructure and software being controlled by global corporate interests, it is increasingly urgent to become attentive to media objects and technologies, and to develop a better understanding of the fast-paced, datamassive, superscale information technologies through which we encounter and act on the world.

Further reading

Cronin, M. (2013) *Translation in the Digital Age*, London & New York: Routledge.

An important study of translation technologies, practices and their implications in a digitally informed world.

Jones, H. (2018) ‘Mediality and Audiovisual Translation’, in L. Pérez-González (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Audiovisual Translation*, London & New York, Routledge, 177–190.

Insightful account of the topic which offers both a theoretical introduction and an overview of changing historical practices in audiovisual translation.

Littau, K. (2011) ‘First Steps towards a Media History of Translation’, *Translation Studies* 4(3): 261–281.

Littau, K. (2016) ‘Translation and the Materialities of Communication’, *Translation Studies* 9(1): 82–96; plus nine responses by Coldiron (96–102), Armstrong (102–106), Bachleitner (106–109), Bassnett (109–113), Kosick (Volume 9/3: 314–318), Burkette (318–322), O’Hagan (322–326), Hou and Lou (Volume 10/1: 87–92) and Cronin (92–96).

Littau, K. (2017) ‘Response by Littau to the Responses to “Translation and the Materialities of Communication”’, *Translation Studies* 10(1): 97–101.

Two essential delineations of the contours of the debate by Littau (2011, 2016), which then become the springboard for further contributions by experts in the field. Taken together these provide an excellent introduction to theories of media and the intersection of translation studies with cognate disciplines of media study.

Mitchell, W.J.T. and M.B.N. Hansen (eds) (2010) *Critical Terms for Media Studies*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Valuable guide to key concepts in media studies, which also serves as a review of latest critical theories in this field.

GUYDA ARMSTRONG

Media interpreting

Media interpreting refers to a very broad and diverse category of cross-language interpreter-mediated communication that falls within the field of audiovisual translation, alongside subtitling, dubbing, audio description and web-casting. It is currently the most inclusive term, encompassing all interpreting activities – in spoken or signed languages – performed in broadcast mass media. The terms broadcast interpreting and television interpreting – or TV interpreting – occur almost equally often in the literature, apparently referring to the same activity, although the latter specifies the medium more restrictively (Kurz 1997, 2002; Mack 2000, 2001; Pöchhacker 2007a; Straniero Sergio 2007; Falbo and Straniero Sergio 2011; Dal Fovo 2015a). Less frequently used terms include live voice-over and telecast simultaneous interpreting.

History, modes and special characteristics

The origins of media interpreting are closely linked to the radio as the first broadcasting medium in history intended to reach a wide and remote audience. Indeed, the first records of broadcast interpretations date back to the late 1930s, when André Kaminker reportedly interpreted one of Hitler's first addresses at Nuremberg for the national French radio network (Baigorri-Jalón 2004). The history of interpreting on television conventionally begins almost 30 years later, with the live interpretation of the first American shuttle missions that culminated with the Moon landing on 20 July 1969 (Pinhas 1972; Nishiyama 1988; Kurz 1996, 1997; Tsuruta 2003, 2011; Straniero Sergio 2007). Today, media interpreting as a professional activity represents a significant share of the interpreting market, especially in countries like Japan, where simultaneous news interpreting has been an established practice for years, both on national television (NHK) and on dedicated news channels such as BBC World and CNN (Mizuno 1997; Tsuruta 2011). The Franco-German channel ARTE – *Association Relative à la Télévision Européenne* – is probably the closest counterpart in terms of spoken-language televised interpreting in Europe (Pöchhacker 2004; Andres and Fünfer 2011): with its own Language Service integrated in the company headquarters in Strasbourg since it started televising in 1992 (Fünfer 2009), it accounts for an unprecedented volume of interpreted broadcasts within one single broadcasting channel. Nevertheless, interpreting for the mass media has been rapidly catching up on other public and private broadcasting channels, and not only in German-speaking countries. In Spain (Castillo 2015) and Italy (Dal Fovo 2016), alongside news channels, commercial broadcasters offer a very wide range of entertainment-oriented interpreted programmes (Dal Fovo 2015b). Accessibility to broadcast content by deaf viewers has traditionally been provided via closed-captioning, live subtitling and programmes with deaf presenters. However, signed language interpreting in TV broadcasts is rapidly becoming a valid alternative, as reported by Steiner (1998), who paved the way for further studies in this field in Europe (Napier

and Leeson 2016; Kurz and Mikulasek 2004; Kellett-Bidoli 2010) and other, very diverse contexts such as Australia (McKee 2014), China (Xiao et al. 2015; X. Zhao 2015) and South Africa (Wehrmeyer 2015).

Interpreting for the mass media is mostly performed in the simultaneous mode, to the extent that media interpreting may be easily identified with live television simultaneous interpreting, or even live voice-over. Falbo (2012) proposes an important distinction between simultaneous interpretation performed on site, or *in praesentia*, and *in absentia*: the former indicates instances where interpreters are physically present, at least vocally, and share the communication venue with the primary interlocutors; the latter refers to the interpreter's absence from the physical and contextual location, and sometimes even the time zone, of the primary communication event (Pöchhacker 2010). Consecutive interpreting on television is usually performed as short consecutive without taking notes (Pöchhacker 2004), with the interpreter sitting next to the guest, simultaneously whispering the translation of the host's question in his or her ear and subsequently interpreting the guest's answer in consecutive mode.

Early contributions to the literature on media interpreting focus on event-, task- and setting-related difficulties, highlighting the extremely risky and stressful nature of media interpreters' work (Pinhas 1972; Daly 1985; Kurz 1985b, 1990, 2003; Nishiyama 1988; Strolz 1997; Mack 2001). Various scholars have argued that media interpreting calls for special qualities on the part of interpreters, who face additional challenges to those faced by conference interpreters (Kurz 1993b), challenges that put their physical and physiological abilities to the test. Work-related stress factors may range from late-night assignments to lack of time for preparation, speed of delivery and information density (Kurz 1993b, 2002; Falbo and Straniero Sergio 2011; Jiménez Serrano 2011). Specific constraints also include aspects that are usually subject to interpreters' autonomous decisions, but that in the media setting are beyond their control, such as the use of time lag and the management of turn-taking. Indeed, in every mass media setting time is of the essence, and one of the main requirements for interpreters is to finish their interpretation at the same time

as – or even a few seconds before – the speaker, so that the audience may hear part of the original. A further category of stress factors pertains to the interpreter's psycho-emotional sphere (Kurz 2002): media interpreters are under constant pressure, not only because their working conditions are far from ideal, but also because they are exposed to a very large audience whose high expectations have been shaped by a long tradition of well-rehearsed and scripted media talk. Form is notably preferred over content in the media, which means that media interpreters' output has to satisfy the high standards of voice and diction traditionally applied to moderators' or newscasters' talk (Kurz 2002): they are required to have good voice quality and diction, possibly a native accent, and their delivery is expected to be flawless, fluent and aesthetically pleasing to the ear, if necessary even at the expense of completeness (Daly 1985; Kurz 1990; Kurz and Pöchhacker 1995a; Mizuno 1997; Straniero Sergio 2003). On screen, interpreters are often the object of explicit scrutiny and teasing, as their performance is part of the show. Off-stage, media interpreters are exposed to criticism by the mass viewing public, which includes not only the media audience but also other media professionals who may comment on the interpreter's performance on the national press the following day.

Finally, the evolution of media talk has led to hybridization or emerging forms of language mediation where, for instance, leading journalists and talk show hosts act also as interpreters, and professional interpreters (also) become primary communication partners in the interaction (Straniero Sergio 1999, 2011; Chiaro 2002; Katan and Straniero Sergio 2003).

Research themes and methods

Early studies on media interpreting were largely based on conference interpreting standards (Kurz 1993b), with research following mainly comparative paradigms (Kurz and Pöchhacker 1995a). Comparing quality standards for conference and media interpreting provided an impetus for research on media interpreting to develop into an area of study in its own right, and to identify a set of strategies and norms that are specific to the media environment (Daly 1985;

Kurz 1990; Bros-Brann 1993; Kurz and Pöchhacker 1995a; Straniero Sergio 2003; Darwish 2009). Subsequent advances in different areas of interpreting studies and cross-fertilization with other disciplines gradually led to the expansion and diversification of research, resulting in the acknowledgement of media interpreting as a full-fledged specialization rather than a sub-area of conference interpreting. The field is now characterized by fuzzy boundaries (Pöchhacker 2011b) in several respects. With advances in telecommunication technology, features once typical of media interpreting have come to characterize webcast media content and videoconferencing as well, thus extending the remit of the field to new media. At the same time, media interpreting is being investigated as a particular mode of language transfer in the media within the fast-developing field of audiovisual translation, and various scholars have realized the potential for conducting empirical research on media interpreting given the accessibility of public broadcasting content.

Despite such developments, the volume of research carried out on television interpreting still outweighs that of studies conducted on other media. TV communication, including the performance of an interpreter, can potentially reach millions of viewers and listeners, such that a given interpreting performance may shape public perceptions of interpreting as a whole, making the media environment "the showcase of the profession" (Stähle 2009:55). Since most members of the general public are familiar with the practice of simultaneous interpreting only or mainly from seeing it performed on TV programmes, individual media interpreters come to represent a more familiar professional image than those operating in other settings (Pöchhacker 2011b). A large target population is a significant asset when conducting survey-based research. However, survey-based studies are scarce, possibly due to a lack of interest on the part of media executives. Survey-based work on spoken-language media interpreting is limited to a few studies that involve selected audiences gathered specifically for the purposes of research, and largely draws on previous research on users' expectations in conference interpreting (Elsagir 2000).

By contrast, the analysis of authentic data has rapidly established itself as the most common

approach to research on interpreting for the media. Research on media interpreting may be described as fieldwork (Robson 1993), given its reliance on the analysis of video recordings in their raw form, a method that accounts for some of the most significant advances in the field (Straniero Sergio 2007; Dal Fovo 2011, 2016; Pöschhacker 2011b). Initial case studies conducted on quite limited collections of recorded material eventually culminated in the design and creation of full-fledged corpora of media interpreting, such as TIC (Cencini 2002) and CorIT (Straniero Sergio and Falbo 2012). The application of corpus analysis tools has offered scholars the opportunity to quantify and systematize patterns associated with specific output features and their variation across different contexts of interpreting. Corpus-based research on media interpreting in general, and TV interpreting in particular, benefits from the availability of data that is generally not accessible to researchers investigating other contexts in which interpreting takes place. For example, studies conducted on CorIT analyze different interpretations of the same source text by different interpreters working for different broadcasting channels, as in the case of American presidential debates broadcast and interpreted on different Italian TV channels, each appointing their own team of interpreters (Dal Fovo 2016). Other areas of corpus-based research on media interpreting include the interpreter's positioning in interpreter-mediated face-to-face interactions and its repercussions on the *mise-en-scène* of a given broadcast genre (Santrelli 2015); an individual interpreter's performance over a long period of time, outlining his or her interpreting profile, characteristics and idiosyncrasies (Straniero Sergio 2012); and the degree of media interpreters' involvement in the interaction beyond their translation task – for instance when their on-screen role as active participants in the show requires them to engage in gag-like sequences or applause-triggering moments, which frequently consist of ridiculing comments being made at their expense (Straniero Sergio 2007).

Possibly the most distinguishing characteristic of TV communication is the double articulation of broadcast talk. Broadcast communicative interactions take place between those participating on screen (primary level of interaction),

but are simultaneously designed to be heard by absent audiences (secondary level of interaction; Scannell 1991). The implications for research are twofold. First, the intrinsically interactional nature of many types of media interpreting, such as talk show interpreting, makes it amenable to investigation using the tools of discourse analysis, and in this respect brings it closer to the research interests and traditions of dialogue interpreting (Dal Fovo and Niemants 2015). Talk show interpreting shares numerous fundamental characteristics with dialogue interpreting, ranging from discourse structure and participation formats to interpreting modes (Dal Fovo 2015b). Like dialogue interpreters, talk show interpreters work in a context of asymmetrical relationships in terms of access to knowledge and to conversational resources (Drew and Heritage 1992). Second, the secondary level of interaction (Scannell 1991) reflects a unique aspect of communication, only pertaining to broadcast talk, that offers additional evidence of media interpreters' multivariate role – as communication facilitators as well as on-screen participants in the interaction who actively take part in the making of the show (Straniero Sergio 2007). More specifically, the overarching principle guiding on-screen action is emphasis on the entertainment of the absent audience, with viewers in front of the screen being the primary recipients of the message (Katan and Straniero Sergio 2001). Far from being mere addressees at the end point of the output-input axis, viewers play an active role – albeit mostly off screen (Mack 2002) – in media communication, exercising their power through the remote control. Their response is what the survival of the medium and its message ultimately depend on. As producers of media talk, media interpreters thus address a double audience, and are required to mediate the original message and adapt it to their target audiences. On talk shows, for instance, interpreters enjoy a great degree of flexibility in producing their renditions, which is expected to be “applause-relevant” (Katan and Straniero Sergio 2001:223), irrespective of pragmatic repercussions that might result from consequent and almost unavoidable loss of information (Linell et al. 1992; Hale 1997a). Additions, omissions and elaborations of the original message, as well as repair interventions, are perceived not so much as signs of difficulty,

but rather as evidence of the interpreter's involvement and participation.

Such considerations, which are informed by a sociological perspective on translation and interpreting (Angelelli 2012b), have effected a turning point in media interpreting research and highlighted the issues that distinguish media interpreting from other forms of interpreting. The idea that cultural practices and language transfer always take place within specific intercultural and multilingual contexts confers great(er) significance on the situatedness of each interpreting task, which is necessarily dependent on the social context (including the target-language audience) as well as the professional setting (in this case, the media) in which it is performed. As far as the latter is concerned, media interpreting, and media communication in general, are heavily influenced by their medium, requiring interlocutors to perform their tasks in accordance with broadcasting norms and ideologies (Katan and Straniero Sergio 2003). For instance, talk show participants are required to talk almost constantly throughout the show (Linell 1998), mimicking fresh talk (Goffman 1981) and contributing to the overall *spettacolarità* (spectacular effect) of discourse (Straniero Sergio 2007), thus capturing viewers' attention by generating entertaining moments (Barbieri 1996). Research efforts following this line of reasoning culminated in a focus on the hybrid role of media interpreters in broadcast communication (Katan and Straniero Sergio 2003): the specific characteristics, tasks and requirements associated with media interpreting call for the elaboration of a tailored interpreting paradigm that could strike a new balance between the principle of invisibility of media interpreters and their role as broadcast participants. As third-party participants within this highly complex constellation, interpreters are part of a dynamic, socially constructed set of endeavours, and need to act as agents, cultural mediators and cocreators of meaning. At the same time, the logics and ethics of entertainment require that they play along as seasoned performers, at home with any form of spotlighting, constantly switching between their professional role as translators and their communicative role as ratified participants and media performers. These characteristics are brought together by Katan and Straniero Sergio (2001) under what they

call the three Cs, namely Culture, professional performing Capacity and Comfort. As observed by Straniero Sergio (2003:172) in his analysis of interpreted Formula 1 press conferences which form part of the CorIT corpus, "the norm is that media interpreters are judged not for interpreting a speech correctly but convincingly": in other words, they are expected to attend to the elements to which viewers (and broadcasters) respond. With respect to quality norms, as Straniero Sergio (2007) observes, their traditional hierarchy is reversed in media talk, with attention to form prevailing over content as initial norm. Furthermore, new norms can be identified in relation to interpreting in the media setting: in terms of operational norms, faithfulness to the source text (adequacy) is secondary to adherence of the interpreted text to target audience requirements (acceptability). While the audience expects to remain within their familiar *habitus*, or environmental bubble (Cohen 1972), with broadcasts reflecting their own culture's value orientations, entertainment canons are nevertheless negotiated not only between the viewers, who hold the power of the remote control, but also by the programme directors, who in turn attempt to predict audience reactions. As a result, expectancy norms (Chesterman 1997) relating to interpreters' broadcast talk necessarily anticipate a high degree of sensitivity, warmth and empathic involvement, as well as the ability to make all on- and off-screen participants feel comfortable (Straniero Sergio 2007).

See also:

AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; CONFERENCE AND SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING; HISTORY OF INTERPRETING; NEWS TRANSLATION

Further reading

Katan, D. and F. Straniero Sergio (2003) 'Submerged Ideologies in Media Interpreting', in M. Calzada Pérez (ed.) *Apropos of Ideology*, Manchester: St. Jerome, 131–144.

Recording-based analysis of real-life TV interpreted material, focusing on control and power distribution in interpreter-mediated TV interaction. Draws on a series of examples from recording transcripts to sketch an emerging prototype of the media interpreter. Steiner, B. (1998) *Signs from the Void*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Investigates British Sign Language (BSL) production on television and its comprehension by the viewing audience via a comprehension test.

Straniero Sergio, F. and C. Falbo (eds) (2011) *Television Interpreting*, Special issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* 16.

Focuses on the analysis of interpreters' performances on TV, working conditions, quality standards and evaluation, user expectations, the interpreters' role(s), visibility and transfer modes.

EUGENIA DAL FOVO

Memory

The points of contact between memory and translation are many and varied, and enquiry into these intersections opens up important insights into the constructed and constructing dimensions of the two practices as they operate in tandem across time, languages, cultural and geopolitical boundaries, and across media. As a mode of making the past present (Terdiman 1993), memory is never disinterested or context-free; it is an act of reconstruction that is motivated, selective and embedded, with the power to advance agendas. It is thus evident that the workings of memory bear a strong resemblance to the workings of translation. However, once translation is directly implicated in the retransmission and repurposing of the past, the relationship between memory and translation becomes all the more significant and complex. First, interlingual translation is a form of mnemonic practice, actively carrying personal memories of lived experience beyond their original moments and places of narration, and situating them in new sociocultural frameworks where they might be mobilized for any number of purposes. In a further, larger sense, translation contributes to the very composition and texture of cultural memory; what is singled out for translation stands as a representation of and repository for cultural products and their attendant biases and goals. Moreover, where there is memory, there is also forgetting, and translation can function as a key mechanism of (un)intentional memory loss, neglect or repression.

Given the conceptual, processual and functional intersections between memory and translation, the interdiscipline of memory studies offers much to translation studies in terms of illuminating theories and methodologies (Brownlie 2016). It is therefore worth briefly considering certain seminal developments and debates in that field. To begin, personal and cultural memory should not be viewed as opposing phenomena (Erll 2011:7), for although the individual cognitive bases of memory storage, retrieval and reconstruction form a distinct investigative branch of the field (Bartlett 1932; Tulving 1983), all acts of remembering are generally understood to be tied to their sociocultural context of production. There is, however, less consensus over the terminologies and concepts that might be used to delineate this phenomenon. Halbwach's (1925/1994) foundational notion of collective memory – whereby all memory depends on group belonging for its emergence, form and content, and continued existence – has attracted much criticism for its homogenizing tendencies (Novick 1999) and its rejection of individual autonomy (Fentress and Wickham 1992). A raft of alternative concepts have been proposed in its wake, including public memory (Bodnar 1992), cultural and communicative memory (Assmann 1995), social memory (Olick and Robbins 1998) and connective memory (Hoskins 2011). Following Erll, cultural memory is used here as “a broad umbrella term” (2011:99) that allows us to investigate the contexts of memory making, including issues of agency and situatedness.

Another key moment in memory studies is Nora's (1984) influential idea that modern society, divested of the premodern, interpersonal mechanisms of collective memory, has turned to sites of memory as (im)material, functional and symbolic repositories of remembering in a more artificial form. Despite having heuristic value in understanding the intentionality of memory and its ties to identity, Nora's idea has its detractors, who point to its various blind spots (Tai 2001; Wood 1999) and stasis (Rigney 2008). However, a recent wave of scholarship has made a significant move towards framing memory as a dynamic phenomenon that circulates widely in interconnected ways. This transcultural turn (Bond and Rapson 2014) has opened up important ways of thinking about cosmopolitan memory and solidarity (Levy and Sznaider 2006),

multidirectional memory and the relationship between memories of the Holocaust, slavery and colonialism (Rothberg 2009), and the media of memory transmission (Erll 2011). The transcultural approach, with its emphasis on movement, connectedness and mediation, thus seems to lend itself well to being productively leveraged in translation studies.

Difficult and peripheral memories

Holocaust studies have shaped much of the thinking within memory studies on salient issues such as the accuracy of memory and the dilemmas of witnessing (Hirsch and Spitzer 2009). However, in neither field has this reflection extended to a substantial interest in multilingualism and translation, and how they might be entangled with key questions of memory, trauma and (un)speakability (Kuhiwczak 2007). Translation studies has begun to redress this bias, using its own theoretical and methodological vantage points as a means of uncovering how translation is implicated in the representation and remembering of the Holocaust across a wide range of genres, writers and contexts. Sociocultural and functional approaches allow translated Holocaust memory to be explored and understood primarily in relation to its real-world conditions of production and reception. Notably, this includes the way in which changes in the generic expectations of the receiving culture can be read in the textual and paratextual strategies of translated Holocaust writing (Davies 2008, 2011), how translators can be understood as cocreators of Holocaust knowledge (Davies 2018), how repositioning writers and their themes in a different cultural and political memorial space alters the nature of public discussions of the Holocaust (Kershaw 2014) and how a commissioner's demands for authenticity in the translation of video survivor testimonies jar with their simultaneous pedagogical goals (Degen 2016).

The translation of trauma and its alleged unspeakability (Caruth 1996) has also been viewed through various lenses that begin to uncover some of the challenges and possibilities inherent in the original narration of trauma, and later in its remediation by the translator. The

tools of cognitive stylistics are attuned to affect and understanding, and thus afford an insightful exploration of the textual and epistemological exigencies of post-Holocaust poetry, in terms of identifying the silent traces of trauma in the text, and probing how a responsible and well-contextualized act of translation might function to engage readers (Boase-Beier 2015). In addition, the trauma and the performative functions encoded in Holocaust survivor testimonies invite an ethical engagement with the question of the responsibility of the translator as a secondary witness, someone who receives and recommunicates an act of telling, and who is in a position to inflect that telling, its ideologies and epistemologies, according to how attentively or otherwise they listen (Deane-Cox 2013). The ethics of mediation also come to the fore in the translation of Holocaust perpetrator testimonies, a context in which translators, editors and preface writers have explicitly exerted their agency by inscribing a counter-discourse into the text and paratext, thereby reframing and resisting the voice and self-staging of the perpetrator (Spiessens 2013).

The relocation and retelling of memory, as well as the affective or ethical responses it elicits, serve as important thematic touchstones for investigations into the translation of many other difficult genocidal, violent and colonial pasts that mark our present. Translation is often deeply implicated in local, national and global attempts to confront and redress past crimes and injustices, and this is especially apparent in South Africa, where interpreters have played a visible and fraught role during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings. While acknowledging the invaluable contribution of these interpreters, concerns have been raised over the accuracy of the translation and the transcription of some of the testimonies, with distortions and omissions being attributed to the challenges posed by the para-, socio- and linguistic traits of the witness, the level of training provided to the interpreters, their emotional reactions to the witness, in addition to other technical and environmental issues (Bock and Mpolweni-Zantsi 2006). The personal recollections of the interpreters involved in these trials can also be viewed as a rich source of information on the mechanisms and legacies of memory mediation in this context and beyond (Anthonissen 2008).

Further critical attention has been paid to the notion of the archive as a memory repository, and to the impact of slippages on how the TRC has compiled and reported the apartheid past. The study of female testimonies reveals how an absence – of pain, guilt, trauma and significant details – has erroneously been written into the official archives, understood in Derridan terms as the value-laden preserve of the powerful male, but researchers also argue that new translations might refigure those archives in more attentive and comprehensive ways (Krog and Mpolweni 2016).

Elsewhere, the archive is becoming a site of counter-memory that destabilizes dominant, authoritative narratives by charting the stories of the ordinary and the marginalized. Increasingly, these archives comprise audiovisual and written testimonies that are stored and readily accessible online, often relying on translation for their construction and the generation of solidarity through transcultural movement. One example is the online archive of women's accounts of resistance during and after the Egyptian revolution, curated by the *Women and Memory Forum* and motivated by a politics of hope that these engaged voices will be heard, researched and preserved (Elsadda 2016). There is a clear and conscious acknowledgement of the archive as a site of negotiation and power in which translation conceptually mediates the move from oral testimony to transcript, and then governs the non-translation of colloquial Arabic, alongside the transformation of foreign words into Standard Arabic; these processes are all beset by issues concerning the context of narration, language policy, readability, authenticity and transparency, but are underpinned by an ethics of representation, ownership and justice (ibid.).

In the context of colonialism, more literary forms of writing have been instrumentalized to humanitarian-political ends, while translation serves to spread this agenda further still. This is particularly true of Dalit autobiographical literature from India that gives voice to the injustices experienced by society's so-called untouchables; here, translation has the potential to help turn the tide of oppression by generating empathy and active support outside the nation, but the effectiveness of this bond is contingent on the capacity of the translator to reproduce the heteroglossic and hierarchical frictions of the text

in the language of the colonizer, and on the capacity of the reader to recognize the agential force of the genre (Merrill 2010, 2016).

To return to the thorny issue of perpetrator accounts, interviews with Rwandan genocidaires further attest to the complex dynamics of mediation and confrontation, not least the polyphonic and constructed texture of those testimonies that have been conducted and transcribed in conjunction with an interpreter-survivor, then edited and framed by a moralizing author-narrator; this process of cocreation once again frustrates claims of transparency and accuracy, and is simultaneously compounded by and revealed in the interlingual translation of these multiple voices (Spiessens 2016). An overt and nefarious manipulation of translation and interpreting has been observed in the trial of Radovan Karadžić who, although ultimately convicted of genocide and war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, attempted to stall the legal process, undermine or perplex witnesses, and assert his own testimony by constantly code-switching and challenging terminological choices (Elias-Bursać 2016).

Multimodal and institutional memoryscapes

Memory can be staged in and encountered through numerous physical, spatial, technological and institutional settings, or memoryscapes. To begin, the museum can be understood both as a repository of memory and as a space shaped by various ideological, pedagogical, aesthetic and economic goals. Against this backdrop, translation might perform a range of (un)intended communicative or persuasive functions through a variety of channels. The use of translated audio-guides in the memorial museum has been explored through the paradigm of prosthetic memory (Landsberg 2004), i.e. a more embodied form of memory of the Other generated via technology, in order to better understand how translation might negotiate a visitor's engagement with the past and move them towards a more empathic understanding of events not experienced firsthand (Deane-Cox 2014). The ethnographic museum, and its representation of cultures whose memories are

distributed across objects and stories, also has recourse to translation in an expanded sense as artefacts are selected, ordered and then defined and recontextualized through the presence of labels and other written or audio commentaries (Sturge 2007). Cities too have been recognized as important confluences of language, translation and cultural memory, not least in multilingual urban spaces where translation drives conflicts over what to remember, where and how (Simon 2016), while also demonstrating the potential to foster more positive networks of engagement across that diverse mnemonic landscape (Simon 2012). Likewise, the translation of cultural products anchored in one particular memory tradition has given way to compelling reuses in wholly different settings. A song from the musical *Les Misérables* provides a striking example of how translation allows the history of the French Revolution to be globally dispersed, reclaimed by human rights protesters in multiple countries, and then recirculated on social media in an act of cosmopolitan connective memory (Brownlie 2016). Inasmuch as translation mobilizes and influences memory, so too can memory impress itself on acts of translation that are carried out within specific institutional contexts. All organizations, be they commercial or (non)governmental, have a form of internal memory that might serve to commemorate key moments, perpetuate best or normative practices, and pass down core values; the way in which that memory holds sway over translation practices and outputs is exemplified in the context of the European Council's Directorate-General for Translation, where translators work in accordance with a range of inherited guidelines, wisdom and legacy documents (ibid.).

Literary memory

Literature carries and cuts across memory in a number of respects, beyond its capacity as a vehicle for autobiographical or testimonial narratives. First, the literary canon has been figured "as a memory system" (Bloom 1994:37) that selectively remembers and perpetuates a given culture's literary traditions. Hence, where translation is involved in the transcultural reinscription, reconfiguration or subversion of the canon, it simultaneously becomes sym-

bolically enmeshed in the transmission of an archived form of memory, and in all the politics of inclusion, exclusion and identity formation that entails. Literary texts also become sites of memory for previous cultural products through the mechanisms of intertextuality (Lachmann 1997), inscribing and preserving the traces of those products, which then stand to be written or substituted into increasingly more complex intertextual networks through translation (Venuti 2009). Retranslation, in turn, can function within that intertextual landscape as a means of better consolidating the presence of a particular work in the receiving, or remembering, culture (Brownlie 2016; Tarif 2016), while the retranslator may be affected by a Bloomian anxiety of influence that stems from his or her memory of any predecessors (Koskinen and Paloposki 2015). Furthermore, memory can insert itself thematically and stylistically into fictional, poetic, dramatic, historical and epic works of literature; translation then operates those memory narratives on a transcultural plane, recrafting and repositioning their form and content alongside, against or through other mnemonic traditions and practices.

Benjamin's notion of the afterlife of a text has been used to discuss the idea that translation is a necessary condition of the perpetuation of memory in and as literature (Milton 2000; Bassnett 2003; Bermann 2005b). This power of translation to remember a past source and ensure its survival into the future is defined in expansive ways in Brodski's (2007) study of the literary afterlives of narratives of slavery, the Holocaust and postcolonialism. There, translation encompasses and enacts more than an interlingual procedure, including the intercultural subversion of genres, the intralingual move from lived experience to written text, and the intergenerational transmission of the traumatic pasts, in a demonstration of how it can serve as a redemptive process of recovery and endurance, oriented to the past and to the future.

Future directions

There remains much work to be done on the relationship between memory and translation, particularly around critical transcultural matters of representation, engagement, solidarity

and mediatization. For instance, Davies (2014) has raised compelling concerns over the use of abstract, ethically laden concepts from Holocaust studies in order to map out and define concrete, context-bound translation activity. There are therefore still very necessary conversations to be had about the place and value of descriptive vis-à-vis committed and other approaches to Holocaust writing in translation. There have also been reservations within memory studies about the reading of trauma in literature, especially the dubious conflation of human sufferer with text (Kansteiner and Weilnböck 2008), and the questionable insistence on trauma as unspeakable (Luckhurst 2008), the implications of which need to be more fully addressed in respect of translation.

More case studies are needed to further elucidate and theorize the interplay between translation and memory with regards to global citizenship and justice in other truth and reconciliation endeavours, and in other online archives or communities of resistant, diasporic or marginal voices, where the impact of issues such as language policy, the (immediate or deferred) moment of telling, monetary budgets and the (non)professionalism of the translator or interpreter might be explored more fully. Attention could also be usefully turned to a wider range of media through which translated memories circulate and operate, not least to the plethora of multimodal, interactive installations found in the memorial museum, and to films and television programmes that thematize, represent and transmit memory through audiovisual means. Translation studies subsequently has the opportunity to open up a much wider panorama of the connections translation can forge and the ruptures it can provoke as a trans-cultural site of memory.

See also:

ETHICS; NARRATIVE; POSTCOLONIALISM

Further reading

Brodski, B. (2007) *Can These Bones Live? Translation, survival and cultural memory*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Positions translation as an integral and positive component in the transmission and survival of often neglected cultural memories embodied in literary works, and is significant

in its broad conceptualization of such translational procedures.

Brownlie, S. (2016) *Mapping Memory in Translation*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Proceeds from an impressively wide and programmatic engagement with concepts and approaches from memory studies, demonstrating through detailed case studies how these can inform and enrich our understanding of the translation of personal, group, electronic, textual, national, translational, institutional and connective memories. A key text for anyone seeking to explore and draw further links between memory and translation.

Davies, P. (2018) *Witness between Languages: The translation of Holocaust testimonies in context*, Rochester, New York: Camden House.

Places important emphasis on the real-world conditions and positive achievements of Holocaust testimony translation, exploring issues of the translator's visibility, agency, loyalty and knowledge cocreation through a range of case studies.

Spiessens, A. and T. Toremans (eds) (2016) *Translating Testimony*, special issue of *Testimony between History and Memory* 23: 60–155.

Brings together diverse and important perspectives on the translation of testimonial writing in disparate contexts that nevertheless provide a complementary focus on questions of witnessing, agency and power.

SHARON DEANE-COX

Metaphorics

The notions of metaphor and translation are related in several ways. In European and Anglophone culture, they share a common etymology. The Greek *metaphorá* – from *metá*, meaning across, after, and *phérō*, to bear, to carry – was translated into the Latin *translatio* – from *trans-ferre*, *translatus*, to transfer, to convey across. Besides having the same meaning, the Latin *translatio* and the Greek *metaphorá* can also be used to mean both translation and metaphor (Evans 2001). The word *translation* is thus already a spatial metaphor for the process of

translation. This intimate connection between the two terms has led to a longstanding fascination with etymology and the spatial nature of translational and metaphorical processes and become a problem that translation studies still has to contend with (Hermans 2004). According to Halverson (1999), the etymological argument is anything but compelling. In the English language, the spatial conceptualization of translation processes existed before the term 'to translate' was imported from Latin. The Latin *translatio*, furthermore, originally had other meanings, one of which was to change in form, appearance or substance. For Cheyfitz (1997), focusing on a politics of translation, rather than being the result of a common etymology the exchangeability of the two terms is based on the opposed notions of the literal and the figurative and their territorial interpretation in Aristotle, who linked the literal to the proper, national or normal and the figurative to the improper, foreign and strange. Because of this, both translation and metaphor were considered derivative.

Besides their common etymological origin, translation and metaphor share a comparable terminological trajectory. Their interrelated histories could be described in terms of a common pattern of emancipation leading to an empowerment and enlarging of the two theoretical fields. Thus, debates on translation (Tymoczko 2007) and metaphor have now moved from the confines of linguistic analysis to a much broader understanding of these phenomena, shedding their secondary subservient role in the process (Guldin 2010). Other points of contact between translation studies and metaphor theory include the translatability of metaphors, the use of metaphors to describe translation, and the function of translation as a metaphor within the humanities and the natural sciences.

Metaphor theories

The development of metaphor theory begins with Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* and Quintilian's textbook on rhetoric, *Institutio Oratoria*, passing through semantics and reaching philosophy, scientific discourse and cognitive linguistics. According to Ricoeur (1977), this progression through the disciplines is complemented by an

analogous itinerary from word-unit, to sentence, to discourse. Classical rhetoric defines metaphor as a single-word figure of speech and describes it in terms of deviation. Metaphor is a trope of resemblance operating spatially through displacement and transportation. The early rhetorical understanding of metaphor led to the formation of a substitution theory that relegated the role of metaphor to that of a mere ornament and assumed that metaphors can be completely retranslated into figurative meaning.

A radical reinterpretation of metaphor was introduced by Nietzsche, who defined truth as "a movable host of metaphors [and] metonymies" (1999:84), suggesting that our very grasp on reality was prestructured by language and its operative principles. In *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, first published in 1937, Richards abolishes the clear-cut border between the literal and the figurative and introduces the interrelated notions of tenor and vehicle. The tenor refers to an object, person or idea and the vehicle is that to which the tenor is compared. The copresence of tenor and vehicle and their interaction generates the meaning(s) of the metaphor. Metaphor is no longer a simple transfer of words, but a transaction of semantic contexts (Richards 1965). Following in Richards's footsteps, Black (1954) draws a distinct boundary between the classical theory of metaphor and what he terms the interaction view. He describes the structure of metaphorical statements, which consist of a focus (one or more words considered metaphorical) and a frame (the non-metaphorical context of the statement). Meaning arises from the interaction of frame and focus. The frame of the metaphor acts on the focal word to produce new meaning, which is not reducible to simple paraphrase or literal use. In a subsequent essay, Black (1962) reinterprets metaphors in terms of models, highlighting the connection between their descriptive and heuristic function. Metaphors and models possess a common isomorphic structure and function through complex networks of statements. This new interpretation liberates metaphor from its confinement to rhetorical and linguistic understanding and significantly narrows the distance between the humanities and the natural sciences, both "an affair of the imagination" (ibid.:242). Black's view bridges the gap between earlier semantic accounts and the upcoming radical extension

of the meaning of metaphor in scientific theory and cognitive linguistics.

A number of publications signal the growing recognition of the innovative potential of metaphors outside the areas of rhetoric and literary studies: Ricoeur's *The Rule of Metaphor* (1977), and two seminal collections of essays, Sacks's *On Metaphor* (1979) and Ortony's *Metaphor and Thought* (1979), with contributions from philosophy, religion, pragmatics, psychology, social theory, science and education. Lakoff and Johnson's groundbreaking *Metaphors We Live By* followed in 1980. Drawing on cognitive linguistics, Lakoff and Johnson assert that everyday speech, scientific discourse and the very way we think and act are fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Thanks to metaphor, we understand and experience one thing in terms of another. This is particularly important when it comes to abstract concepts and key notions that carry an ambivalent charge of meaning and therefore call for repeated forms of metaphorization. Metaphors operate through projective mapping, which links a source and a target domain (Lakoff 2002). The relatively more concrete and physical source domain of a metaphor is mapped onto a target domain, the latter being more abstract and difficult to grasp.

Translation and metaphor

The traditional view of metaphor in translation studies treats it as an ornamental element of language, but a more sophisticated view of metaphor and its relationship to translation has emerged since the turn of the century. This is particularly evident in the theoretical reflection on the translatability of metaphor, a thorny question that has itself called for various forms of metaphorization (Monti 2010).

In the mid-1970s, Dagut (1976) pointed to the fact that although both metaphor and translation were connected to interlingual incongruence the former did not occupy the prominent place it deserved in translation theory. In the course of the 1980s, metaphor and its translatability became one of the central issues and a fertile testing ground for the new emerging discipline of translation studies (Newmark 1980; van den Broeck 1981; Mason 1982). Nevertheless, broader interest in metaphor theory

and its relevance to the translation of metaphors was slow to develop. In the mid-1990s, Mandelblit (1995) still complained about the striking asymmetry between the treatment of metaphors in translation studies and the new findings of the cognitive view of metaphor. Schäffner (2004), commenting on the options available for translating metaphor and the challenges this phenomenon poses for the translator and for translation theory, points to a persistent lack of interest in the new theoretical developments in the field of metaphor studies and their applicability to the translation of metaphors. "In most cases", she asserts, "the argumentation is based on a traditional understanding of metaphor as a figure of speech . . . which is substituted for another expression (with a literal meaning), and whose main function is the stylistic embellishment of the text", pointing out that the cognitive approach has been slow to attract scholars' attention (ibid.:1254).

One of the first translation scholars to address the relevance of metaphors for translation studies was Koller (1972:40–63), although he focused on a very limited number of metaphors and adopted a largely traditional view, positing that metaphors are a prescientific tool that can initiate thinking and pave the way for further, more systematic reflection, but they cannot generate new knowledge. In a completely different vein, Hermans (1985a) offered a broad historical overview of metaphors of translation in the Western European tradition from antiquity to modern times, emphasizing their importance in discourses on translation. In a subsequent essay, he engaged critically with the major theoretical strands of metaphor theory and their relevance for translation studies (Hermans 2004). Despite some persistent theoretical hesitations concerning the epistemological utility of metaphors of translation, metaphor is now considered an indispensable means of reflection and a common device of scientific analysis in the field. St. André's (2010b) collection of essays is a clear signal of the theoretical shift that has occurred in translation studies with regard to metaphor theory. Contributors to this volume stress the importance of metaphors for theorizing translation and make use of contemporary theoretical insights of metaphor theory in their analysis.

European and Anglophone scholarship draws on five main interrelated source domains

for metaphors of translation: space, art/craft, nature/body, power and gender (Guldin 2016:24–46). Spatial metaphors, especially the transfer metaphor (Martín de León 2010), are still by far the most influential in the field. However, they have increasingly met with criticism, especially the metaphor of the in-betweenness of the translator (Baker 2005a, 2006b; Tymoczko 2003). These source domains relate to different interlinked metaphorical levels of translation: the translation process and its different stages, the relationship between source and target text, the role of the translator, the question of (un)translatability and the relationship of the translator to the target culture. Cross-domain connections strengthen the effectiveness of specific metaphors, creating a dense argumentative net that involves the different metaphorical levels of translation and their interrelatedness. Gender metaphors of translation, for instance, is closely related to power issues and colonial asymmetries and at the same time impinges upon the role of the translator and the relationship of source and target text. Chamberlain (1988/2000) discusses the relationship between source and target text and the role of the mother tongue in terms of female and male sexual identity, highlighting the centrality of issues of paternity and the implications of feminizing the original text. In the traditional view, the translator is torn between two irreconcilable forms of fidelity that can in some cases enter into open antagonism with each other: the source-oriented fidelity of a male author-translator to the original female text and the target-oriented fidelity to his own feminine mother tongue. Fidelity to the mother tongue can justify abuse, rape or pillage of the other language and the translated text. Arrojo (1994) further highlights the close connection of asymmetrical gender relations to the power divide at work in colonial settings. The femininity of the translator and the supposedly reproductive side of his or her activity are directly correlated with the subaltern subject of colonization and the slave. Another metaphor from the body/nature domain which interacts with both the gender and power domains is Brazilian cannibalism (Vieira 1994). The polyvalent cannibalistic image has been a major cultural metaphor and an exemplary mode of symbolic struggle against neocolonial dependency in

Brazilian culture. The cannibal does not deny the other culture, but devours it in order to transform and absorb it. Through cannibalistic translation, the new text becomes an original in its own right. The translator likewise becomes a creator in her or his own right, negating any debt contracted towards the original.

Wadensjö (1993b) and Roy (1993) have critically engaged with the restrictive role of the conduit metaphor (Reddy 1979) in interpreting studies. Interpreting has been generally subsumed under translation, the main difference being the focus on spoken messages. Because of this focus, the role of the interpreter – rather than the relationship of source and target text – takes centre stage. The deleterious notion of the interpreter as a simple conduit has led to an oversimplified view of interpreting processes. The conduit metaphor pays attention to the safe transfer of meaning. The interpreter is a mediator or a channel operating as an instrument that conveys messages without changing them. By positing a detached and neutral stance, this view expunges the inherent ambivalences of the interpreter's position and the need for constant adaptation to the shifting conditions of within which interpreting takes place.

Research on the metaphors of translation in China, Japan and India has highlighted a number of specificities that have encouraged a critical reassessment of metaphors of translation in the European and Anglophone context. Cheung (2005) reinterpreted the traditional Chinese notion of *fanyi* as describing translation in terms of transmission and representation, but also as change and exchange. Wakabayashi (2009) explored the etymology of the equivalent of translation in Japanese culture. Translation is described as a softening and breaking down of the text in order to make it understandable or as a flipping over of the original. In both cases, the emphasis is not on transference but on transformation. Trivedi (2006) pointed to a relevant difference between spatial and temporal metaphors of translation. The Sanskrit word *anuvad* originally meant repeating a word after someone, without carrying any spatial connotation. In the late nineteenth century, the word acquired the new, European meaning of translation as a transfer between languages. A temporal metaphor was thus translated into a spatial metaphor. Sakai (1997) makes a similar point. The

new regime of translation that came about in Japan and Europe in the late eighteenth century was directly linked to the creation of nations and national languages conceived as homogeneous self-contained units. A temporal understanding of the act of translation as difference in repetition was substituted by a spatial notion of linguistic transfer that erased the transformative dimension of the process. Following the same line of thought, Batchelor reinterprets Homi Bhabha's (1994a/2004) concept of the third space as referring to a time lag between an event and its enunciation. The source text loses its spatial fixity and translation becomes a "dynamic, non-linear process of travel from source to target text" (Batchelor 2008:66). Based on Benjamin's concept of the disruptive power of the 'now' (Benjamin 1968), Hjorth (2014) questions traditional views of translation based on fidelity to a fixed and timeless original and calling for the preservation of its stable meaning. Hjorth also contrasts the visual metaphor of translation as a mirror image of the original, predominant in translation theories based on the notion of equivalence, with Benjamin's (1968/1996) acoustic metaphor of translation as an echo of the original.

Translation as metaphor

The metaphoricality of translation is subject to cultural and temporal factors, which impinge on the relationship between its literal and metaphorical dimensions. Although translation is still generally viewed as involving transfer of meaning from one language to another, in medieval Latin *translatio* was also used to refer to the symbolic displacement of practices and objects, as well as the physical transfer of a saint's remains or relics from one place to another and the relocation of a cleric from one office to another. The medieval notion of *translatio imperii et studii* implied the transfer or translation of culture, knowledge and political power or legitimacy (Stierle 1996), an understanding that has rendered the term translation amenable to being used as a metaphor in other disciplines.

A number of translation scholars have described the enlarged metaphorical view of translation that has been resurfacing across a wide array of disciplines since the turn of the

century as a translation turn (Bassnett 1998b; Snell-Hornby 2009). However, the metaphor of translation has a longer history and has been used independently of developments in translation theory, for instance in Freudian psychoanalysis (Mahony 1982), cultural anthropology (Asad 1986), ethnography (Clifford 1997) and media theory (McLuhan 1999). It has also been used since the 1980s in actor-network theory (Callon and Latour 1981; Callon 1986), a sociological theory that uses the metaphor of translation to describe the contradictory character of the social and the processes that generate it. Translation is either a unilateral or a reciprocal process of exchange and transformation that projects different forms of dependence and subordination. It operates within a network of heterogeneous elements and can 'translate' the wills of different individual actors into one, creating coherence or provoking displacement, dissidence and defection.

The metaphor of translation used in postcolonial theory (Cheyfitz 1997; Rafael 1993; Niranjana 1992; Spivak 2000) has led to the reintroduction of aspects that had disappeared from the spectrum of meaning of the term translation, reintegrating the dimensions of culture, language, politics, identity, religion and power and emphasizing the fundamental ambivalence of translation, always poised between liberation and coercion. The notion of cultural translation used in postcolonial discourse, especially in connection with Bhabha's (2006) highly influential concepts of hybridity and third space, has received much attention in translation studies and sparked opposing reactions (Trivedi 2007; Maitland 2016; Bennett 2012).

The metaphor of translation has also been employed in the natural sciences. Translational medicine (Wehling 2010) makes use of it to describe the difficult passage between developmental stages, from early preclinical research on animals to the commercial launch of a new drug and its use in hospitals. Translation processes are reversible and help to overcome divisions between preclinical and clinical stages, theory and practice, animal and human. Molecular genetics makes a very specific use of the metaphor of translation, differentiating it clearly from other transformative forms like transcription. In genetic translation, nucleotide sequences in DNA are translated into sequences of amino

acids to generate proteins. Translation is a target-oriented, rigorous, unidirectional process monitored by an error-checking mechanism.

Metaphors of translation are used to describe complex transformation processes and to connect heterogeneous contexts by creating inner theoretical cohesion. The metaphor is mostly employed according to the theoretical necessities of the relevant discipline and generally without any explicit reference to prevailing theories of translation. Instead of focusing on the linear passage of information from source to target seen as pre-given, static and independent entities, the metaphor of translation suggests a chain of successive, interlinked, overlapping and in some cases reversible processes that lack a clear origin and a final point of arrival.

See also:

ANTHROPOPHAGY; CONQUEST; HYBRIDITY; MIGRATION; POSITIONING; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES

Further reading

Guldin, R. (2016) *Translation as Metaphor*, London & New York: Routledge.

Offers a comprehensive analysis of key theories of metaphor, covering both metaphors of translation and their theoretical influence in translation studies as well as the use of translation as a metaphor in the humanities and natural sciences.

St. André, J. (2010) *Thinking through Translation with Metaphors*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

A seminal collection of essays that cover a wide range of metaphors of translation and their theoretical relevance for translation studies, as well as an annotated bibliography of works concerned with metaphors of translation.

RAINER GULDIN

Migration

The phenomenon of migration is understood both positively, as promoting diversity and creating economic opportunity, and negatively, given its association with unwelcome competition or a clash of values and cultures. For a transnational

elite, it offers the possibility of a cosmopolitan freedom unencumbered by territorial boundaries, but for many migrant workers, refugees and other persons who are politically, culturally and economically displaced by war, the consequences of global capitalism or dictatorial regimes, it can signify isolation, desperation and restricted opportunity. At this problematic intersection of the global and the local translation becomes a critical component of the encounter. It is through translation that people demonstrate different degrees of what Paul Ricoeur termed “linguistic hospitality”, meaning the willingness to reside in more than one language and play host to another’s culture (2006:23), which is an ethical as well as a communicative task. Where conditions are in place for the extension or exchange of linguistic hospitality, attempts at mutual understanding are managed with relative ease. However, in inhospitable social or communicative environments where the recognition and rights of certain individuals or groups are constrained or require some form of negotiation, the communicative and ethical demand on translation becomes far greater. In these types of situation, translators and interpreters become key players influencing the degree to which linguistic hospitality is extended.

The question of hospitality, based on the universal right of individuals attempting to cross national borders to be allowed temporary safe passage, was notably explored in Kant’s defence of cosmopolitan values in his essay ‘Toward Perpetual Peace’, in which he argued for a set of common principles and laws of hospitality (Kant 1795/1957) based on the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy. Kant, however, viewed nation-states as having the authority to enforce international laws and principles with regard to the matter of permanent sanctuary. In the twenty-first century, postcolonial and cosmopolitan projects have attempted to dislodge the principle of hospitality from laws administered by nation-states. They approach hospitality as a principle that captures the substantive core of cosmopolitanism, ideally in ways that facilitate the intersection of different cosmopolitan traditions (Dallmayr 1998; de Sousa Santos 1999; Derrida 2000; Chakrabarty 2000; Kurasawa 2004; Nederveen Pieterse 2006; Sayyid 2006; T. Zhao 2006; Rumford 2008; Delanty 2014). The focus is less on globalization and its emphasis

on one world and more on the novel spaces and circumstances of multiple worlds, sometimes referred to as cosmopolitanism from below.

Cosmopolitan perspectives

Both linguistic and cultural translation are involved in helping to implement the substantive core of cosmopolitanism from below by facilitating access to cultural texts and local forms of knowledge written or spoken in another language. Cronin (2006) adopts the term micro-cosmopolitan to describe societal relationships and translation activities that support a transnational and antiessentialist outlook, transcend the nation-state model, and allow access to complex repertoires of historical and current allegiance, in recognition of the fact that individuals should not be defined and do not define themselves solely through their communities of origin (*ibid.*:14–20).

Self-definition and reflexivity of the migrant experience are foregrounded in the focus on intellectual elite authors in Bielsa's (2016a) examination of hospitality, cosmopolitanism and the 'stranger' through case studies of three 'cosmopolitan strangers' – Roberto Bolaño, Theodor Adorno and Tiziano Terzani – from the fields of literature, sociology and journalism, respectively. Bielsa reveals how the prolonged stays of each of these men outside their countries of origin – their experience of the foreign – permitted a greater self-awareness, or cosmopolitan reflexivity, to emerge in their lives and their work. She also discusses the dissonance that the experience of homecoming can cause. For many refugees living for decades in exile, the social order they imagine returning to is a mythical one, a place remembered before the events that forced them to flee. Adorno's return to Germany in 1949 precipitated what he referred to as the loss for the returnee of "the naïve relationship to what is his own" (Bielsa 2016a:134). But if homecoming creates a sense of discontinuity and displacement, Bielsa suggests, this can be effectively mobilized – socially, politically and ethically – as it was by Adorno and other Jewish intellectuals in Germany after the war, as a force for transformation and renewal (*ibid.*:57). Thus Bielsa's work suggests a broader take on what 'from below' might mean.

Inghilleri (2017) examines different groups of migrants across a number of historical and geographical settings, many of whom start out with limited resources and opportunities while facing, and attempting to combat, nativism and exploitation. For these migrants, the self-reflexivity considered crucial for the formation of a cosmopolitan sensibility is more elusive, particularly for the first generation whose primary concern must be to gain an economic foothold while navigating the culture of a new place. Though much of the attention on migrants in translation studies has focused on this first generation, it is the younger 1.5 and second-generation immigrants who are often more deeply immersed in fashioning a cosmopolitan self. For these young migrants, it is not only their return to a homeland previously abandoned that can create dissonance, but also their ancestral homeland's complex influence on the place they call home. For some, the transnational is experienced as a disruption of the local by the global; this can be as destabilizing for them as a return home can be for first-generation migrants. This suggests that transnationalism as a seamless mode of adaptation to more than one place is a far more complicated process than it is taken to be. In the ethnographic studies discussed by Inghilleri (*ibid.*:172–173, 180–205), very young Moroccan migrants in Spain are observed in a class on multiculturalism retranslating their identities for their teacher so that she, like them, recognizes Spain and not Morocco as their primary home; Portuguese women, as a consequence of their families' migration to France, struggle into young adulthood with the translation and appropriate use of pronominal references in each culture; American Muslim girls from Yemeni families demonstrate how, under the right conditions and not without difficulty, seemingly impermeable belief structures can be effectively translated within a secular public school context and beyond; and intra-ethnic conflicts emerge between young Lao and Hmong students due to their altered relative social status in the United States compared to their historical relationship in Laos. These analyses suggest different kinds of complexity that are often sidestepped in current theoretical formulae.

Geographical metaphors employed in translation studies challenge the idea of translation

processes as stable transfers of meaning across singular nations, cultures and languages (Kershaw and Saldanha 2013). Notions like flow and wave suggest the dynamic and fluid quality of translational activity. Following Appadurai (1996), who emphasized place as a perspectival construct, the metaphor of the landscape has been used to highlight the ways in which translated texts penetrate and expand fixed borders, real or imagined, reorienting cultural, political and ideological values, beliefs and identities. In translation studies, these ideas have been applied primarily to literary texts (Polezzi 2006a, 2012) and in communities where a minority-majority language dynamic has emerged historically due to demographic shifts or political events that precipitate the redrawing of borders, affecting the populations residing within them. Five such cities are considered in the collection of papers in Cronin and Simon (2014): Antwerp, Lviv, Istanbul, Tampere and New Orleans. Four others with a history of language diversity and division within the population – Montreal, Calcutta, Trieste and Barcelona – are examined in Simon (2012). The discussions of these cities illustrate the important role of interpreters, translators and translated texts in establishing and fortifying multicultures through a variety of means, including cultural mediation and innovation, struggles over language rights and more conciliatory forms of negotiation.

Similar questions concerning language variety, ethnic identity and mobility are taken up in sociolinguistic research on the semiotics of linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis 1997). This body of research (Zukin et al. 2016; Blommaert 2013; Shohamy et al. 2010; Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Scollen and Scollen 2003) focuses on public multilingual signage as an important site in which to explore these issues, with a view to assessing the relative power and status of a particular linguistic community in cities characterized by their super diversity. When the population of a certain migrant group reaches critical mass, official signs or instructions, public service announcements and customer care options often begin to appear in translation. In societies where multiple languages are in use on a daily basis, the translation of some and not others on official public signage or documents can indicate the degree to which the use of more than one language is perceived as a societal right

for all. At the same time, the refusal to translate a sign within a specific community can indicate or be read as intentionally marking its borders as open or closed off to linguistic and cultural outsiders. No consistent relationship has been found between the size or status of a particular linguistic community and the public visibility of its language(s) however. And though much of the research on linguistic landscape focuses on urban areas, multilingual signage is also visible in remote and rural environments (Pietikäinen et al. 2011; Sebba 2010; Stroud and Mpendukana 2009). For the most part, sociolinguistic research on linguistic landscape takes these signs as examples of multilingual writing or multilingualism rather than as instances of translation in all its forms. Viewing them primarily as examples of multilingualism, however, tends to accentuate the juxtaposition of different languages and cultures, presenting them as separate and, in many cases, not-so-equal material artefacts situated in the landscape. Understanding them as examples of translation, in contrast, gives greater prominence to their relational aspects and to the interpretive processes involved in the viewing of these signs by passersby in a particular environment, highlighting their intrinsic dialogic aspect.

While accessing the intended cultural or linguistic meanings is an important part of translating public signs, more socially significant are the reflexive responses they activate in particular individuals or groups regarding the nature of boundaries and belonging (Inghilleri 2017:149–175). Public signs have an expansive social and interactional function; they ‘signify’ beyond the particular groups they reference. And like all signifiers there can be gaps between their intention and their interpretation. In some cases, particularly where there is insufficient understanding of what or whom they represent, their indexical or symbolic functions can easily become obscured. The growth in the appearance of public signs promoting local commercial enterprises that are owned and operated by transnational capital creates such an obfuscation. Park (2009:158) discusses this trend by the South Korean government with respect to the Korean diaspora as an attempt to “reterritorialize[s] its ‘deterritorialized’ national territory beyond its geographic, physical limits”. Park views the flow of foreign capital into the

local economy as intended to “discursively produce Korean subjects, create national imaginations, and ethnic solidarity” in order to ensure their interest in and commitment to the economic wellbeing of the “motherland” (ibid.:155). Rather than create transnational solidarity, however, this huge influx of capital has contributed to an economic pyramid with transnational and local investors, property owners, developers, local politicians and large business owners at the top, followed by smaller retail business owners who are forced to pay above-market rates for their rents. On the bottom two tiers are the Koreans and Latinos who are employed by Korean-owned small businesses (Lee and Park 2008:252). Global capitalism, in this case, works to ensure that cosmopolitanism from above may be the least likely space in which to experience the value of a shared ethnic identity.

Migration and media

The significance and use value of transnational media are different for different generations. They also vary based on the geographical distance from and frequency of contact with families and friends in the country of origin, as well as ease of access due to socioeconomic status or levels of literacy, including technological literacy. Different media and the new tools that make them possible play an important role in constructing local and global sensibilities, contributing to complex and often unpredictable forms of transnational consciousness and identification. Media produced and consumed by migrants contribute to these shifts, initiating what Rancière (2004b:43) has referred to as the “redistribution of the sensible” in reference to aesthetic transformations of what can be seen, heard and, ultimately, thought within society. The visual arts provide a space for migrant artists to translate themselves, through their work, into a new place by reflecting on, documenting and publicizing their diverse experiences of displacement, while simultaneously contributing to and expanding the existing cultural landscape (Naficy 1993, 2001; Bal and Hernandez 2011; Rotas 2011; Martiniello 2015). Alternatively, satellite and cable television programming that allows migrant communities to connect to a previous homeland can have the unintended consequence of remind-

ing these viewers of their detachment from the local sensibilities portrayed, calling their translatability into question and disrupting the stable spatial and temporal oppositions on which their transnational identities were constructed (Ogan 2001; Karanfil 2009). This experience of “becoming estranged from that which was inhabited at home” is part of the “process of transition, a movement from one register to another” (B. Anderson 1999:343) and contributes to the redistribution to which Rancière alludes.

While phones, email and social media sites have arguably become the most popular means of connectivity for migrant communities, locally produced ethnic print news media continue to keep migrants informed about local, national and global events, translated into their own languages, and offering alternative views of community and ethnicity than their mainstream counterparts from a variety of political perspectives (Mitra 2005; Bonini 2011; Harney 2013; Halilovich 2013). Nevertheless, conflicts can arise between the desire to represent the issues facing a particular community, including those of its poorest members, and running a profitable commercial operation. This has put the “discursive strengths and limits of the ethnic press” to the test (Yu 2009:613) and has often resulted in a “lowest common denominator approach” to news coverage (Moran 2006:402).

Webcams are also an invaluable resource for overseas workers to develop and sustain relationships with their families, including young children, at considerable distance over years, even decades (Parreñas 2005; Thompson 2009; Madianou 2012). Media has been found to mitigate what Wolf (1997:459) refers to as the “emotional transnationalism” of second-generation migrants who are positioned “between different generational and locational points of reference . . . both the real and the imagined”. Blogs, music and video circuits as well as locally produced websites offer second-generation immigrants a forum to enact their bicultural identities, cultivate their bilingual competencies and discuss the challenges of their position with others like themselves (Cunningham and Nguyen 2003; Alinejad 2011). For older displaced refugees, however, “the spectre of the eventual integration of homeland and diasporic popular cultures” is looked on less favourably when the places they were forced to flee become

“normalized” by newer generations (Carruthers 2007:72). Thus while transnational media can facilitate agency and creativity, it can also actuate trauma or a sense of disjuncture, all of which nevertheless have the potential to provoke productive dialogue (Trix 2011).

Labour migrants

The willingness of members of one community to recognize outsiders as fellow human beings or global citizens needing and entitled to seek sanctuary and temporary or permanent residence on their land has been fraught with conflict and contradiction historically and remains so despite renewed perspectives of cosmopolitanism. The embrace and reception of refugees and asylum seekers in a given nation or region is an important test of the viability of the hospitality principle envisioned in the cosmopolitan model (Giordano 2014). The complexity and diversity within migrant experiences evident in the field of translation and migration studies humbles attempts at overarching theory. Yet there is one domain within which there is much commonality of experience around the relationship between migration and translation, and that is in the frequently bleak world of labour migrants. Their precarious immigration status across the globe and the strict limitations imposed on their integration in the developed and developing economies they serve reinforces their immutable otherness while guaranteeing a constant source of temporary low-wage labour. Their restricted freedom of movement gives these migrants little say in the degree of acculturation or assimilation to which they can aspire.

For many of these migrants, vital translation services are rare or non-existent both at the time the decision to migrate is made and once the work is undertaken in the destination country. Investigations into the function or availability of quality translation in the lives of particular migrants or migrant groups usually focus on individuals' interactions with educational, medical, legal or other public institutions where the guarantee of communication rights is stressed. For temporary labour migrants, it is a common practice to be expected to sign contracts in unfamiliar languages, often English, without fully understanding their contents; few can rely

on representatives of their own governments to scrutinize the agreements they sign, and private company middlemen or local sources get involved solely for profit and without concern for the migrants' interests. For many migrants, these contracts turn out to be fraudulent. When they reach their destination, they discover that the contract is not valid or the terms have been changed, always for lower pay and longer hours (Longhi 2013:13). Once committed, however, they are forced to accept the terms. The volume of such cases, from deceived Vietnamese fishermen trapped as forced labour in fishing boats off the Thai coast to Chinese agricultural labourers in the east of England, continue to be documented by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and those responsible prosecuted where possible. In these cases, segregation from valid translation and interpreting is a recurring feature.

The experience of migrant domestic workers and sex workers, most of whom are female, is distinct from their male counterparts in that the nature of their work makes them more vulnerable to their employers and to the power of the law, whether they are legally documented or not. Women who work in the sex trade – deemed by Amnesty International as the most violently abused occupational group – or as domestic workers discover that their sexuality is considered disruptive and dangerous whether expressed through the selling of sex or by employers' attempts to monitor the physical appearance and mobility of their domestic help. Where these occupational groups are involved, issues of translation frequently contribute to the violation of their rights. Interpreters in police stations, where migrant sex workers generally end up after raids, often have inadequate skills and some bring their own biases about prostitution to the interviews. In contrast to the moral opprobrium attached to sex work, there is a moral and political legitimacy afforded to domestic care work, despite the evidence that these women too are treated like “commodities in the way they are inspected, bought, traded, owned, generally objectified, and treated like economic investments” (Constable 2007:51). In the case of labour migrants, the significance of translation is in its being withheld, making it difficult or impossible for them to escape their effective bondage.

See also:

COSMOPOLITANISM; CULTURAL TRANSLATION; CULTURE; ETHICS; GLOBALIZATION; HYBRIDITY; LANGUAGE TEACHING; METAPHORICS; MINORITY; MULTILINGUALISM

Further reading

Bielsa, E. (2016) *Cosmopolitanism and Translation*, London & New York: Routledge.

Examines hospitality and cosmopolitanism through the sociological literature on the notion of the stranger and considers the figure of the homecomer, an overlooked reference point in current debates on new cosmopolitan perspectives.

Cronin M. and S. Simon (2014) *The City as Translation Zone*, Special Issue of *Translation Studies* 7(2).

Offers analyses that provide valuable insight into the ways that history, language and politics intersect to forge new and imaginative modes of cultural and linguistic translation across time and space, transcending imposed borders and predetermined identities.

Inghilleri, M. (2017) *Translation and Migration*, London & New York: Routledge.

Examines the role that translation continues to play in helping to ensure human rights and justice for migrating individuals across the globe, and analyzes and reframes the issues emerging from different forms of translation, covering transnationalism, assimilation and hybridity.

MOIRA INGHILLERI

Minority

The relationship between translation and minority languages has been an area that has attracted increasing interest since the turn of the century. The fundamental concern has been with the influence of the majority or minority status of a language on translation practice and conceptualization. It has been in the area of anthropology, area studies, literary and cultural studies – rather than in translation studies per se – that questions began to be asked about the role of translation for communities in a linguistically subordinate position. The view of

translation as problematic for language minorities was not helped by the tendency of postcolonial translation theorists (Niranjana 1992) to treat the ‘West’ or ‘Europe’ as a homogenous bloc and to overlook the significant asymmetry in power relationships between the different languages of European nation-states and within these nation-states. The neglect of these relationships was all the more ironic in that minority-language cultures are translation cultures par excellence, heavily dependent on translation to supply informational needs in their language. Translation is a central and inescapable fact of the economic, scientific and cultural life of a minority language.

Defining minority status

In translation studies the concept of minority is always dynamic and never static. Minority is the expression of a *relation* not an essence. A language may be displaced from the public sphere and increasingly marginalized in various areas of life because of invasion, conquest or subjection by a more powerful group. The speakers of the minority language may occupy the same territory as before, but their language is no longer in a dominant position. A historical example would be the situation of Irish Gaelic in Ireland (Wolf 2015). In other instances, it might be redrawing of national boundaries after the collapse of empire that results in a once-dominant language finding itself in a minority position. This was the case with Russian in the Baltic republics after the break-up of the Soviet Union (Press 2007). In the latter case, there is a larger linguistic hinterland that translators can draw on for reference tools, online resources, infrastructural support – all of which are largely absent in the case of the former.

The relational and dynamic nature of minority status is of fundamental importance for translation studies as it points to the fact that all languages are potentially minority languages. Thus, in certain areas such as science and technology, or in many international conferences, speakers of major world languages such as Chinese, Arabic, Russian, Hindi and Portuguese can find that their language has a peripheral or marginalized status. The relentless expansion of English (Shiyab 2010) and the increased

incidence of language death in the late modern period (Austin and Sallabank 2011) mean that many languages, even those used by millions of speakers, can find themselves in a minoritized position. This is why Branchadell uses the term *less-translated language*, which “applies to all those languages that are less often the source of translation in the international exchange of linguistic goods, regardless of the number of people using these languages” (Branchadell and West 2005:1). A consequence of this observation is that the translation experiences of minority languages become relevant to a much wider community of scholars as the question of where, what, when and how to translate become issues of concern for many different languages and language communities across the globe.

Drawing on the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Venuti pointed out that “a minor language is that of a politically dominated group, but also language use that is heterogeneous, that deviates from the standards, varies the constants” (1998b:136). The German of Franz Kafka, the English of James Joyce, the French of Michèle Lalonde demonstrate the creative tension of a movement between major and minor varieties of a language. Yildiz, in *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition*, describes the recurrent tension between the monolingual ideologies of national polities and the multilingual realities of urban settings. Monolingualism is “a key structuring principle that organizes the entire range of modern social life, from the construction of individuals and their proper subjectivities to the formation of disciplines and institutions, as well as imagined collectives such as cultures and nations” (Yildiz 2015:2). The presence of other languages generates pressures that challenge the position held by the hegemonic variety of the host language. As Yildiz demonstrates in her analysis of literary works from the German-language tradition, whose writers engage in a form of minoritizing translation as they move between the language worlds of German and Yiddish, or German and Turkish. The increasing influence of sociolinguistics in translation studies allows for greater cognizance to be taken of language varieties and of the social and political situatedness of utterances in translation. Of particular importance here is the work of Blommaert (2013) on linguistic superdiversity and of Pennycook and

Otsuji (2015) on metrolingualism; both draw attention to the ubiquitous multilingualism of the modern city. Likewise, conceiving the city as a translation zone, Cronin and Simon (2014:119–132) explore the shifting translation relationships between the majority language and linguistic minorities in a variety of urban settings. It should be noted that conceiving of minority as a function of political or cultural subjection also means that issues of gender or sexual orientation can be seen from a minoritarian perspective (Larkosh 2011a; Epstein and Gillet 2017).

Minority status and translation direction: contexts and trends

An important reason for factoring in minority status to any consideration of translation is that theoretical claims are relativized by the specific circumstances of translation practice in a minority culture. In the context of powerful hegemonic cultures, advocating a foreignizing, refractory or abusive approach to translation can be seen as a subversive, progressive practice which undermines the homogenizing pretensions of the dominant languages and cultures (Venuti 1995b/2008:1–42). Seen from the point of view of a minority language, however, subject to constant pressures to engage in substantial translation from the major language, an uncritical foreignization strategy could lead ultimately to the disappearance of the language. There would no longer be any distinct language into which translation might be done as the language would in a sense have been translated out of existence. In this context, a domesticating strategy attentive to the distinctive features of the minority language could indeed provide a more vivid example of subversion or resistance than a foreignizing approach (Tymoczko 1999; Evans 2009). This position would have to be qualified, however, by the observation that translation does contribute to heterogeneity in minority cultures and cannot simply be annexed to essentialist forms of identity politics. The development of the novel form in Catalan, for example, was greatly facilitated by the translation of British English novels in the period before the Second World War (Branchadell and West 2003:315–390). In a sense, the problem

facing minority languages relates to a more general question of the role of translation within a culture, namely, whether translation functions to assimilate or diversify. For speakers and writers of minority languages, collective self-translation may represent wholesale assimilation into the major language, but translation can also be a guarantor of diversification, a way of maintaining identity through difference. The question is particularly urgent in the context of debates around migration, where the languages spoken by migrant minorities can either be facilitated or suppressed by state translation policies (Ing-hilleri 2017).

An important defence of translation-as-diversification is the contention that a basic right of a language community is to be able to live a full life in the minority language. One consequence of this position has been the consideration of languages and cultures in a minoritized position principally in contexts beyond those of literary translation. Since many minority-language groups have tended to base their arguments for sovereignty on the cultural legitimacy of a distinctive past (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995/2012:67–100), as illustrated by the evidence of written or oral literature, the focus of translation theory and history has been inevitably on the translation record of literary exchanges between groups and languages. While idealized for a glorious aesthetic past, the languages and cultures in question were deemed wholly unsuitable to a commercial present or a scientific future; Cronin (1998:149–151) discusses this in relation to Irish. As a result, Tymoczko has argued, “to a very high degree philological approaches have remained the norm for translating the native texts of minority and non-Western cultures” (1999:269). However, the recognition that communities also function linguistically in the area of science, technology, business and administration has attracted attention to minority-language issues in the fields of scientific, technical and commercial translation (González Núñez 2016).

The impact of minority status on languages when it comes to science and technology goes beyond questions of what does or does not get translated into the minority language. There is the issue of the digital divide, of both the availability of machine-readable forms of the language for translation use and the accessibility

of digital translation resources to speakers of minority languages (Cronin 2013). If the extensive intertextual resources available on the Internet are predominantly sourced in one language such as English, this inevitably has minoritizing consequences for even widely spoken languages in the digital era. For this reason, there is an obvious convergence of interest between research on language planning, digital accessibility and minority-language translation. The issue of language normalization, involving the role of translation in the standardization and spread of a language, has been the focus of work by a number of Catalan scholars (Montserrat Bacardí 2005:257–268; Cristina García de Toro 2005:269–287). The contribution of translation to normalization has been a constant feature of nation-building projects, whether these are to be found in the western or non-western world (Branchadell and West 2005; Coupland 2010). A dimension which is often specific to minority languages in translation is the importance of the symbolic as opposed to the informational function of language. That is to say, when speakers of minority languages who have a perfectly good knowledge of the dominant language – for example, Welsh speakers who know English – still insist on translation from and into that language, this is not about making communication possible but about establishing identity or enacting a form of resistance to the claims of the hegemonic language.

Whether the object of enquiry is pragmatic or aesthetic translation, a basic problem confronting translation scholars working with minority languages is the translation of their academic work in the field of translation studies. The difficulties here emerge at two levels. First, there is the existence of translation research published in languages other than major languages which is not read, and therefore not cited, in translation studies research published in international journals and by international publishers. Indeed, a notable trend in translation studies research in recent decades has been the further narrowing of the language range of the citational base so that, at present, any work not published in English has a diminishing chance of featuring in translation studies debate or research. Almost all languages other than English have now become minor languages in the translation research community. This development aggra-

vates the forms of ‘epistemicide’ or destruction of local forms of knowledge that Bennett has identified with respect to English academic discourse (2015:9–35). Second, the presentation of material in languages that are not widely known leads to difficulties of exemplification, as examples need to be constantly translated into a vehicular language or a form of periphrasis must be used. The complexities of articulation and presentation involved can therefore lead to a greater reluctance to engage in minority-language translation research. Research on minority-language translation has frequently been of a historical nature as translators working with minority languages engage in a process of retrieval, unearthing an ignored or undervalued translation past, and consider the consequences of earlier translation policies for the development of language and evolution of the culture (Valdeón 2014c; Hanks and Severi 2014).

More broadly, the notion of the minoritization of major languages has proved to be an important source of inspiration for scholars looking at the impact of translation from native languages on the body of postcolonial writing (Bandia 2008). This is primarily in the sense of how indigenous languages from former colonies have influenced writing in major European vernaculars. The writing may be the work of a writer who lives in the former colony and writes in the European language, as in the case of Patrick Chamoiseau/Simone Schwarz-Bart, or it can be the production of a writer composing works in the European language but living in the former imperial centre, as in the case of Salman Rushdie. As globalization has further contributed to increased migration, migrant languages are becoming a notable feature of the societies of migrant host countries (Nortier and Svendsen 2015).

Future directions

The issue of climate change has brought a renewed focus on minority languages in terms of the exposure of indigenous peoples to the activities of extractivist industries and the contribution of indigenous cosmologies to the development of more sustainable and resilient social and economic practices (Viveiros de Castro 2014). Stibbe makes the following

observation in his work on the emerging discipline of ecolinguistics:

There is . . . a shortage of voices, in this book and in ecolinguistics in general, from traditional and indigenous cultures around the world. Within these cultures are a great multitude of stories, some of which may be invaluable in the reinvention of self and society in the transition to new ways of living and being.

(2015:193)

The importance of “traditional and indigenous cultures” is not simply to do with past stories as a source of future change but with present stories as a pointer to imminent survival. Klein notes that running economies on energy sources that release poisons into the atmosphere as an inescapable part of their extraction and refining has always necessitated the existence of ‘sacrifice zones’. These zones have been characterized by a number of features: “They were poor places. Out-of-the-way places. Places where residents lacked political power, usually having to do with some combination of race, language, and class. And the people who lived in these condemned places knew they had been written off” (Klein 2014:310). It is often the poorest people on the planet speaking lesser-used languages in more remote parts of the world that find themselves at the front line of the race to extract as much fossil fuel resources as possible from the earth. Describing how the Beaver Lake Cree Nation challenged oil and gas companies over tar sands oil extraction, Klein claims that “some of the most marginalized people . . . are . . . taking on some of the wealthiest and most powerful people on the planet” (ibid.:379). The move to a carbon credits system, a market solution that allows wealthier countries and corporations to offset carbon emissions by buying carbon ‘credits’ from countries with low emissions, has made the situation of indigenous peoples even more precarious. Brüscher, a geographer, has coined the term liquid nature to describe the way in which fields, forests and mountains lose their intrinsic, place-based meaning and become deracinated, abstract commodities in a global trading system (2013:20–36). An additional irony is that it is indigenous peoples practising some of the most sustainable, low-carbon lifestyles on the

planet who are being sacrificed for the carbon market. There is no way that the plight of indigenous people speaking lesser-used languages will become known to a wider audience if there is no translation into more widely spoken or read languages. Similarly, there is no means of appropriately and respectfully accessing indigenous forms of knowledge if due thought is not given to forms of translation that are not exploitative or extractive in their own right (Tipene 2013). Translation and minority are therefore at the heart of reflections on what might be sustainable cultural practices in the present age and far into the future (Cronin 2017:120–153).

See also:

COSMOPOLITANISM; MIGRATION; POSTCOLONIALISM

Further reading

Branchadell, A. and L.M. West (eds) (2005) *Less Translated Languages*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A wide-ranging and authoritative introduction to many of the questions concerning translation and minority. The collection considers translation and policy with respect to less-translated languages in many parts of the world and involving many different languages. The final section and symposium pay particular attention to the question of Catalan literature in translation.

Miguélez-Carballeira, H., A. Price and J. Kaufmann (eds) (2016) *Translation in Wales: History, theory and approaches*, Special issue of *Translation Studies* 9(2).

Although the collection is focused primarily on the Welsh language, the essays are exemplary in demonstrating how the topic of minority can be approached from a number of different perspectives (history, religion, mobility, state policy). The theoretical and methodological approaches allow for ready transfer to other minoritized translation situations.

Venuti, L. (ed.) (1998) *Translation and Minority*, Special issue of *The Translator* 4(2).

The excellent introduction by Venuti explores different readings of the notion of minority through the writings of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Other essays in the collection deal with a range of topics from the situation

of minority in postcolonial Africa to queer translation theory.

MICHAEL CRONIN

Mock-translation

Mock-translation is an exaggeratedly literal or unidiomatic translation that is used playfully for a variety of ends, such as claiming expertise (Garland 2010), investigating foreign sensibilities and mind-sets, and producing new genres in the target culture (Crawford 1995; Meneses 2014). It can be distinguished from translational and translatorese, as defined by Newmark (2003), in at least two senses: the element of intentionality inherent in it and the fact that it is often a translation of a non-existent source text (Garland 2010:31; Meneses 2014:180). Mock-translation is used to claim connections between remote contexts and genres, and therefore infuse the target text and culture with rich intertextual links, although these links may be imagined or fabricated (Meneses 2014). Whether it is a translation of a real or an imaginary source text, mock-translation can provide commentary on aspects of source and target cultures, literary traditions and ideological constructs. This commentary is produced in the gap created between the source text and its mock-translation and often requires readers to play an active role by drawing on their own knowledge of both languages, especially given the element of play involved in the translation.

Rather than signalling lack of knowledge of the source language or culture, mock-translation is understood as contributing to the creation of new meanings, since it involves the fathoming of layers of meaning in the (imagined) source text, and requires an awareness of (and capacity to manipulate) the target language/culture to produce nuanced effects. The play on words produced by a literal and unidiomatic translation in this case reveals the language skills as well as the cultural expertise of the translator and invites creative decoding of the message, which is often open to several interpretations (Garland 2010). The 'distortion' of the source text resulting from mock-translation also sheds new light on various aspects of both source and target texts. In

destabilizing one or both texts, multiple layers of meaning can be produced. The claim to expertise and social status involved in mock-translation (Garland 2010) can be used by cultural agents to express a certain message of dissent and disseminate oppositional and subversive meanings.

Mock-translation in literature and the blogosphere

Literary scholarship offers conceptualizations of the term which highlight its creative potential. It suggests that this kind of non-fluent translation offers translators the opportunity to pinpoint ironies and indirectly comment on mainstream assumptions about authority and canonicity. Studies of the use of mock-translation in the work of Chilean novelist Roberto Bolaño (Meneses 2014) and American poet Ezra Pound (Crawford 1995) are particularly relevant. Meneses maintains that mock-translation (which he uses interchangeably with *translatorese*) is used in Bolaño's novel *2666* to imply that his writing is an instance of erroneous translation from English into Spanish. This, Meneses argues, enables Bolaño to probe the global genre of American crime novels and, through the assumed translation, establish links between his own writing and that genre (2014:180). Meneses also maintains that by creating the effect that his writing is a mistranslation from English into Spanish, Bolaño pokes fun at an emerging tradition of writing in hybrid globalized Spanish (*ibid.*:176). In a study of the use of mock-translation by the American poet Ezra Pound, Crawford (1995) maintains that *translatorese*, which is partly translation and partly fabrication, establishes a link between what is familiar and what is alien. Through his mock-translation of Provençal troubadour poetry, Crawford claims, Pound can explore a range of potential meanings in the foreign genre as well as endow modern English poetry with new sensibilities gained through the appropriative translation. The act of pseudotranslating a non-existent foreign genre can thus be one of pseudo-consecration which could result in establishing that genre in the target literary tradition and giving it legitimacy.

The work of Mikhail Bakhtin offers insight into the potential of mock-translation for creating

new meanings. Though Bakhtin's conceptualization of medieval carnival (1965/1984) is not concerned with translation *per se*, he refers to parodic imitation as one of the elements of folk festivities. Bakhtin does not define parodic imitation in any detail, but the examples he offers refer us to parodic doublets produced by carnival participants and reflected in the tradition of church monks producing parodies of learned treatises (Morris 1994:201). This, in carnival festivities, extended to the production of parodic and semi-parodic literature in both Latin and the vernacular (*ibid.*:207). Such practices, Bakhtin maintains, contributed to the decrowning and dismantling of the hierarchy inherent in official discourse and created opportunities for new meanings to be produced by carnival participants, thereby contributing to the subversive nature of carnival festivities (Bakhtin 1965/1984). The "carnavalesque sense of the world" (Hu 2012:122) is reflected in cultural practices such as copycatting (Hu 2012) and political jokes (Badarneh 2011), where parodic imitation of official hegemonic discourse is used to dismantle the authority of the very discourse it imitates.

The use of mock-translation for subversive purposes, especially in the vastly globalized sphere of popular culture, can be seen in Bakhtinian terms as an instance of a modern "universal carnival" (Hu 2012:130) where participants produce subversive meanings and conceptualizations of the world as a form of resistance to the hegemony of officialdom. This is particularly visible in the blogosphere, where carnival practices converge with concepts such as user-created content (OECD 2007) and hactivism (McCaughy and Ayers 2003) to produce a combination of reporting and commentary, often involving creative strategies such as meming (Shifman 2013) and remixing (Lessig 2009). The resulting cross-genres reflect the capacity of ordinary users to intervene in the production of knowledge and therefore gain more authority (Iskandar 2014). Used in several areas of cultural production – such as news reportage, song lyrics, movies, commercials and remixes – mock-translation has the potential to present a mock reproduction of an entire genre, thus inviting the audience to review and rethink the genre within mainstream discourse and allowing for the emergence of new cultural paradigms where meaning is challenged and reproduced (Allagui 2014).

One example of this kind of parodic translation is the Egyptian blog تمت الترجمة (*Tammat a-Ttar-gama*/Translation Complete), which features a page dedicated to giving deliberately erroneous translations to titles of Hollywood movies and other instances of global (mainly American) popular cultural production, such as songs and music albums. The page has a sharply satirical character and pretends to take translation so seriously that it even translates proper names. In the About section, the admin states that the aim of the blog is to “mess up foreign films and songs”, with ‘foreign’ here essentially referring to mainstream American commercial entertainment. The resulting parodic rendering highlights a multiplicity of voices that are reminiscent of Bakhtin’s discussion of carnivalesque polyphony (1965/1984), where various voices, at times a whole ensemble of conflicting voices, play in cohort and together reveal the multifaceted nature of the world and of experience.

A more politically oriented function of mock-translation involves using it to disguise political commentary and sarcasm. Because it introduces itself as translation, mock-translation assumes no authenticity, and hence no responsibility on the part of the translator. Here, the degree of opaqueness of the political undertones of the mock-translation is commensurate with the weight of censorship perceived by the translator as well as the level of carnivalesque humour allowed by the medium. A number of Egyptian blogs, for example, are dedicated to producing mock-translations of famous wise sayings, maxims, aphorisms and quotations from well-known figures in world history and culture. With the growth in Internet penetration and in the use of social media such as Facebook in Egypt at the turn of the twenty-first century (ASMR 2011), a number of these blogs have produced parodic versions of aphorisms and famous sayings by international public figures, based on erroneous translations adapted to local contexts, with one example being the blog entitled *Egypt Sarcasm Society* in English. The same strategy is adopted by the Egyptian blog entitled القارئ الشعبي (*al-Qari’ al-Sha’bi*/The Lay Reader), where titles of world literary classics are rendered in erroneous translations adapted to provide political commentary on local contexts. In all such cases, the translation acts to decentre the authority of the original – whether a film,

song, maxim or literary work – and therefore positions the new discourse created through the translation as central and authoritative. The gap between source and target contexts in these instances provides implicitly sarcastic comments on a dystopic political and social situation.

Examining mock-translation in the realm of popular culture necessarily involves opening up the concept to encompass instances of cultural creation beyond the written word, particularly in the context of digital visual culture. Memes (Shifman 2013; Iskandar 2014) and remixes (Lessig 2009), for example, are generally associated with image, sound and even abstract ideas and beliefs. Both combine commentary and re-creation and involve a strong element of parodic mock-translation. Since they depend on already existing units of cultural production, they involve modifying and intentionally distorting the original content to varying degrees. This form of cultural mediation through resistive or appropriative translation establishes intertextual links and draws attention to new layers of cultural meanings, thereby extending the life of a cultural product and translating political and cultural stances into different but equally powerful discourses (Mezey 2011).

Translating a discourse out of its context of signification and embedding it in a new context engages “cultural histories” and submits them for revision by “extemporaneous reactive production” (Iskandar 2014), thus introducing “new purchase on thinking about the ways that words, images, power, and violence operate in and circulate through different social arenas” (Mezey 2011:67). Decrowning the source text allows for the creation of a participatory arena that is open to the hybridization of narrative, one where cultural histories are revised and perhaps distorted (Mezey 2011).

Mock-translation and humour

One feature that distinguishes mock-translation from translatoresque and translationese is the by-product of humour, intentional or otherwise, that results from the incongruous matching of source and target texts, as well as from deconstructing the authority of the source text, whether real or imagined. Although humour

is considered an exclusionary strategy that depends on the assumption of shared knowledge between producer and recipient (Norrick 1993), humorous mock-translation functions in a different manner. It invites readers to recall contextual knowledge and make comparisons, but it presupposes “ignorance” or “lack of competence” on the part of the translator, and can thus be viewed from a Bakhtinian perspective as producing laughter that is universal in scope, extending its range to the producers of satire themselves (Morris 1994:201). Intentional production of erroneous mock-translation also means that the translators themselves choose to appear ignorant in order to drive their point home. Laughter thus becomes a mechanism that is constitutive of new meanings, one involving an element of play that Bakhtin sees as inherent to carnival activities (ibid.:197–198).

In all its varieties, mock-translation involves more than the mere act of producing humour or ‘faulty’ translation. It lends itself readily to being viewed as an interventionist practice that aims to shed light on an alternative discourse and a different understanding of the world. Its subversive potential lies in its capacity to overturn established linguistic and cultural assumptions and paradigms. And although it produces humour, that humour carries an ideological message which shapes and directs recipients’ responses in socially and politically meaningful ways.

See also:

ACTIVISM; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS; PSEUDOTRANSLATION

Further reading

Crawford, R. (1995) ‘Pound and a Young Poet’, in M. Alexander and J. McGonigal (eds) *Sons of Ezra: British poets and Ezra Pound*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 169–180.

Examines Pound’s use of pseudotranslation in his translations of Provençal troubadour poetry as a means of constructing a new genre in English.

Garland, J. (2010) “I Am Under Cool”: Humorous mock-translation as a claim to expertise in an Irish class, *Sociolinguistic Studies* 4: 27–44.

Investigates the use of mock-translation to claim linguistic expertise in foreign language learning.

Meneses, J. (2014) ‘Like in the Gringo Movies: Translatorese and the global in Roberto Balaño’s 2666’, in R. Cobb (ed.) *The Paradox of Authenticity in a Globalised World*, New York: Balgrave, 175–186.

Investigates Balaño’s use of mock-translation to represent a denial of fixity of origin and reflect a condition of dispersed authenticity.

RANDA ABOUBAKR

Multilingualism

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, multilingualism is “the use of many languages”, whether it be “the ability to speak” them or the “condition of being multilingual”, i.e. of “having . . . more than two languages”. The number of languages thus appears to distinguish multilingualism from bilingualism, although in sociolinguistics at least the latter term has come to encompass the former. Another assumption underlying many definitions is the idea that the languages involved share the same space: public space in an officially multilingual country such as Switzerland, page space in a book, brain space in multilingual individuals. In general usage, in other words, multilingualism evokes the copresence of several languages. Not so with translation, which – again in common usage as recorded by the *OED* – refers to the “action or process of turning from one language into another”, an action whereby the translating code not only reformulates (interprets) but replaces the translated code. In most instances, translating involves substituting one text (and its language) for another. Source languages and texts and target languages and texts are kept separate, each in their own space. The target texts created by and through translations are intended to be autonomous, to lead their own lives, separate from their source texts. Translations are usually read on their own, not alongside original versions, except in specific settings such as foreign-language classes. Since they are generally seen as catering for readers with no access to the original language, bilingual competence is effectively restricted to translators (Wandruszka 1972; Shreve 2012), who become the “locus of language contact” (Weinreich 1953:71, referring

to bilingual individuals in general). It is in their – the translators’ – linguistic repertoire that the two languages come together.

Whether we like it or not, this “monolingual bias” (Pavlenko 2005b:cover blurb) implicitly or explicitly underlies much thinking about translation that is at pains to productively situate the phenomenon with respect to language diversity. According to Meylaerts, multilingualism even constitutes a “challenge” for translation studies, a discipline she sees as too bent on conceptualizing “the full transposition of one source language message by one target language message for the benefit of a monolingual target public” (2013:537; original emphasis). For a long time, the focus has indeed been on (ideally) monolingual source and target texts, at the expense of bilingual agents and intercultural mediators.

If translation scholars have shown little interest in work done by (socio)linguists on bi- or multilingualism, code-switching and translanguaging, this lack of cross-disciplinary curiosity goes both ways. In an authoritative handbook on language policy, for instance, none of the 30-odd chapters signal an interest in translation policy in their title, even though the implementation of any language policy normally involves some institutionalized form of translation (Meylaerts 2009; Díaz Fouces 2010; González Núñez 2016a, 2016b; González Núñez and Meylaerts 2017; Córdoba Serrano and Díaz Fouces 2018). Admittedly, the link between multilingualism and translation is less obvious in the case of polyglot speakers, who do not necessarily ‘translate’ when alternating languages between different monolingual speech events or within the same bilingual speech event. Their code-switching and translanguaging instead involve almost simultaneously accessing different languages (Auer 1998, 1999; Auer and Wei 2007; García and Wei 2013:5–44).

Multilingual writing

In addition to being a widespread discursive practice among bilingual speakers, alternating, combining and mixing languages is also a long-standing feature of writing. Ancient examples include the fully trilingual Rosetta stone or even the Greek *New Testament*, which contains qualitatively important stretches in Aramaic, the

language spoken by Jesus. From Medieval and Early Modern times onwards, works of literature have been sampling languages on a regular basis. Examples of poetic multilingualism range from Dante’s *Commedia* to Eliot’s *Waste Land*; polyglot prose can be traced back from Joyce’s *Ulysses* to Rabelais’s *Pantagruel*, whereas plays have long been eager to stage foreign tongues and accents, Shakespeare’s *Henry V* (Delabastita 2002), Molière’s *Bourgeois gentilhomme* and Dario Fo’s *Mistero Buffo* being good examples.

In the audiovisual world, multilingualism seems to be as old as sound films or talkies themselves, with Jean Renoir (*La Grande Illusion*, 1937) and Fritz Lang (*Man Hunt*, 1941) providing early examples. Not incidentally, both movies are set against the backdrop of war, which has long been a (stereo)typical setting for scenes of language contact (and conflict) on the white screen. Today, the list of films where two or more languages are heard – or less often seen, as is the case in Peter Greenaway’s *Pillow Book* (1996) – is getting longer by the year. Şerban (2012:42–43) lists a hundred titles, a number that in her opinion scarcely reflects “how widespread the phenomenon of multilingualism really is in national cinemas across the world”.

As a rule, multilingual written or audiovisual texts do not give equal prominence to the languages they display. More often than not, a liberal sprinkling of other tongues is added to a matrix language clearly identified as such. In TV series and movies, the foreign language is often restricted to dialogue, or to written material such as street signs and billboards. This is by and large true for novels as well, although some writers incorporate larger samples of foreign speech; examples include Tolstoy’s original edition of *Voyná i mir* (*War and Peace*) and Laurence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*. Poets, on the other hand, tend to do more with less, using, for example, a heterolingual title or motto. For the French Romantic poet Gérard de Nerval, for instance, a short Spanish title (*El desdichado*) referring to Walter Scott’s *Ivanhoe* was enough to conjure up exotic landscapes and valiant knights.

As some of these examples already suggest, the study of multilingual writing does not necessarily involve a close examination of actual language skills. Writers have been known to consult dictionaries and other language tools, or native informants. Philologists of the calibre

of J.R.R. Tolkien, who devised an ingenious linguistic system for *The Lord of the Rings*, remain exceptions. Even when a biographical link can be established, it does not provide definite answers. The role of Adèle's French in *Jane Eyre* cannot be simply explained by Charlotte Brontë's stay in Brussels. Similarly, the importance of Nad-sat, the invented slang in which Alex narrates *A Clockwork Orange*, goes well beyond Anthony Burgess's experience of learning Russian. Indeed, there is no need to know Russian to read this novel and even less so to follow its plot, though such knowledge arguably enhances the reading experience, much as a grasp of Latin does for the enjoyment of Umberto Eco's *Name of the Rose*. In the more technical terms of reader-response criticism, one might say that multilingual texts, while certainly implying multilingual Ideal Readers, do not require the same foreign-language skills from their empirical readers (Forster 1970:12–13; Baetens Beardsmore 1978:93; Sternberg 1981:226). A last point pertains to the nature of the linguistic samples. These can belong to local dialects, slang, classical, national or even artificial languages – such as Klingon in the Star Trek movies. From the vantage point of textual analysis, this matters relatively little, since the impact of all these varieties depends as much on the ways in which they are textually embedded as on their extratextual status and the values attached to them in society.

Before looking at translation as one way of embedding multilingual elements, it is useful to remember how much attitudes towards language have changed over the centuries. In this respect, the romantic fetishizing of both the mother tongue and the language of the people constitutes a watershed. Romantic discourse about language has profoundly affected the ways in which languages are viewed, learned and hence used (or not) in literature, drama and film. The degree to which different languages are allowed to be displayed and foregrounded also appears to be commensurate with the status of the literary system. Postcolonial literature, immigrant writing and texts pertaining to linguistic minorities all tend to exhibit more diversity than the firmly established canons of Europe's major 'old' literatures, where exotic languages presumably spoken by foreign characters are either sampled to provide comic relief or, worse, dismissed "as an irrelevant, if not distracting, representational

factor" (Sternberg 1981:224). Thus Shakespeare's Caliban, Crusoe's Friday and Voltaire's Ingénu all speak their master's language.

Returning to the issue of textual embedding, in-text translation clearly offers a workable compromise for writers eager to highlight language diversity. A textual gloss leaves the original language intact, yet creates a buffer, a comfort zone for those unwilling or unable to read foreign languages. In the days of Walter Scott, Latin was still part of classical training among members of the ruling classes, a fact that allowed him to liberally quote from Roman authors, as in the following excerpt from *Waverley*: "Why, you know, Tacitus saith 'In rebus bellicis maxime dominatur Fortuna', which is equiponderate with our own vernacular adage, 'Luck can maist in the mellee'" (Scott 1985:335). By adding his own poetic version – a more literal translation would be 'In matters of war Fortune mostly rules' – Scott achieved two things. He established a privileged rapport with the happy few who shared his love of the Classics yet was also able to do so without alienating the general reading public.

Postcolonial critics have argued that such cushioning of foreign words reduces them to mere exotic signs and fails to question the power relations between representing and represented codes: "the forceful proximity of both items represents the failure to achieve cultural symbiosis" (Zabus 1990:354; Ashcroft et al. 1989; Mehrez 1992). For bilingual readers, tagged-on translations can create "an impression of needless redundancy and excessive repetition" (Rudin 1996:225–227, in response to Dasenbrock 1987:16). Yet the suspense generated by only progressively revealing the secret of the foreign language does not exclude the bilingual novel's monolingual readers but guides them "through it with utter carefulness" (ibid.).

When language itself becomes the topic, translation becomes a metalinguistic tool. Instead of focusing on referential meaning only, a writer can highlight cultural connotations. D.H. Lawrence's 1921 novel *Women in Love* is interspersed with foreign words that function as signposts for (upper) middle-class culture. At one point, characters observe the playful interaction between a male and a female cat. In Ursula Brangwen's eyes, the tomcat's dominant behaviour betrays a "a lust for bullying – a real *Wille zur Macht* – so base, so petty" (Lawrence

1921/1960:167). Rupert Birkin picks up on the obvious Nietzschean reference but decides to translate it into French, not English, to buttress his argument:

I agree that the *Wille zur Macht* is a base and petty thing. But with the Mino, it is the desire to bring this female cat into a pure stable equilibrium, a transcendent and abiding rapport with the single male. Whereas without him, as you see, she is a mere stray, a fluffy sporadic bit of chaos. It is a *volonté de pouvoir*, if you like, a will to ability, taking *pouvoir* as a verb.

(ibid.)

In doing so, he showcases his well-worded worldliness and draws a parallel between animal and man, who will also “find the *belle sauvage* once more, and entertain her with his superior wisdom” (ibid.). By joining translations that have such a different ring in English (“a lust for bullying” and “a will to ability”), yet are supposed to mean the same in German and in French (*volonté de puissance* and *volonté de pouvoir* can both render Nietzsche’s *Wille zur Macht*), Birkin’s comments become metalinguistic in nature, as does his play on the French word *pouvoir*, used as an infinitive instead of a noun. Clearly, this functions as a smoke screen to detract attention from the objectionable nature of his argument and the cultural stereotypes on which it hinges. The harsh sounds of Nietzsche’s German suggest violence, while the French language confirms its penchant for rhetorical niceties, as Ursula aptly stresses in her reply: “Sophistries!”

Multilingualism (un)translated

“How is a text written in several languages at a time to be translated? How is the effect of ‘plurality’ to be rendered?” These questions have attracted much attention since they were first posed by Jacques Derrida (1985:171), both with regards to literary (Meylaerts 2006; Grutman 2006, 2012; Baer 2011; T.K. Lee 2013a; Suchet 2014; Klinger 2015; Chinellato et al. 2015) and audiovisual translation (Cronin 2009; O’Sullivan 2011b; Meylaerts and Şerban 2014; Beseghi 2017). In order to better identify the issues involved in transferring ‘third languages,’ which

need to be distinguished from both the source text’s and target text’s main language (L1 and L2, respectively), Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2011) coined the term L3 and provided an exhaustive classification of translation trends, both in dubbed and subtitled versions of feature films. Chief among those trends is a tendency, detected and described early on by Antoine Berman (1985:79–80, 2000:295–296), to reduce the language diversity displayed in source texts, thereby eroding or even erasing their multilingual dimension. According to Berman, “the superimposition of languages is threatened by translation”, a claim he backed up with examples from Latin American Spanish and Latin American fiction in French translation, where lay his own expertise as a translator. “The relation of tension and integration that exists in the original between the vernacular language and the koine, between the underlying language and the surface language”, he argues, “tends to be effaced” (2000:296); Suchet (2009) makes a similar point.

Interlingual dynamics are indeed generally perceived as a problem by translators and their commissioners, who claim to act in the best interest of a reading or viewing audience that is too often constructed as being monolingual. Because linguistic diversity flies in the face of received romantic notions of language, culture and identity, foreign languages are at risk of disappearing from the target text or at least being curtailed, having their subversive potential downplayed. This is exactly how most multilingual movies and novels have fared in the hands of well-meaning translators. In *Femmes amoureuses* (1932), a collaborative translation of Lawrence’s *Women in Love* by a scholar (Maurice Rancès) and an acclaimed poet (Georges Limbour), the passage quoted above appears with all traces of foreignness erased. Gone is Nietzsche’s German, and with it, the pseudo-philosophical gist of the conversation. Gone, as well, is the stylistic contrast between English and French as the preferred idiom for courtship. Only a footnote alerts the reader to the fact that the word *pouvoir* (set apart in the text by quotation marks and italics) already figured in French in Lawrence’s text. But so did *rapport* and the earlier *volonté de pouvoir*, which go undocumented. Admittedly, in this particular example, things become even more complex because the target language (French) also happens to be the foreign language

exhibited by the source text. In instances such as this, linguistic elements that signal otherness in the original run the risk of having their indexical meaning reversed and being read as familiar signs of sameness (Mezei 1998; T.K. Lee 2013a).

Something similar happened, and around the same time, in French and German translations of T.S. Eliot's *Waste Land* (Frank and Bödeker 1991). Untranslated lines by Baudelaire, Verlaine and Nerval, which contributed to the hermetic character of the original poem, no longer stood out but blended in with the surrounding French text of the translation. What was intentionally strange, foreign and international became eminently readable and national. The opposite was equally true: quotes from English literature familiar to British readers lost their immediacy and turned into something utterly foreign.

An example of not translating multilingualism into English is *Three Trapped Tigers*, Donald Gardner and Suzanne Jill Levine's authorized rendering of Guillermo Cabrera Infante's novel *Tres tristes tigres* (1965), set in 1950s Cuba, when the island was officially ruled by general Fulgencio Batista but remote-controlled by the United States. The novel opens with a speech mixing Cuban Spanish and American English. It is both hilarious and wryly evocative of a Havana forced to cater to the many monolingual American tourists visiting Cuba. In their translation, Gardner and Levine retain the idea of bilingual code-switching and leave in most if not all Spanish words. But with a twist, since they reverse the order in which languages appear on stage. Whereas the original switched from Spanish to English, the translation has the English sentences precede the Spanish ones: "¡Arriba el telón! *Curtains up!*" thus becomes "*Curtains up!* *Arriba el telón!*" (Cabrera Infante 1965:17, 1971:7). The reversal is not without consequences. It cushions the impact of the foreign language on English-speaking readers, who are now free to skip what looks like a Spanish translation of something they just read in their own language. Gardner and Levine manage to do justice to the foreign original without doing too much violence to their domestic readers and their habits. This is typical of the compromises made possible by in-text translations, the kind that allowed Walter Scott to weave his Latin quotes into his novels. Translators who adopt this strategy to allow the original's diversity to shine through

and convey a sense of its linguistic balancing act face an uphill battle, however. Even assuming that they succeed in convincing their editors and publishers of the appropriateness of their choice, they still have to await the anonymous verdict of the reading public. Without necessarily being as monolingual as is often presumed, many readers neither want to be reminded they are reading a translation nor particularly care for experimental writing that dallies with too many tongues. Keeping the original's embedded languages is an unorthodox foreignizing strategy and as such, goes against the widespread norm of fluency (Venuti 1995b/2008).

The challenge posed by multilingual cultural products such as novels or films, therefore, is not just a matter of form. The feasibility and the eventual success of a translation seeking to mimic the original's multilingual layering are questions that exceed technical discussions about translation hurdles. They can be related to the target audience's more general attitudes towards foreign languages and cultures. Tolerance vs intolerance of foreign words can be taken as more than an index of familiarity vs foreignness, of sameness vs otherness. Reaching far beyond those binary oppositions, these views lay bare the power imbalance between languages (and literatures) of varying status.

See also:

COSMOPOLITANISM; DUBBING; FICTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS; IDEOLOGY; LANGUAGE TEACHING; MIGRATION; POSTCOLONIALISM

Further reading

Lee, T. K. (2013) *Translating the Multilingual City: Cross-lingual practices and language Ideology*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Draws on both original and translated literature in Singapore to examine the (im)possibilities of literary translation in light of the power relation between English and Chinese, as reflected/refracted in bilingual texts or multilingual anthologies, revealing translation as an imperfect yet necessary means of intercultural communication in multilingual societies.

Meylaerts, R. (ed.) (2006) *Literary Heteroglossia in/and Translation*, Special issue of *Target* 18(1).

An important early collection of essays which demonstrate that multilingual societies

challenge several traditional ideas about translation as taking place between geographically removed cultures and question the either/or logic of categories such as monolingual/multilingual, original/translation and national/international.

RAINIER GRUTMAN

Multimodality

Multimodality, a term first used in the late 1990s (Jewitt et al. 2016:2), is the study of how we make meaning by combining multiple signifying means or modes – for example, image with writing, music and body movement, speech with gesture – into an integrated whole. While more established disciplines such as linguistics, semiotics and musicology engage primarily with those semiotic resources that fall within their respective conceptual remits, multimodality investigates the synergies between co-occurring semiotic resources. From a multimodal standpoint, each mode “is understood as realizing different communicative work” (Jewitt 2014/2017:16) and is moulded by its own semiotic limitations, potentialities and affordances. Multimodal ensembles – whether they adopt the form of a graphic novel, a film, an illustrated textbook, a museum exhibit or an everyday conversational encounter – result from the interplay between the relevant co-operating modes.

Multimodality specialists have “not as yet focused on questions of translation” (Taylor 2016:222), while translation scholars have been slow to engage with multimodal concepts and methods. Theoretical and methodological developments in translation studies until the 1990s were driven by the conceptualization of translation as a process of written language transfer where the printed word is the only signifying means at play. The study of spoken texts as loci of interpreting activity has similarly tended to revolve around their verbal fabric, often glossing over the semiotic contribution of the orality and corporeality of interpreter-mediated speech. This disciplinary emphasis on language-centred meaning-making processes largely derives from the influence of linguistics during the formative period of translation (and interpreting)

studies (Baker 2005b). It is also consistent with the entrenched prevalence of monomodality, understood as the dominance of one signifying constituent, such as written language, over other types of meaning-making resources.

Approaches to multimodality

Translation studies has not yet managed to articulate clearly how semiotics and multimodality relate to one another. Stecconi (2009:261) argues that, when used in a lax sense, semiotics encompasses “research that goes beyond verbal language”, including “multimedia/multimodal material”, a term he associates with Gottlieb’s (2005) work. But Gottlieb’s (2018a:46) own contribution to this debate identifies multimodality, described as an addition to the more established body of scholarship on multichannel texts and paraverbal translation, exclusively with the work of multimodality specialists (Baldry and Thibault 2006; Kress 2010). Leaving aside the profusion of terms that translation scholars use to designate their theoretical explorations of meaning-making resources and practices, they would appear to agree that multimodality falls within the wider remit of semiotics.

The bulk of the work undertaken to date on the (loosely understood) semiotics of translation aims to draw up inventories of meaning-making signs associated with both verbal and non-verbal sensory channels. Broadly speaking, the structuralist approach to the study of multimodality in translation aims to establish taxonomies in order to “deal systematically with any type of translation encountered in today’s communicative landscape” (Gottlieb 2018a:46), whether it concerns text types such as film where both the original and translated versions are delivered through more than one channel; translations where the target version incorporates new communicative channels that were not used in the original, as in the case of a screen adaptation of a novel; or translations that reduce the number of channels at play in the source, as in a radio adaptation of a film. Jakobson’s inter-semiotic translation, defined as the “interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of non-verbal sign systems” (1959/2000:114) remains a linchpin of these taxonomic explorations, even though scholars have redefined it, to

some extent, over the following decades. Remael's (2001:13–14) use of the term to designate the transfer of meaning across different media, for example, still follows Jakobson closely. By contrast, Fine's (1984) definition of inter-semiotic as the transfer of meaning across medial variants of the same sign – as seen in subtitling, where the meaning of spoken language is conveyed through written text – represents a departure from the original formulation. However, the significance of Jakobson's contribution to the structuralist strand of multimodal translation research can be best appreciated in Gottlieb's (2005, 2018a) taxonomy of translation types. In this classification, the difference between inter-semiotic translations and their intra-semiotic counterparts, the latter understood as textual transfers where "the sign systems used in source and target texts are identical" (2018a:51), lies at the heart of a complex web of 34 translation types that encompass "*any communicative system working through the combination of sensory signs*" (ibid.:50; original emphasis). But while this inclusive theorization of multimodality aspires to account for "*any process, or product hereof, in which a text is replaced by another text reflecting, or inspired by, the original entity*" (Gottlieb 2018a:50; original emphasis), most of the research informed by the structuralist approach has tended to concentrate on translations involving basic transfers of meaning between verbal and non-verbal channels. The collection edited by Poyatos (1997b) on various aspects of non-verbal communication and translation, including paralanguage and kinesics, and Chaume's (2004b) structuralist account of signifying means in audiovisual translation are two cases in point. Audiovisual texts, Chaume argues, involve the transfer of meaning along the acoustic and visual channels. The former conveys meaning produced through signs drawn from the verbal code (the spoken word), the paraverbal code (how speech is delivered, rather than what it delivers) and the non-verbal code (including, for example, sound arrangements, special sound effects or music). The visual code, on the other hand, involves the use of signs from the iconographic code (primarily symbols and icons), the photographic code (relating to the use of perspective, colour or light), and the mobility code (operationalized through a classification of proxemic and kinesic cues).

While structuralist approaches deliver comprehensive mappings of signifying resources and allow for thorough and systematic descriptions of how meaning is made and transferred in translation, they also have blind spots. On the whole, they privilege the conventional and static meaning of established signs and codes over the potential of semiotic modes to form and negotiate changing relationships with other modes, as required by the specific demands of communicative events. This is precisely what the social semiotic approach to multimodality attempts to do.

Among the various strands of multimodal research surveyed by Jewitt et al. (2016:6–13), social semiotics has exerted the greatest influence in translation studies (Kaindl 2012b). The central concept in the social semiotic strand of multimodality is mode, defined by Kress (2017:60) as "a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning". Modes such as "image, writing, layout, music, gesture, moving image, [and] soundtrack" (ibid.) are shaped by the daily social interaction of people, and their semiotic potential is the product of the cultural shaping of the resource in question. A given semiotic resource such as colour may have different meanings in different contexts, as each context "may either have rules or best practices that regulate how specific semiotic resources can be used, or leave the users relatively free in their use of the resource" (van Leeuwen 2005:4). Multimodal texts are therefore composite products resulting from the combination of various modes or modalities that reach the senses of people through media, i.e. "the material resources used in the production of semiotic products and events, including both the tools and the materials used" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:22). Examples of media include screens, loudspeakers, paper, fabric, software and clay. Most multimodal texts are also multi-medial, as they must be conveyed through various carrier media to be accessed and enjoyed.

While structuralist semiotics foregrounds codes and taxonomies, social semiotics is particularly interested in the social uses and the interrelationships of semiotic modes in social practice. It ultimately seeks to understand how people produce and communicate meaning by combining several modes in a specific social setting. Meaning-making resources can be subjected to

scrutiny along three analytical dimensions: discourse, genre and style (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001). Discourses are “knowledges” (van Leeuwen 2005:94) of some aspect of reality and are socially constructed through conventionalized combinations of semiotic resources, or genres, to achieve specific purposes in a specific social occasion. Discourses and genres are highly dynamic constructs, as the social settings and communicative purposes they serve change over time and space. Using distinctive combinations of discourses and genres confers a style or identity on sign users that can be exploited for communicative purposes.

Chueasuai's (2013) study of the multimodal shifts that arise in the translation from English into Thai of *Cosmopolitan's* ‘Love and Lust’ feature articles is one of the earliest applications of social semiotics to translation studies. By incorporating a range of changes in typography, colour, layout, photographic images and the actual text, *Cosmopolitan's* Thai edition delivers a euphemized version of this sexually explicit material. Chueasuai focuses on the cultural shaping of the modes at play to account for these changes. The editorial policy of *Cosmopolitan's* Thai edition, local media legislation and socio-cultural norms on femininity are shown to influence the discourses, genres and styles articulated in the translated material. The extent to which social settings influence styles, and hence the semiotic potential of the modes used to make meaning, is also explored in Chang's (2015) study of note-taking in interpreter-training contexts. While traditional studies of note-taking conventions emphasize the fixed meaning that trainers have arbitrarily allocated to a standard set of signs, the social semiotic approach explains how the interpreters' personal communicative intentions drive their choice and use of resources drawn from a range of visual modes. Significantly, the fact that interpreters tend to exploit the semiotic potential of their chosen modes in a consistent manner suggests that notes can be conceptualized as a “third visual language with its own logic and meaning-making practices” (ibid.:7).

The social semiotic approach is also at the heart of work that seeks to understand how intermodal connections are established within multimodal ensembles, in order to dissect holistic perceptions of multimodal texts as uni-

fied semiotic entities. One example is Remael and Reviers (2018), who focus on the study of filmic multimodal cohesion, defined as “any instance of implicit or explicit ‘sense-relation’ between two or more signs, from the same or different modes, within a given text that helps the reader create a coherent textual semantic unit” (ibid.:260). Maintaining or (re)creating multimodal cohesion is particularly important in audio descriptions and subtitles for the hard of hearing, as these forms of translation can only deliver fully monomodal versions (acoustic and visual, respectively) of a multimodal original. Remael and Reviers's study foregrounds the importance of genre, as conceptualized within social semiotics, for the perception of multimodal cohesion, given that viewers' identification, tracking and understanding of the basic narratological building blocks is driven by past and conventionalized spectatorial experiences. The cognitive dimension of multimodal cohesion has also been explored from a social semiotic standpoint by Ketola (2016), who focuses on the translation of illustrated technical texts and aims to gauge the impact of the degree of alignment between images and written texts – i.e. the extent to which they complement or reinforce each other – on translational decisions. She concludes that “different types of images affect the translation of verbal text in different ways” and that “readers themselves decide, whether consciously or unconsciously, to what extent they process images” (ibid.:77, 78). The insight that the semiotic space created by the written word and the illustrations between and around them varies in each case is consistent with the social semioticians' dynamic conceptualization of signifying resources, whose meaning-making potential is realized differently in each communicative event.

The most comprehensive application of social semiotic theory in translation studies is Pérez-González (2014b), who draws on Stöckl's (2004) operationalization of multimodal theory as a networked system of choices. Here, audio-visual texts are seen as produced by mobilizing those visual and auditory modes that will best realize the creator's communicative intentions. Among the range of visual and auditory modes identified by multimodal theory, image, language, sound and music are regarded as core modes, as each has more than one medial

variant – respectively: static/dynamic images; speech, animated and still writing; sound effects and spectrograms; performed music and score/sheet music. The overarching networked system of modal choices is hierarchically organized, so that each core mode commands a set of associated sub-modes. Deploying a specific mode therefore opens up a new system of sub-modal choices. For example, using speech, one of the media variants of the language mode, prompts more delicate selections in terms of volume, intonation, accent, voice quality, rhythm, speech and pauses that filmmakers can use to enhance dramatic effect or characterization. Drawing on a range of case studies, Pérez-González (ibid.) illustrates the extent to which an enhanced awareness of the multimodal distribution of meaning in audiovisual texts can be crucial in informing translational decisions.

Research themes

One strand of research has focused on layout and typography. O’Sullivan (2013) draws on Flood’s (1993) study of Martin Luther’s translation of the Bible to demonstrate how the Wittenberg editions published during the Reformation used roman and gothic typefaces in strategic ways, with the former serving to associate “certain [negative] Biblical elements with the Church of Rome” and the latter being the preferred option to deliver “positively connoted words” from a Reformist perspective (O’Sullivan 2013:5–6). In the context of subtitling, layout and typography have been shown to enable new forms of interaction between the diegetic world and audiences in silent films and mainstream television broadcasts (O’Sullivan and Cornu 2018b; O’Hagan and Sasamoto 2016); facilitate deaf viewers’ monitoring of interactional structures and turn-taking changes in films and television content (Neves 2005); foster a sense of shared affectivity among fansubbing networks and their audiences (Pérez-González 2007a, 2014b); and articulate new and creative forms of media content production (Fox 2016; Romero-Fresco 2018a).

A second strand of research examines multimodal spaces such as theatres, cinemas and museums, where a number of carrier media are used to stage multimodal texts. In these contexts,

meaning-making activities may adopt different inter-semiotic configurations, not all of which entail interlingual transfer. Managing and optimizing the use of multimodal resources is crucial to evaluating the performability of theatre plays, which demand “a dramaturgical capacity to work in several dimensions at once, incorporating visual, gestural, aural and linguistic signifiers” into the (translated) staged version (Hale and Upton 2000:2). Pérez-González (2007b:13–14) offers a multimodal analysis of the Spanish dubbed version of *12 Angry Men* (1957) in which he illustrates how camera perspective and the focal length of lenses can be exploited to enhance dramatic tension at crucial junctures of the plot and to evoke emotional responses that influence the translation of the dialogue. Similarly, Maszerowska has drawn attention to the contribution that lighting makes to “the saturation of the audiences’ imaginations, complementing and carrying on the plot, reflecting the characters’ points of view and, at the same time, filling in the gaps between dialogues” (2012:83). The semiotic implications of local spatial constraints, object-text interdependence, overall aesthetic coherence, copresence of material and virtual artefacts, as well as intertextual relations across individual exhibits are some of the issues that have attracted the attention of translation scholars who theorize museums as multimodal ensembles (Sell 2015; Neather 2012b, 2018; Liao 2018). From an audience perspective, subtitling for the hard of hearing, respeaking and audio description have increasingly become foci of applied multimodal research seeking to accelerate the integration of individuals with sensory impairments in mainstream theatre, film and museum audiences (Neves 2018; Romero-Fresco 2011; Jiménez Hurtado and Soler Gallego 2015).

The iconic-verbal link in printed texts is one of the most established areas of multimodal research in translation studies. Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996/2006) grammar of visual design has supported a range of studies on the translation of advertising material (Munday 2004; Millán-Varela 2004; Torresi 2004) and magazines (Chueasuai 2013), all of which conceptualize the partnership between verbal and visual structures as a means to identify particular interpretations of experience and forms of social interaction. The impact of the semiotic

dominance of images has also been studied in relation to comics (Zanettin 2008c), where humour is often encoded in the images, rather than the speech balloons. The possibility of altering or removing images when translating comics (Zanettin 2009) can be exploited, for example, to reconfigure the semiotic realization of humour across modes and to explore new forms of interaction between images, colour and written text (Kaindl 2004b). The multimodal analysis of static images in comics can also yield a better understanding of the semiotic potential of less studied modes, including spatial orientation, body posture, gaze and distance (Borodo 2015). In illustrated literature, including graphic novels, images play a crucial role in restricting or amplifying certain aspects of the meaning conveyed by the written text (Alvstad 2008b), to the extent of being constitutive of plot (Leighton and Surridge 2008). The modification or removal of illustrations during the translation of a book have been found to disrupt the text-image connection observed in the original, and affect the readers' experience of the books in question (Oittinen et al. 2017).

A further strand of research has demonstrated that the affordances of digital technology allow for experimental approaches to the translation of polyvocal texts that combine multiple layers of verbal and non-verbal material. Translations of such texts may adopt the form of interactive artefacts such as DVDs which combine written texts, photographs, sound recordings and ethnographic field material in ways that facilitate meaningful reading experiences through hyperlinked connections (Milsom 2008). In her attempt to translate French transgender memoirs into English, which lacks the grammatical resources available in the original language to articulate fluid, sometimes indeterminate, expressions of sex and gender identity, Rose (n.d.) exploits hypertext to display multiple translation options for key markers of transgender discourses, thus fostering a palimpsestuous pluralization of sexual and aesthetic experiences and signifying "the queerness of all identity and text" (ibid.). This "technologically-mediated sense of translation" and the inter-semiotic reading experiences that it provides have also been explored by T.K. Lee (2013b:241) in the context of art installations and cyber-poetry. The emergence of further technological affordances in

the future, Lee argues, will pave the way for new forms of creative transposition whose study will have to be informed by a "multimodal perspective on translation and a translational perspective on multimodal expression" (ibid.:254).

Alongside printed and digital multimodal ensembles, embodied multimodality has become an important research theme. Studies on para-verbal, prosodic and kinesic behaviour, such as Poyatos (1997b), offer insights into the semiotics of the human body, understood as "the use of para-verbal signs – including but not limited to voice qualities, cadence, inflection, or rate of speech – and non-verbal signifiers – such as gestures or movements" (Pérez-González 2014a:122–123). Bosseaux (2015) demonstrates that the interplay between the qualities of characters' voices (timbre, pitch) and their physical appearance often makes an important contribution to dramatic characterization, as is also the case with a range of sociolinguistic traits embodied in speech and sound, including accent and other markers of linguistic variation. Staging a translated theatre play or dubbing a film often involves decisions that may alter aspects of characterization and erase the sociolinguistic resonances of voice as a marker of identity, which may prove detrimental to the reception of the translated play or film (Queen 2004; Mingant 2010; Bosseaux 2018). In triadic medical encounters, the simultaneous use of various modes can help doctors to elicit patients' informed consent (Bührrig 2004), claim/retain the interactional floor and negotiate conflicting expectations. Understanding these sites of embodied multimodality, where spoken language is complemented by facial expressions, gestures or body positioning, is crucial for the development of effective interpreting strategies through a "co-ordinated manipulation of several semiotic resources" (Pasquandrea 2011:477). Analyses of embodied multimodal resources such as gaze (Davitti 2015), gesture, body position, proxemics and object manipulation have been conducted in pedagogical settings (Davitti 2012), and suggest that dialogue interpreting actively contributes to constructing "different participation frameworks throughout the encounter" within a specific ecology of action, understood as "the relationships between the participants and the surrounding environment" (Davitti and Paquandrea 2017:105). Similar

studies have focused on interpreting in business meetings (Bao-Rozée 2016) and group work dialogue among deaf and hearing students (Slettebakk Berge 2018).

Future directions

Multimodality is still in its infancy and needs to build consensus around key aspects of its core theoretical framework. The feasibility of subsuming all signifying means under a finite range of modes and the formalization of the processes through which individual modes become integrated in a single unified ensemble remain subject to intense debate. Cognitive and neurolinguistic models of translation (Pérez-González 2014b:102–110) are developing the means to understand how translational decisions are influenced by the cognitive salience that individual modes gain against the multimodal whole. For instance, the combined use of a single set of visual resources with variations of the same soundtrack will influence viewers' gazing trajectories when they try to process the multimodal ensemble (ibid.:105). In addition to multimodal transcriptions (Taylor 2016) and multimodal corpora (Soffritti 2018), eye tracking is yielding the most effective insights into the reception of multimodal texts. Studies of users' visual behaviour reveal how they process and comprehend a multimodal text and should, in due course, help translators understand how best to construct a similar coherent whole (J.-L. Kruger 2012b). As it continues to grapple with fast-paced media developments and capitalize on wide-ranging methodological advances, multimodality is delivering increasingly robust accounts of the generative power of semiotic resources and offering valuable insight into ever more complex textualities.

See also:

ADVERTISING; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; DUBBING; HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; MEDIA AND MEDIALITY; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS; SEMIOTICS

Further reading

Jewitt, C., J. Bezemer and K. O'Halloran (2016) *Introducing Multimodality*, London & New York: Routledge.

Delivers an accessible overview of multimodality, covering its key concepts and the steps involved in designing a multimodal study.

Kaindl, K. (2012) 'Multimodality in Translation Studies', in C. Millán-Varela and F. Bartrina (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, London & New York: Routledge, 268–281.

Includes a critique of a range of works by translation studies scholars that predate multimodality but share a number of concerns with social semiotics.

Pérez-González, L. (2014) 'Multimodality in Translation and Interpreting Studies: Theoretical and methodological perspectives', in S. Bermann and C. Porter (eds) *A Companion to Translation Studies*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 119–131.

Explores a number of research themes at the interface of translation and semiotics, including multimodality.

LUIS PÉREZ-GONZÁLEZ

Music

The relationship between translation and music is a burgeoning field of research which has been expanding since the turn of the century. Although the field has certain aspects in common with audiovisual translation studies – in terms of similarity and overlap of data, and the tendency to adopt certain methodological and theoretical frameworks – it has not generated interest among scholars with expertise in audiovisual translation. Instead, it has developed as an interdisciplinary field of research, attracting the attention of researchers in translation studies, (popular) music studies, adaptation studies, ethnomusicology, sociology of music, semiotics and fan studies. These diverse perspectives ensure a healthy influx of ideas and conceptual tools and have enabled a multiplicity of methodological and theoretical frameworks to be deployed in this field of study.

The majority of the existing literature can be grouped into three main areas: research that focuses on issues of accessibility in canonized genres of music; on the travels of non-canonized genres across linguistic and cultural borders and the role translations play in these travels; and on

maintaining and enhancing the quality of translations that accompany musical products.

Accessibility

Research on accessibility focuses on the subtitling and surtitling of canonized forms of art music such as opera, operetta, *lieder* and art song, for the benefit of deaf and hard-of-hearing audiences (Desblache 2007, 2019; Matamala Ripoll and Orero Clavero 2007). Given the growing desire of producers to make classical music available to a wider and more diversified public, and technological advances that have improved the quality and affordability of digital surtitling and subtitling, this area of research continues to gain prominence. The study of accessibility in music also benefits from the fact that the producers and the consumers of music are equally invested in promoting accessibility and are therefore generally willing participants in research, often from the early stages of a project. In addition, the field is increasingly attractive to scholars who need to enhance the social impact of their research.

Some early research on subtitling and surtitling for the opera focused on the invisibility of the translators involved in the process and the indifference of opera producers and directors to linguistic issues, and even the preference of some for an audience which is unable to understand the languages used in the libretti, as this allows them, the producers, more room for manoeuvre (Desblache 2007:165). This research has demonstrated a tension between the desire on the part of the audience for more intelligible libretti and the ambivalence of singers, composers, directors and producers towards any form of mediation perceived as coming between their artistic work and their audience. Today, surtitles have nevertheless become an integral part of opera productions, even for performances in the vernacular, and opera goers have been found to derive greater satisfaction from their viewing and listening experience (ibid.:169).

Research has also addressed the issue of how to make music in foreign-language films and opera more accessible during audio description for the visually impaired (Igareda 2012; Eardley-Weaver 2015; Lladó and Corral 2011) and alongside sign language interpreting for the deaf and

hard-of-hearing audiences attending a live concert or watching a music clip (Maler 2013). In the former case, the juxtaposition of audio description and film music often deprives the audience of the opportunity to hear and interpret song lyrics on their own terms, even though the songs are often integral to the overall meaning of a film (Igareda 2012:245, 249). The mediating role of audio description also comes to the fore in performances where the audial signs (music and libretti) and visual signs (colour, dress, props) in a work of opera are highly symbolic and therefore open to a wide variety of interpretations (Lladó and Corral 2011). In terms of deaf and hard-of-hearing audiences, the increasing availability of sign language-interpreted music clips on YouTube has given rise to what is known as ‘artistic song signing’, which incorporates many of the visual elements of the clips, including setting and costumes, but also attempts to bring across “musical elements like rhythm, pitch, phrasing, and timbre through productive musical signs and non-linguistic gestures, enriching the musical experiences of the deaf and hearing alike” (Maler 2013).

Travels of non-canonized music genres

Studies on the travels of non-canonized music genres to destinations outside their point of origin have included works on the translation of folk songs across neighbouring countries and regions (Öner 2008; Al-Azzam and Al-Quran 2012); subtitling, dubbing and voice-over of musical films and TV series (Di Giovanni 2008a; Bosseaux 2008, 2012); staging of local productions of international musicals in theatre (Franzon 2005; Mateo 2008; Sorby 2010, 2011); analysis of multilingualism and code-switching in popular songs (Davies and Bentahila 2008); and the translation and global circulation of contemporary popular songs (McMichael 2008; Kaindl 2005, 2012a; Susam-Saraeva 2006b; Susam-Saraeva 2015). The presence or otherwise of the translator’s voice, a topic which has long attracted the interest of scholars working on literary translation, has also received some attention from scholars interested in the travels of popular music. Studies in this area have examined interlingual covers of singer-songwriters such as Bob Dylan, whose distinctive voice

and lyrics leave the translator little room for manoeuvre, and whose lyrics are perceived as being close to poetry (Klungervik Greenall 2015).

Another strand of research has focused on interlingual cover songs – that is, covers sung in a language other than that in which the song was first sung. Scholars such as García Jiménez (2012), Fernández (2015), Marc (2015) and Susam-Saraeva (2015) have underscored the complexity involved in creating and circulating these cultural products, the roles played by different agents, and the limitations of examining textual translation in isolation from other aspects of lyric production, including discursive and non-textual practices. The interlingual activities involved in the import and export of covers can include translation, adaptation, appropriation and/or the rewriting of the lyrics from scratch. The term interlingual cover, Susam-Saraeva argues, is broad enough to cover a wide range of translational practices, thus expanding the range of data available for analysis by translation scholars, rather than excluding material such as rewritten lyrics as lying outside the scope of research in the discipline. In studies on interlingual covers, translations are often used as a lens or conceptual and exploratory tool to understand the historical, sociocultural and political developments in a given region or in countries into or out of which the songs have travelled. The emerging scholarship in this group of studies adopts cultural and sociological approaches, viewing translations as inevitably embedded in their historical and sociocultural milieus. For instance, Fernández examines Jacques Brel's songs, which are covered in English by the American singer Scott Walker, and observes how Walker integrated Brel's songs into his own repertoire as a means of improving his status and creativity as an artist (2015:11). This process unfolded in the context of 1960s pop music in the Anglophone world, which demanded a certain style of delivery, image and performance from "a male, mainstream singer"; Walker's Brel covers, with their controversial topics delivered in the "more traditional, crooning style" prevalent at the time, became subject to a BBC daytime ban, in accordance with the moral values prevalent in British society at the time (*ibid.*). Susam-Saraeva (2015) examined the translation of popular music during the

Turkish-Greek rapprochement of the late 1990s and early 2000s. Her study draws attention to the various types of material that the translation of music can involve, including lyrics, biographical notes and ethnomusicological information on CD inserts; interlingual covers of hit songs; and translations of lyrics carried out by fans in special fora for lyrics. Importantly, Susam-Saraeva's study also provides insight into the impact of translation and music on the changing attitudes in two neighbouring countries that are historically presented as enemies.

Quality

The third area of research aims at improving the quality of translated lyrics, generally adopting functional approaches to translation as its main theoretical framework. Studies in this area therefore tend to focus on audience expectations, genre conventions and intended skopoi of the translations. Concepts such as performability, singability and breathability feature prominently and provide the basis for discussing creative solutions to the constraints placed by music and plot on the translators of operas and musicals. Franzon (2008), for instance, outlines various possibilities for producing a singable song translation: not translating the lyrics, translating the lyrics without taking the music into consideration, writing new lyrics, adapting the music to the translation and adapting the translation to the music. Low (2017) similarly discusses strategies and tactics for producing singable translations, as well as better quality surtitles and subtitles. Apter and Herman (2016) offer practical techniques for creating singable translations, set to preexisting music, with suggested solutions to linguistic and music-induced problems.

Future directions

Studies on translation and music often draw on concepts such as cultural flows, diaspora, hybridity, cosmopolitanism, politics of identity, politics of language, globalization and localization. The prevalence of this terminology reflects the widespread conviction that compared to other forms of art such as literature and film,

whose travel is perceived as more “constrained by linguistic difference”, music benefits from a certain ease in crossing borders due to its alleged ethereality, weightlessness and universality (Straw 2012:231–232). The movement of populations across the world, be it in the form of mass migrations or more diffuse forms of immigration, has historically enabled music to travel to new host countries, metropolises and regions where different musical instruments, genres and styles intermingle, while still functioning as a significant identity marker. At the same time, more globally successful forms of music such as hip-hop become appropriated in new languages and cultures and give rise to local reincarnations worldwide.

Despite growing interest in the travels of music as a result of wider sociopolitical and demographic movements, how music and translation precisely interact with these sociopolitical and historical developments, both globally and locally, remains an under-researched but potentially promising area of study. While the number of studies of translation and music have been on the rise in general, those that engage with the sociopolitical contexts in which translations are carried out, presented, distributed and consumed remain relatively few; they include Kaindl (2005), Davies and Bentahila (2008), McMichael (2008), Öner (2008), Susam-Saraeva (2006b), Susam-Saraeva (2015) and Tavano (2012, 2016). This relative lack of interest in the wider context is puzzling, given that translation scholars have been actively carrying out research on the impact of sociopolitical factors on a variety of literary and non-literary genres since the 1990s.

In terms of the intersection of translation and music, and the ways in which these two forms of expression come together in concrete sociocultural settings, a number of highly promising areas of research are yet to be explored. For example, current interest in the issue of accessibility in art music could be extended beyond the textual or visual product to examine local policies and their impact on the visibility and strength of the deaf and hard-of-hearing community in any given locality, since these policies determine the availability or otherwise, as well as the extent and nature, of sign language interpreting and surtitling/subtitling for musical genres. The spread of dissident forms of music

such as hip-hop, punk and the Algerian *rai* beyond their immediate points of origin, and the accompanying censorship imposed on them both at home and in their new destinations, provide a poignant example of how the travels of certain genres of music across linguistic and cultural borders can have clear political implications. The interlingual and intralingual translation of rap lyrics circulated on online forums is another noteworthy area of research, especially in terms of how features such as gender and race are negotiated, as is the issue of how fans use their translations in the context of their fandom and in interactions with other fans.

Other potential areas of research include the way in which identity politics plays out in the translation of music. Racial, ethnic and linguistic identity can be reflected in code-switching in lyrics, as in the deliberate use of French in parts of popular and folk songs in North Africa, or in the choice of offering interlingual cover versions of canonized singer-songwriters, as in the case of the cover album *Leonard Cohen in Afrikaans* (Opperman et al. 2018). Bilingual songs may be played in peace concerts, sung as duets by singers from countries or regions locked in conflict – as in concerts held on the Green Line in Cyprus, where Turkish and Greek pop idols shared songs (Susam-Saraeva 2015:18). Appropriations between neighbouring cultures, such as folk songs circulating in the Balkans, Middle East and Central Asia, as well as between minority and majority cultures, as in the case of Kurdish folk songs in Turkish and Arabic, and vice versa, provide a further line of research that can be pursued by both translation scholars and scholars of popular music and ethnomusicology.

In terms of theoretical and methodological frameworks, multimodality and sociological approaches seem the most promising for future research. Music increasingly travels with and through video clips and films, and more often than not through digital platforms. Other dimensions apart from the aural and verbal are playing a crucial role in the reception of music. Viewers make sense of and appreciate music not only through the lyrics and the musical codes, but also through a variety of semiotic clues, such as dance, shooting location, dress, visual symbols, gestures, timbre of voice and instrumentalization. Existing scholarly work on multimodality offers

tools of analysis that can address the various dimensions of the meaning-making process involved in producing a musical piece, beyond the comparative textual analysis that has so far been favoured by translation scholars. Sociological approaches, on the other hand, can offer insight into the roles played by the various agents and networks in the production, recording, distribution and consumption of music, and hence into the complexity involved in incorporating translation into the process at any of these stages.

See also:

FAN TRANSLATION; POETRY; SUBTITLING FOR THE DEAF AND HARD OF HEARING

Further reading

Minors, H. J. (ed.) (2012) *Music, Text and Translation*, London: Bloomsbury.

Addresses a range of issues and genres, including accessibility, art music, popular

music and inter-semiotic translation, from the perspective of scholars within and outside translation studies.

Susam-Saraeva, Ş. (2015) *Translation and Popular Music: Transcultural intimacy in Turkish-Greek relations*, Oxford & Bern: Peter Lang.

Examines music's various forms of materiality (on paper, in audio, on the Internet) and the different forms of the accompanying translations, to foreground the multifaceted nature of translation and music and their wide-ranging impact on society and international relations.

Taviano, S. (2016) 'Translating Resistance in Art Activism: Hip hop and 100 thousand poets for change', *Translation Studies* 9(3): 282–297.

Examines translational and polylingual practices in global forms of art activism, focusing on the genre of hip-hop and its travels across cultural and political borders.

ŞEBNEM SUSAM-SARAEVA



Narrative

Narrative can loosely be defined as an account of connected events occurring in space and over time (Baker 2008:21; Bruner 1991:6; Herman et al. 2010:ix; Robinson 2011:166). Uses of the term in translation and interpreting studies can broadly be categorized within two distinct – if not entirely isolated – areas of study. The first focuses primarily on the translation of literature and integrates concepts and methods from structuralist narratology, as developed in literary theory, to compare and contrast narrative structures in fictional source and target texts (Bernaerts et al. 2014). The second adopts a broader, sociological understanding of narrative, as elaborated in the 1980s and 1990s in the social sciences, and assumes that narrative is not a genre but the means by which “we come to know, understand and make sense of the social world” (Somers and Gibson 1994:58). This entry discusses both approaches, situating each in its historical context and providing a broad overview of the variety of ways in which the two conceptualizations of narrative have been applied, developed and at times combined.

Narratological approaches

The study of narrative has traditionally been first and foremost the domain of literary theorists and has thus largely focused on the forms and functions of fictional storytelling. Scholars such as Genette (1969/1976) and Prince (1973, 1982) sought to identify a universal narrative grammar, a set of regularities and features that are shared by all literary narratives everywhere (Heinen and Sommer 2009:3). Since the early 1990s, however, translation scholars have argued that much of this early body of work tended to

overlook the impact of translation on fictional narratives, an area of study that could provide intriguing insights, both for translation studies and literary theory.

Although earlier attempts were made to theorize the role of translation in narrative communication (van Leuven-Zwart 1989, 1990), two papers by Hermans (1996b) and Schiavi (1996) are generally regarded as the first major contributions towards this line of investigation. Hermans’s work focuses on what he terms the translator’s voice, or their discursive presence within the translated text, as distinct from that of the narrator. Illustrating his points with examples drawn from translations of Multatuli’s (1860/1987) novel *Max Havelaar*, he argues that translated narrative discourse always contains this voice and that it is particularly discernible in three kinds of situation (1996:28). The first occurs when the source text requires the translator to reorient the target-language story in order to accommodate differences in the background knowledge that might reasonably be expected of the new target-language reader (as opposed to the implied reader of the original work). For instance, the translator may have to insert a paratextual comment to explain a historical, geographical or cultural reference in a way that would be unnecessary for a reader from the source culture, thus reminding the audience that they are reading a translation and “jolting [them] into an awareness of the text’s plurivocal nature” (1996:33). Second, translators are occasionally faced with situations where the narrative makes direct reference to the particular language in which the source text is written. Garros’s French translation of *Max Havelaar* (1968) struggles with a poem that is referred to as being written in French in the original: “[U]nable to translate the French poem into itself, [the translation] merely quotes it” (1996:32). The translator is forced to add a footnote to explain the issue, thus creating

a fissure or incongruity within the narrative discourse which alerts the reader to the fact that they are not being addressed directly by the narrator, and that another voice is present. Finally, Hermans uses the term contextual overdetermination to describe cases where the translator is left with no space to manoeuvre because of the strictures of the narrative context. The translator of *Max Havelaar* has no option but to reveal their discursive intervention through a lengthy 'Translator's Note' when faced with one key passage in the work which requires finding a pragmatically equivalent four-word proverb for the Dutch phrase *Eigen haard veel waard* (There's no place like home) in which, for reasons of narrative coherence, each word must begin with the letters E, H, V and W (Hermans 1996b:40–41).

Such cases render untenable any narratological model which fails to acknowledge the translator as coproducer of the translated story (Hermans 1996b:43). In response, Schiavi (1996) presents a new model for the description of narrative communication which incorporates the notions of Implied Translator and Implied Reader of Translation into Chatman's (1978) well-known diagram. These are intended as counterparts to the traditional narratological concepts of Implied Author (the author presupposed by the narrative) and Implied Reader (the audience presupposed by the narrative). Schiavi thus lays the theoretical foundations for greater awareness and further analysis of the new entities that enter into a story text when it is translated from one language and culture into another.

Since Hermans and Schiavi's pioneering work, a number of translation scholars have studied these issues in additional depth. O'Sullivan (2003) applied Schiavi's theoretical model to the analysis of translated children's literature, demonstrating that the translator's presence often becomes particularly tangible in such narratives because of the asymmetrical nature of communication between adults and children. Jiang (2009) argued in favour of borrowing concepts from speech act theory to refine narratological conceptualizations of the translator's voice, on the basis that the notion of the translator's voice is rather loosely defined and that distinguishing between the illocutionary intention and the perlocutionary effects of translators' discourses can provide more specific insights into the nature of their intervention (ibid.:372).

The methodological difficulty associated with systematically identifying and keeping track of shifts in narrative structures across extended bodies of text remains a concern for researchers working in this area (Hermans 1999b; Munday 2001). Bosseaux (2007) attempts to address this challenge by deploying computer-aided corpus analysis to investigate the impact of translators' choices on narratological structures, specifically those associated with point of view. Focusing on linguistic features such as "deixis, modality, transitivity and free indirect discourse" (2007:10), Bosseaux is able to convert this concept into a measurable entity and analyze texts and their translations in a systematic manner. Drawing on a corpus of two novels by Virginia Woolf and their French translations, she provides strong evidence that "[t]he narratological structure of Lanoire's [translation of *To the Lighthouse*] is more homogenous than that of the original, as the boundary between the voice of the characters and the narrator is more clearly marked than in the original" (2007:227).

Socio-narrative approaches

Thanks to the efforts of theorists such as White (1980/1987) in history, Bruner (1985) in psychology, Somers and Gibson (1994) in sociology and Fisher (1984, 1985) in communications studies, many areas of the humanities and social sciences have witnessed a dramatic change in perspective towards narrative. Narrative is no longer considered merely a representational and optional mode of expression; instead, it is now understood as ubiquitous, with the everyday stories we tell and are told about our shared reality constituting the primary means by which we make sense of the world around us (Somers and Gibson 1994:58). Circulating on all levels of society, from the global to the local, the institutional to the individual, narratives are the selective filters and constellations of relationships that allow us to interpret the complex and contradictory chaos of experience, and that ultimately help guide our actions (Fisher 1985). These stories are thus seen to play a fundamental role in constructions of identity, gender, culture, religion and history, and have now been the subject of much research across a diverse range of disciplines (Elliott 2009).

Baker's *Translation and Conflict* (2006a) is widely considered the first major application of this 'socio-narrative' theory in translation studies. Baker's focus is on the decisive role that translators and interpreters play in "circulating *and* resisting the narratives that create the intellectual and moral environment for violent conflict" (2006a:2; original emphasis). For her, one of the principal attractions of socio-narrative theory is that it helps us to identify many commonly held assumptions about translation – assumptions that repeatedly portray the activity in wholly positive terms – as "neither convincing nor productive" (2005a:12). It encourages us to recognize that the idea of the translator as a bridge that enables dialogue between cultures fundamentally oversimplifies the complex political, ethical and moral issues at play in many real-life acts of translation, especially those that take place in a context of war and conflict. Drawing on numerous historical and contemporary examples, she argues that translation and interpreting are undeniably "part of the *institution of war* and hence play a major role in the management of conflict – by all parties, from warmongers to peace-activists" (2006a:1–2). Conceptualizing translators and interpreters as neutral enablers detracts from their responsibilities as active participants in these complex situations and risks "encouraging them to become complacent about the nature of their interventions" (2005a:11). Viewing translation as a form of renarration, on the other hand, foregrounds their moral duty to consider carefully whether "to reproduce existing ideologies as encoded in the narrative elaborated in the text or utterance, or to dissociate themselves from those ideologies, if necessary by refusing to translate the text or interpret in a particular context at all" (2006a:105).

Following the publication of this monograph, a number of translation scholars have drawn on the typologies adapted by Baker, largely from Somers and Gibson (1994), to show how the intersecting personal, public, theoretical (or conceptual) and meta narratives to which translators and interpreters subscribe might influence their interventions in the target language and culture, including the texts they choose to renarrate and the way they position themselves and their role in society (Baker 2010c; Bassi 2015; Boéri 2008/2009; Harding 2012a; Kontos

and Sidiropoulou 2012; McDonough Dolmaya 2010; Vald  on 2009). Analysis generally proceeds by investigating the patterns of selection and deselection (selective appropriation), cause and effect (causal emplotment), sequential ordering (temporality) and contextual positioning (relationality) that are encoded in their textual output (Baker 2006a: 50–77). It often also examines the manner in which translators and other agents involved in the translation process reframe the source materials for the target audience, that is, how they resite texts within new narrative configurations through paratextual footnotes and introductions as well as specific textual choices in the translation itself (Baker 2006a:105–140).

For example, Bassi (2015) examined the marketing of the English-language translation of the Italian non-fiction book *Gomorra* (2006), about the Camorra criminal organization based in southern Italy. Her analysis traced the processes by which the author, Roberto Saviano, was renarrated as Italy's Salman Rushdie and embedded in the so-called war-on-terror meta narrative. This new paratextual frame helped offset the potentially alienating otherness of a foreign-language author for the predominantly Anglo-American target audience, who will be familiar with the dramatic international controversy that followed the publication of Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1988). The 'Rushdie affair' is generally narrated in the Anglophone world as fuelled by the diametrical opposition of a "secular, democratic, modern Western culture and a fundamentalist, undemocratic, pre-modern Islam" (Bassi 2015:55). Consequently, by branding Saviano as "Italy's Salman Rushdie", the target-language edition reframed his personal narrative, which featured receiving post-publication death threats from the Camorra crime syndicate but not from any Islamic sources. This reframing foregrounded a rather different pattern of cause and effect, and embedded this episode firmly within a broader set of post-9/11 public narratives. Hence, the source novel's critique of neoliberal capitalist structures and the globalized economy was subsumed in translation by powerful Anglo-American accounts of emerging threats to democracy and freedom of expression, much in line with Samuel Huntingdon's *Clash of Civilisations* and the all-pervasive meta narrative of the war on terror.

Other studies with a similar focus on this process of narrative reorientation include Spiessens's (2010) discussion of the translation of personal narratives elicited during interviews made between a French journalist and perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide, and H. Jones's (2010) analysis of Bosnian and Serbian poetry translated into English during and after the 1990s wars of the Yugoslav transition. Pasmatzis (2012) similarly conducted a narrative-based investigation into the Greek translation of Nicholas Gage's English-language novel *Eleni* (1983) by politically controversial novelist Alexandros Kotzias, and Sinibaldi (2011) drew on socio-narrative theory to examine Fascist-era rewritings of the classic Italian children's story *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (1882).

Another line of research has made use of socio-narrative theory to examine how professional and non-professional groups of translators and interpreters position themselves in society. Most notably, Boéri (2008/2009, 2010) adopted a narrative perspective to examine the discourse and practices of a transnational community of politically engaged volunteer interpreters known as Babels. Babels was formed in order to meet the linguistic needs of the European Social Forum in 2002 (Boéri 2008/2009:28), and has since coordinated simultaneous and consecutive interpreting as part of many similar alter-globalist events. Boéri (2008/2009) focuses on one particular episode in the history of Babels which involved a sharp attack on the group's activity and ethos by an experienced professional conference interpreter, Peter Naumann, in a letter published in the AIIC e-journal *Communicate!*, and in a number of heated exchanges that subsequently ensued on both AIIC and Babels' own public online forums. Rather than reading this episode as evidence of the existence of a binary and static opposition between the professional and activist/volunteer interpreting spheres, Boéri's narrative analysis reveals an "open-ended, network-like constellation of positionings that are available to and taken up by members of the conference interpreting community, including members of Babels and AIIC" (2008/2009:21). It further demonstrates that both sides in this debate are involved in an ongoing and dynamic process of identity construction which is subject to both internal and external influences. For instance, while Babels may still privilege open

participation and political horizontality in the narratives it elaborates about itself, it is increasingly addressing issues associated with more conventional values such as translation quality, values which have long been central to the rhetoric and actions of the elite of the profession, as a result of being involved in debates such as the one under analysis (2008:46).

Pérez-González (2010) explored how a sense of narrative affinity is negotiated by members of a much more temporary, ad hoc group of activists, formed briefly online in 2006 in order to produce subtitles for a Spanish-speaking audience of a BBC News interview conducted in English with Spain's former Prime Minister José María Aznar López. Drawing on Baker (2006a, 2009), Pérez-González uses narrative theory to account for the importance of shared adherence to a broad narrative that gives cohesion to such activist communities, whilst acknowledging the heterogeneity of intersecting social stories to which individual members may subscribe (2010b:263). His analysis reveals how the comments section of the political blog of progressive Spanish journalist Ignacio Escolar became a site of negotiation in which blog readers were able to position their own, overwhelmingly negative views on Aznar in relation to each other's narrative locations, and thus "jointly construct the gravitational core of their emerging affinity space" (2010b:276).

As Baker and others freely admit (Baker 2014:174, 2018b:190; Robinson 2011), there are a number of criticisms that one could raise with regards to the socio-narrative approach. Because the central concern of this framework is "not how narrative as text is constructed, but rather how it operates as an instrument of mind in the construction of reality" (Bruner 1991, cited in Baker 2005a:5), the methodology it offers for close textual analysis remains rather imprecise and underdeveloped. As a result, although narrative as a theoretical concept has attracted much attention, and a number of detailed case studies such as Baker (2010a) and Bassi (2015) have successfully drawn on it, many scholars still find it difficult to operationalize this approach at the micro-level in a sufficiently sustained manner to provide meaningful results (Baker 2014:174).

To address this lack of methodological precision, several researchers have experimented with different ways of supplementing Baker's

approach with tools, methods and concepts borrowed from elsewhere. H. Jones (2010:231) incorporated a statistical analysis of text-based keywords, a method sometimes used in Critical Discourse Analysis, to identify similarities and differences between the Bosnian and Serbian translation projects that are the focus of his study. Vald  on (2009) combined Baker's approach with an analysis of theme-rheme progression, as developed by Gerzymisch-Arbogast et al. (2006), which allowed him to identify shifts of attention in the translation of news narratives and to interpret the different ways in which each target text develops the main theme through its inclusion and exclusion of a range of subthemes.

The most convincing of these methodological developments so far have been attempts to integrate aspects of classical narratology back into the socio-narrative framework. Most notably, Harding (2012a, 2012b) supplemented Baker's framework with concepts from Bal's (2009) structuralist narratology for the purposes of her research into international news reporting of the Beslan school siege in 2004. This provided her with the analytical tools with which to highlight differences between the anachronic, synchronal and non-narrative materials combined in each news outlet's coverage, and thus explore how events occurring beyond Beslan in time and space were differently incorporated into each primary narrative text (Harding 2012b:296–300). Interest in Bal's framework also led Harding to advance a “new emphasis on the importance of narrators and temporary narrators in the configuration of narratives”, a dimension that had previously received little attention in the literature on social narrativity (2012b:287).

Future directions

Although perhaps no longer in their infancy, both lines of investigation outlined here are still relatively new within translation studies, and much further research remains to be done in terms of the methodologies deployed and the range of real-life contexts to which the conceptual frameworks can be applied. Aside from Bosseaux's (2007) study, the use of computer-aided corpus analysis for the comparison

of source- and target-text narrative structures has yet to be fully exploited. Equally, while most studies that draw on the socio-narrative approach have focused on the narration of contemporary events, much potential lies in investigating the role of translators in mediating the communication of narratives in more distant historical periods, as Elliott (2009) has shown with respect to early Bible translation. Discussions of narrative that do not fit easily within the two broad categories proposed above should also be highlighted as valuable starting points for further enquiry: Venuti's (2005) exploration of translation histories as narratives is a particularly noteworthy example, as is Toury's (2010) essay on the disciplinary myths that circulate within and about the field of translation studies. Wherever this future research may lead, interest in the concept of narrative has already opened translation studies up to important new perspectives on translation, with implications not only for the discipline itself, but also for other areas of the humanities and social sciences.

See also:

ETHICS; POSITIONING

Further reading

Baker, M. (2006) *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*, London: Routledge.

The first monograph to apply sociological understandings of narrative to the study of translation and interpreting, it provides a clear overview of the tools and premises of narrative analysis, with numerous examples that focus primarily on the role of translators and interpreters in the context of war and conflict.

Herman, D., M. Jahn and M.-L. Ryan (eds) (2010) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*, London & New York: Routledge.

A key reference resource for researchers interested in both literary and sociological conceptualizations of narrative, with entries on a broad range of topics, written from a variety of theoretical and international perspectives.

Somers, M. and G. Gibson (1994) ‘Reclaiming the Epistemological ‘Other’: Narrative and the social constitution of identity’, in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*,

Oxford, UK, & Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 37–99.

A highly influential chapter that has informed applications of socio-narrative theory in translation studies, it develops a typology of the different levels of social narrativity and introduces selective appropriation, relationality, temporality and causal emplotment as the fundamental principles guiding the narrative construction of reality.

HENRY JONES

Nations and nation-building

The relationship between translation and nations or nation-states is complex and paradoxical. On the one hand, translation has played a constitutive role in nation-building in many parts of the world, as the vehicle through which some languages obtained a written alphabet and/or a literary language, and through which sacred texts and masterpieces of world literature became widely available (Woodworth and Delisle 1995/2012). On the other hand, the *raison-d'être* of Romantic nationalism, to assert and affirm the national genius, led many nations to erase or marginalize anything borrowed from other cultures via translation (Mueller-Vollmer and Irmscher 1998:ix–x). As Heilbron points out, to the extent that literary history is conceived as national history, it generally ignores translation (1999:441, n1). Translation has thus become a very productive site from which to critique and deconstruct the claims of Romantic nationalism, as well as the attendant claims of Romantic authorship (Baer 2016a). As Cronin argues, a focus on translation within national contexts can help scholars

mov[e] away from the Romantic notion of an 'original', *sui generis* national genius which is transported unchanged through time (immutable mobile) to a notion of literature that is networked beyond national borders through the intrinsic duality and mutability of translation (mutable mobile).

(2006:32)

Indeed, perhaps nowhere is the concept of an original more problematic than in the case of national epics or sagas, the sources of which were often multiple and typically oral (Helgason 1999:19).

Defining terms and concepts

Nations are typically conceptualized today in one of two ways. The Romantic, or primordialist view, posits "the givenness of ethnic and national ties" (Özkirimli 2000:75), as expressed in the writings of the German Romantics Herder and Fichte; from this perspective, the natural endpoint of a nation's development is its liberation from imperial subjugation and its subsequent consolidation as a nation-state. The opposing view, often described as modernist, asserts that "ethnicity, and therefore national identity is socially-constructed and fluid rather than fixed, and is constantly re-negotiated in new settings" (Blackledge and Creese 2010:182), and insists that nationalism is a modern phenomenon. The modernist view was arguably initiated by Ernst Renan in his 1882 lecture 'What Is a Nation?' (Renan 1990), in which he argued that the foundation of the modern nation-state was not a common history, language or territory but rather the will to be a part of the nation, thus reconceptualizing the nation-building project not as an act of recovery but as the manufacturing of consent and an affective sense of belonging. Following in Renan's footsteps, Gellner declared that "[n]ationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist" (1983:7); Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argued that the modern nation-state required the invention of tradition in order to lend it an aura of primordial givenness, while B. Anderson (1991) conceptualized the modern nation as an imagined community. Highlighting the discursive construction of the modern nation, Bhabha claimed that modern western nations are characterized by an "impossible unity", and that, like narratives, they "lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully encounter their horizons in the mind's eye" (1990:1).

There are also different ways of conceiving, and institutionalizing, the relationship between the nation and the nation-state. While "cultures

united by common ancestry are sometimes called ethnic nations” and are typically contrasted to civic nations, where “membership is open to newcomers rather than being dependent on biological ancestry” (Lichtenberg 1999:170), the fact is that nations are never fully identical with states (MacCormick 1999:190). In other words, no nation-state, however homogenous, is composed entirely of a single ethnic group, resulting in the often uncomfortable cohabitation not only of different nations within a single state but also of different conceptualizations of nationhood and national identity, making the modern nation a site “where the fractures of globalism become visible” (Boggs 2007:1). Moreover, not only is our understanding of these sociopolitical constructs evolving and expanding, so too are the constructs themselves under pressure from new political and economic realities resulting from mass migrations and the emergence of increasingly sophisticated and vast “financial and information networks” (Bermann 2005a:1). These new supranational configurations or networks in turn generate new sites and economies of translation (Hardt and Negri 2000). As Simeoni suggests, “the concept of ‘network’ seems to be to globalization what ‘system’ was, and continues to be, to the more traditional notion of the nation-state” (2008:339). All these considerations serve to caution against the unreflexive application of terms and concepts related to nationhood across cultures and historical periods (Jacquemet 2005/2010; Stahuljak 2010).

Translation and the national imaginary

B. Anderson and other modernists argue that nations should be distinguished “not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (B. Anderson 1991:6). The style in which a nation is imagined has direct implications for translation, in terms of both policy and practice. Corbett points out that the use of Scots in translation “has a diverse range of ideological implications”, providing “a remarkably sensitive index to our attitude to national identity” (1998:8). In the Soviet Union, the regime’s commitment to the communist ideal of internationalism led it to invest heavily in the translation of foreign works, as well as the literature

of the various Soviet republics, producing in turn some of the first systematic reflections on the art of literary translation (Baer 2016b). The opposite is also true: Fascist regimes, like that of Mussolini’s Italy, tended to hold more negative views on translation, “evolving from a silent tolerance to an active hostility” (Rundle 2010b:15). This ideological divide is also reflected in the realm of audiovisual translation in the form of a marked preference for either dubbing or subtitling. In Franco’s Spain, the dubbing of foreign films “became the main controlling instrument in the hands of the censors” (Gutierrez Lanza 2002:147–148). Between the two ideological poles, it is possible to document a wide range of translation policies and approaches, from the level of government to that of individual publishers and translators, that reflect and support the national imaginary. One example is Gordon’s study, which documents how in Israel “segments from John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty*, John Locke’s *Two Treatises on Government* and Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan* were excised in the service of a Zionist identity politics” (2002:811).

Translation policy and practices do not simply reflect and support the national imaginary but also play an active role in nation-building and the preservation of so-called minor languages, or languages of limited diffusion. When closely involved with the promotion of the national language, or what Lefevere (1992:24) described as the “monolingualization” of cultures, translation is aligned with the forces of standardization and unification, or what Bakhtin described as “the centripetal forces of language” (Bakhtin 1981:270). A good deal of research has been done on the role of translation in promoting and preserving so-called minor languages such as Welsh (Kaufman 2012), Corsican (Jaffe 1999) and Scots (Corbett 1998). And while the popular metaphor of translation as a bridge stresses its role in overcoming cultural barriers, research has shown that translation is also deployed to establish borders between nations, as was evident during the break-up of Yugoslavia, where the national language of Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian (SBC) was immediately separated into three distinct national languages. This separation was followed by efforts to further distinguish the idioms from one another through the purposeful promotion of certain words and constructions, underscoring the

constructedness of national languages – both of SBC as the official language of Yugoslavia and of Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian following the break-up of Yugoslavia (Kuhiwczak 1999:221). The situation has produced interesting research related to the role of translation in this turbulent political and cultural context, which is characterized by overlapping models of nationhood and contested national claims. H. Jones used quantitative and qualitative analysis to study the way post-Yugoslav translations of poetry into English from Serbian and Bosnian were packaged differently, highlighting competing “public narratives of nationhood and state identity” (H. Jones 2010:223), while Stahuljak (1999) studied interpreters interviewing refugees during the conflict to understand how their role was defined by an entanglement of professional and national affiliations.

The importance of translation to nations, however, far exceeds its considerable contribution to developing the national language and literature. Translation of the Christian Bible in Reformation-era Europe, for example, not only produced a founding text of the national language and literature but also served as an assertion of the nation’s autonomy from the ‘universal’ Church of Rome and of the spiritual and political agency of individual readers. A certain Mary Jones reportedly walked 26 miles barefoot to purchase a copy of the Welsh Bible, and this made her a Welsh national hero (Canton 1904:466). Moreover, translations of the Old Testament provided a compelling narrative for aspiring nations to follow – that narrative being the story of the Jewish people’s exodus from captivity to liberation, “inspir[ing] defeated, suppressed and colonized people to seek freedom” (Aberbach 2005:223). This emancipatory narrative has served as a blueprint for national and subnational communities the world over.

The understanding of nations as made, not born, has also focused scholarly attention on the various technologies that support the nationalist imaginary. For Anderson, the major technology enabling the rise of the modern nation-state was print capitalism, which standardized and disseminated a national – that is, supra-local – language and provided readers with the experience of “homogenous empty time” in which they imagined their belonging to the nation in horizontal rather than vertical terms (B. Anderson

1991). Rafael (2016) offers insight into the specific national community generated through the proliferation of cell phones and inexpensive texting technology in the Philippines in the 1990s. Work on activist translation, crowdsourcing and fan subtitling also highlights the role of technology in generating and supporting new imagined communities, which may stand in opposition to the state (Jiménez-Crespo 2017a). Such work reveals that the specific ways in which a national community is imagined and mobilized are shaped by material conditions, which are now rapidly evolving and increasingly accessible.

(Post)colonial interventions

While a primordialist understanding of nationalism and nationhood typically places nations and empires in a mutually defining opposition, modernist thinking, which focuses on the formation of modern nation-states out of various subnational idioms and cultural forms, draws parallels between the two phenomena, producing such hybrid concepts as “imperial nation” (Clowes 2011:70) and “nation-centered imperialism” (Tageldin 2011:199). Scholars in the field of (post)colonial studies have always recognized the inseparability and the profound entanglement of nations and empires, given the fact that the boundaries of many (post)colonial states were drawn by the colonizers with little regard for – and no consultation with – the colonized, a situation which produced states characterized by disparate subnational groups and extreme linguistic diversity. Scholars of the (post)colonial therefore find it particularly difficult to isolate nation from empire as they confront “complex (and contested) processes of nation-building and identity formation” (Selim 2009:1). Or as Sakai puts it, “a particularism such as nationalism can never be a serious critique of universalism, for it is an accomplice thereof” (1997:163).

The keen interest shown by postcolonial scholars in nations and nationalism is evident in Bhabha’s edited volume *Nation and Narration* (1990) and the chapter of his seminal work *The Location of Culture* (1994a/2004) entitled ‘DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation’. But this was not always accompanied by an interest in translation. In Bhabha’s work and that of other early (post)

colonial scholars, when translation is addressed at all, it typically appears as a metaphor for cultural interaction that, for Bhabha, produces a hybrid third space. But even such metaphoric attention to translation is the exception. As Bassnett points out, “although the importance of language as an issue within post-colonialism is often emphasized, there is little reference to the role played by translation” (2014:37). It is only since the second decade of this century that scholars have begun to address “the uneasy nexus of translation, empire, and the emerging nation” (Tageldin 2011:31).

An example of such research is Cho’s study of the emergence of modern Korean literature in the early twentieth century. For the Koreans, Russian literature served as a model not only for literary themes and forms but also for the image of the modern writer, taking Tolstoy as their exemplar. But the Korean reception of Russian literature was mediated by the Japanese, Korea’s colonizer at the time. Moreover, the Japanese translations were themselves mostly relay translations from the French and English, thoroughly complicating the notions of authenticity and genuineness promoted by Romantic nationalism. Nevertheless, Korean translators, who were also journalists and among Korea’s first generation of modern writers, used these thrice-mediated texts to construct a national identity for themselves, and in the process revealed that the interest in Russian literature was shared across East Asia. As Cho comments, the “shared humanist view of literature in modern East Asia . . . was imagined and concretized through dialogue with Russian literature” (2016:182), underscoring the profoundly transnational roots of these national literary traditions.

Similarly, Tageldin (2011) moves beyond dichotomies of nation and empire while deconstructing the Romantic nationalist concepts of authenticity and genuineness in her study of translation in (post)colonial Egypt, where she argues that the colonizer and colonized were entangled in a translational relationship built on seduction. “Egypt learned to recognize itself”, Tageldin argues, “as such – as national particularity in the transnational mirror of the universal: the imperial universal of the modern West” (2011:200). Studies like Cho’s and Tageldin’s, which recognize how thoroughly the national and the transnational are entangled, challenge

and expand current understandings of nations and empires, using translation to expose “the Eurocentrism that haunts current understandings of world literature and the origins of literary comparison” (Tageldin 2011:29).

Future directions

Related to the (post)colonial concern with the entangling of nation and empire is the growing interest in “the complex heteronymy that inheres in all our constructed solidarities” (Bermann 2005a:3), with special attention paid to the nation. This strand of research takes several different forms, from an interest in multilingualism as policy and reality in various nation-states (Venuti 1998b; Polezzi 2012; Lane-Mercier et al. 2016), to an interest in translation outside the borders of the nation, that is, in diasporic or immigrant communities, both of which produce the phenomenon of translanguaging and exophonic writing (Lennon 2010; Wanner 2011; Hansen 2018). By “reveal[ing] complex multiplicities in the shadow of apparent unity” (Bermann 2005a:1), these phenomena contest the hegemony of the national language and literature and the monolingualization that has been a defining feature of the modern nation-state, and in so doing destabilize the very concepts that underpin the Romantic understanding of the nation as one people, one language, one territory. As Monticelli and Laanes remark in regard to the Estonian Russian (or Russian Estonian?) writer Andrei Ivanov, “What matters here is neither the origin/source, nor the result/target, but the movement of indetermination in which they get involved” (2017:346).

Another way in which scholars of translation are engaging with the concept of nations and nationalism is through the lens of imagology, or the study of national images that circulate in and through translation. If the focus on multilingualism and translanguaging is seen to undercut the concept of a unified nation, much of the research on imagology to date demonstrates the persistence of national stereotypes, or ethnotypes. Flynn et al. thus argue that “[n]ational ideologies and cultural borders are still with us, and indeed play a far more prominent role in contemporary identity politics’ exclusionism and xenophobia than avant-garde theorists and

artists seem to realize” (2016:1). While much of the early research on imagery in translation has focused on news media, scholars are increasingly turning their attention to literature and film.

Alternately seen as atavistic and modern, exclusionary and democratic, oppressive and liberating, nations and nationalism, like translation, are for those very reasons crucial for any critical reflection on the nature of modernity (Selim 2009:2). Moreover, nations clearly continue to marshal enormous affective force, “fill[ing] the void left in the uprooting of communities and kin, and turn[ing] that loss into metaphor” (Bhabha 1994:139). Indeed, it may be the conceptual incoherence of nationalism that allows it to survive and continue to generate new metaphors of belonging alongside new narratives of displacement. The changing face of nationalism will undoubtedly affect translation policies and practices and play a decisive role in shaping the future directions of translation research as it relates to access of minority-language populations to quality translation and interpreting services, the role of translation in the preservation of minor languages, the translation of multilingual and translingual writing, and the transnational aspects of national literary and cultural traditions.

See also:

CONQUEST; HYBRIDITY; MULTILINGUALISM; POLITICS; POSTCOLONIALISM; QUR'AN (KORAN)

Further reading

Boggs, C. (2007) *Transnationalism and American Literature. Literary translation 1773–1892*, London & New York: Routledge.

Thoroughly undermines the myth of a monolingual United States by focusing on the profound and sustained engagement with translation on the part of various canonical and marginal writers, raising important questions related to the roles of language, race and gender in the national imaginary.

Cho, H. (2016) *Translation's Forgotten History*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Examines the emergence of modern Korean literature through the translation and adaptation of works of nineteenth-century Russian literature mediated by Korea's colonizer, Japan, revealing not only the transnational

roots of Korean literature but also a transnational vision of modern literature stretching across East Asia.

Sakai, N. (1997) *Translation and Subjectivity. On 'Japan' and cultural nationalism*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Treats postwar discourse on Japanese identity alongside sophisticated theoretical meditations on the politics of translation, as a means of figuring difference; the Japanese perspective provides a critical vantage point from which to analyze the dominant regime of translation underpinning the common understanding of national identity.

BRIAN JAMES BAER

News translation

News translation refers to the wide variety of processes through which the news is communicated across linguistic divides. This includes news production and circulation in various media, in oral and written forms, the practices sometimes referred to as transediting (Stetting 1989; Schäffner 2012a), as well as news interpreting. News translation has been a vital element of the production of news since the inception of modern journalism in the middle of the nineteenth century; modern journalism was, even then, global in scope and involved the transmission of information across linguistic and cultural boundaries from the start. This is evidenced, for example, in the fact that the first news agency, Agence Havas (predecessor to Agence France-Presse), initially emerged as a translation agency in 1832. Bureau Havas, as it was then known, translated foreign newspapers for the French media. Global news organizations have since specialized in providing news in the dominant languages of the market to facilitate consumer access to news services in their own languages. National news organizations likewise engage in multiple forms of news localization (Pym 2004; Orenge 2005) and globalization (van Leeuwen 2006; Cheesman and Nohl 2011).

The first characteristic element of news translation, then, is its ubiquity and centrality in news production and circulation. The second is its invisibility, as a consequence of both

the thorough integration of translation within journalism, so that it is often indistinguishable from other processes involved in the production of news, and the dominance of textual strategies that favour domesticating the foreign and privileging fluency and the expectations of target readers. Perhaps because of this invisibility, but also because research in this field requires engagement beyond established academic disciplines and the pursuit of interdisciplinary research, news translation has been a remarkably understudied phenomenon. Media studies has remained largely silent about the key mediating role of translation and has approached the study of international news production and transmission through a monolingual lens, even though it has often used multilingual samples for the purpose of comparative research. Translation studies has only recently paid attention to an area where the process of interlingual transfer is predominantly carried out by journalists, rather than translators, traditionally ignoring what is arguably one of the most consequential forms of translation in our time.

Research themes

Since the middle of the first decade of this century, there has been increased interest in news translation, now a thriving area of research and a growing field of interdisciplinary research. This research has produced significant new insights with respect to organizations, agents and texts. First, it has offered insights into the workings of news organizations as key multilingual institutions, as well as the organizational structures they adopt in order to disseminate news in different languages in a way that enhances effectiveness and minimizes investment in cost and time. For instance, news agency networks make use of both highly mobile international journalists and local journalists to cater for different international and local markets, reflecting a key structural division in the journalistic field between domestic and foreign news (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:8–62; Bielsa 2016b). Thus, what circulates as international news worldwide is not a translation of reports originally created from a local perspective, but material that has already been conceived from its inception as international news for distant audiences. Research has also

revealed the role of multilingual newsrooms in promoting collaboration between journalists from different linguistic backgrounds to elaborate news discourses that address international or regional audiences rather than strictly national ones. This is evidenced in the fact that geographical diversity is an explicit recruitment policy of the Spanish service of Agence France-Presse, which caters for the whole of Latin America (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:80); in the pan-Arab orientation of the BBC's Arabic Service (Jaber and Baumann 2011); and in the accounts of newspaper *Vietnam News*, which addresses foreigners and diplomats in Vietnam by globalizing the local (van Leeuwen 2006).

Second, with respect to agents, research has revealed that mainstream news organizations tend not to employ translators as such. So-called interpreters or fixers, essential local aides to foreign correspondents in charge of a whole variety of logistic and linguistic tasks, are a notable exception (Palmer and Fontan 2007; Murrell 2015). Generally, it is the journalists or news editors who engage in translation work as part of their newswriting task. The fact that they are not trained and/or do not see themselves as translators does not mean that they are amateurs or unskilled. In the news industry, it is assumed that only journalists are qualified to do translation work, which is not perceived as substantially different from writing or editing original news texts. This apparently seamless integration of translation within journalism is often accompanied by a reductive understanding of translation as a strictly linguistic operation, and by an uncritical view of translators as subservient, as opposed to the more active role of the journalist. Despite their active role, however, the individual style of the journalist or news translator is necessarily sacrificed or neutralized in favour of a collectively defined style, usually embodied in the organization's style book (García Suárez 2005:177; Hernández Guerrero 2005:159). News translation must thus be approached as an institutional process through which texts are collectively produced, with no single journalist bearing responsibility; this is why both originals and translations are always checked by a second pair of eyes (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:69–70; Kang 2007).

Third, in terms of texts, news translations can generally be characterized as rewritings

(Lefevere 1992). On the one hand, research has shown that translations are typically not based on a single source text (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:67; Davier 2014:62–63; Tsai 2012:1071; van Doorslaer 2012:1048). On the other, translated news texts function as *de facto* originals, and are often indistinguishable from them. News translation involves extensive modification of texts in order to make them suitable for new audiences. Among the most recurrent of these modifications are the change of title and lead (informative subtitle), reorder of paragraphs, addition of background information of relevance to the new readers and omission of information deemed to be either no longer relevant or already known to the target readers (Hernández Guerrero 2005; Bielsa 2007:142–43; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:64). News translation thus challenges long-held assumptions in translation studies, especially in relation to equivalence and authorship.

As key actors in the field of global news that directly influence subsequent accounts by other news organizations, news agencies have been the subject of ethnographic research whose main objective has been to describe prevailing translation practices and textual strategies (Bielsa 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2014, 2017). Researchers have also studied the translated versions of other news outlets, such as *Spiegel International* (Schäffner 2005) and the Korean edition of *Newsweek* (Kang 2007). The study of the translation of television news – a field that is still markedly under-researched – was pioneered by Tsai, whose accounts are based on an insider's knowledge of translation in the television newsroom. Her case studies of translation in commercial television channels in Taiwan (Tsai 2005, 2012, 2015) have highlighted the specificity of “translating for the eyes and ears” that is characteristic of television news (2012:1066). Hernández Guerrero examined different forms of translation undertaken for a variety of journalistic genres in the press, distinguishing between stable and unstable sources to designate news that can be considered as traditional source texts, in the former case, and news sources that are typically used as raw material for the elaboration of new, highly transformed news texts in the latter (Hernández Guerrero 2005, 2009). A number of studies have discussed the specificities of news translation in

multilingual countries, revealing the very different news priorities and angles of newspapers in different languages (van Doorslaer 2009), the relative visibility of language and translation of political discourse in the Canadian press (Gagnon 2012) and the nature of plurilingual processes in both national and global news agencies (Davier 2014). In spite of significant interest in activist translation in networks such as Tlaxcala and Indymedia, research on translation in alternative news media is still scarce, though Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) offer a case study of Inter Press Service that suggests an alternative model of translation in this context.

The news is everywhere, but it is short lived, it changes all the time and disappears quickly. Research on news translation inevitably reflects this fragmentary and transient nature of the news, and the inherent limitations of concepts and categories that were not initially developed to explain the translation of journalistic texts. However, it is perhaps in these apparent limitations that the productive contributions and potential of research on news translation are most clearly revealed. Interventions in news texts through translation are not dissimilar to those evidenced in interpreted encounters, thus establishing connections and blurring the boundaries between translating and interpreting (Bassnett 2005:125; Tsai 2005:66–67). The news lacks the fixity of literary texts, the traditional domain of theorizing in translation studies, thus encouraging researchers to adopt multidimensional methodologies that can more adequately capture its ephemeral and fragmentary character, as well as the diversity of institutional contexts in which it is produced. The simultaneous ubiquity and invisibility of translation in the production and circulation of news demand a revision and enlargement of the core categories of the discipline. The work of news editors and foreign correspondents as privileged interpreters of the foreign reflects the essential continuity between writing and translating the news, and complicates the concept of ‘translator’. Given the extensive transformation of what is not always traceable to one original source text and the functioning of the news text as a form of *de facto* authentication through which it effectively replaces originals (Hermans 2007:23), news translation also questions widely accepted notions of what translation is.

The news brings distant events to our homes, a process that has reached a level of near-instantaneity through key innovations like the telegraph in the second half of the nineteenth century and satellite technology and the internet in the last decades of the twentieth century. However, overcoming physical distance has not meant the obliteration of cultural distance, and it is in explaining how cultural distance is mediated that research on news translation can make its most significant interdisciplinary contribution. As Hannerz argues, the term 'foreign' in 'foreign news' refers not only to the fact that it is news from abroad, but also to the idea that "such news has crossed boundaries of understanding and is not unproblematically accessible in cultural terms" (2004:32). Translation deals precisely with the ways in which the news is made accessible to different publics, a process that is achieved through the diverse textual transformations introduced in processes of interlingual transfer, as well as through the foreign correspondent's task of interpreting foreign events for domestic publics. Although not commonly studied within news translation research, foreign correspondents have been key mediators and translators between cultures since the advent of modern journalism, contributing to our increasing awareness of the world as a single place (Robertson 1992:8) and shaping representations of foreign countries and events (Hannerz 1996, 2004; Beliveau et al. 2011). They are positioned very differently from local interpreters in terms of autonomy, prestige and professional recognition and remuneration, but are crucial figures that need to be fully incorporated into news translation research (Bielsa 2016a).

With respect to the processes through which the news is made accessible in cultural terms, a focus on the impact of translation strategies complements existing research in journalism studies as well as translation studies. For analytical purposes, two distinct components can be distinguished in news discourses that have crossed linguistic and cultural boundaries: interpretation of events in their original context, and communication of these interpretations to home audiences in a way that enhances comprehension. These tasks are often perceived to be contradictory. For instance, the need for objectivity and neutrality in interpreting foreign events

can be seen to clash with demands to conform to the values and preferences of domestic audiences (Beliveau et al. 2011:135; Alasuutari et al. 2013:695; Nossek 2004). This tension is captured by the notion of domestication of the foreign, requiring that news events are told in ways that render them more familiar and comprehensible to target audiences, thus facilitating reception (Gurevitch et al. 1991:205). There is scope for synergetic research here: this would build on the abundant empirical evidence demonstrating that global news events are told in divergent ways at the local level, but would also specify the ethical and cultural implications of domesticating the foreign (Venuti 1995b/2008:15–16). By identifying the wider implications of using different translation strategies in the news, news translation research can also contribute to current debates on media and morality in a cosmopolitan context (Chouliaraki 2006, 2013; Silverstone 2007; Robertson 2010; Orgad 2012).

The central issue behind the distinction between domesticating and foreignizing translation is how to approach the difference of the foreign text, and how to make difference accessible in cultural terms. Researchers have identified domesticating translation strategies with fluency and transparency. Foreignizing translation strategies, by contrast, are identified with retaining something of the foreignness of the source text, and are hence considered less viable for newswriting. However, these are assumptions based on a conception of domestication and foreignization that is principally derived from literary translation, and there is a need to define and then empirically investigate forms of domestication and foreignization that are specific to the field of news. Given that, as Pedelty argues, we are reporting the world to ourselves, that foreign news is really domestically produced by our reporters and institutions with little communication with those they are ostensibly covering (Pedelty 1995:222; Said 1997), a translation in which a trace of the difference of the other can be preserved assumes special importance in this medium. This dimension also relates to the need to examine translation ethics in the field of news, a largely uncharted territory, one exception being Floros (2012).

A focus on news translation not only provides a unique perspective on what is involved

in domesticating the foreign and its cultural implications, but also illuminates the nature of contemporary globalization by revealing how information circulates across cultural and linguistic boundaries and the transformations it undergoes. These transformations in turn reveal the complex patterns of interconnectedness that shape news production and transmission across the globe. This multiplicity of international connections and influences across borders tends to be obscured in research with a primarily national focus, and in a strand of comparative research that emphasizes divergences rather than borrowings. But in spite of its ubiquitous invisibility in the field of news, research has also revealed a more visible presence of translation in the context of a type of global – or perhaps cosmopolitan – coverage that promotes the interpenetration of discourses and texts of different origins. Major global news events are increasingly reported in the press not only by those invisible translators – the foreign correspondents and news editors – but are also discussed in articles that have originated in other national contexts, the translation of which is most often signed either by an individual translator or by a translation agency. In other words, domestically produced foreign news often exists alongside visibly translated news pieces, at least outside the US and British press, in the more cosmopolitan-orientated newspapers (Brüggemann and Königslöw 2013). The presence of this type of translation in the news enhances foreign voices, views and opinions and thus promotes cosmopolitan openness. Research undertaken in this area includes Hernández Guerrero (2009, 2012), who examined the significance of translated opinion columns in the Spanish press, and Valdeón (2015, 2016), who analyzed the translation of Paul Krugman's economic columns in the Spanish newspaper *El País*.

Two other types of translated sources have not yet received the attention of translation scholars: the work of the most distinguished foreign correspondents, and reflexive accounts of international coverage of global and local news events in different media. Renowned foreign correspondents are journalists who excel in their work as interpreters of the foreign and as a consequence become appreciated in different

national contexts, thus overcoming the domestic/foreign dichotomy that is a basic structural feature of the field of news. One example is John Carlin, whose articles on Nelson Mandela's death, for instance, appeared simultaneously in English and Spanish in British, Spanish and Mexican newspapers. Carlin not only overcomes the domestic/foreign divide within news outlets, but also publishes his journalistic work in books which have in turn become the object of other forms of translation, including inter-semiotic translation: the film *Invictus* is based on Carlin's book *Playing the Enemy*. These diverse translations disseminate Carlin's journalistic work to new publics far beyond the original mass audience that foreign correspondents can initially expect and multiply the impact of their interpretations of the foreign. Another form of cosmopolitan interconnectedness through translation has been observed in the proliferation of reflexive accounts of international coverage, with reference both to how major global events are reported internationally and to the global repercussions of significant local events (Bielsa 2016b). This type of coverage is fundamentally different from reporting global news events such as New Year celebrations across the world to television audiences (Orgad 2012:134–48), which is at best only conducive to forms of banal cosmopolitanism (Beck 2006:19) rather than genuine cosmopolitan openness. In the former, more reflexive type of cosmopolitan coverage, an important episode often prompts the appearance of articles discussing international coverage that amplify stories of global and local news events, of others and of ourselves, implicitly questioning unilateral interpretations and enabling readers to see themselves through the eyes of others.

Future directions

In less than two decades, news translation research has made a remarkable contribution to the interdisciplinary study of news and has become a thriving subfield within translation studies. It nevertheless currently suffers from two significant shortcomings, the first of an empirical character and the second relating to its theoretical impact within the field.

Research on news translation has so far failed to engage with the issue of reception. Apart from a few analyses of readers' responses based on comments published in online forums (Conway and Vaskivska 2010; Conway 2012; Tian and Chao 2012), no reception studies have been undertaken within news translation research, reflecting a similar gap within translation studies more widely. Scammell (2016), who investigates the reception of agency news through focus group research, is an exception. There is a need to account for how readers interact with translated news, in terms of the expectations usually attributed to them and called upon to justify current conventions, and of the impact of different translation strategies and degrees of domesticating the foreign.

Second, the recent dynamism of news translation research contrasts with its limited impact in shaping approaches to translation and translation theory. This is evidenced in the fact that discussion of news translation is often limited to designated chapters on types of specialized practice, whether in textbooks or specific conferences panels. At the same time, news translation is largely absent from theoretical discussions of the core issues and debates within the discipline.

See also:

GLOBALIZATION; INSTITUTIONAL TRANSLATION;
MEDIA INTERPRETING

Further reading

Bielsa, E. and S. Bassnett (2009) *Translation in Global News*, London and New York: Routledge.

A theorization and empirical study of translation in global news agencies that examines both translation practices and textual outputs.

Scammell, C. (2018) *Translation Strategies in Global News*, Pivot series, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

A study of translation strategies based on agency texts that makes a case for a foreignized approach to news translation.

Schäffner, C. and S. Bassnett (eds) (2010) *Political Discourse, Media and Translation*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Press.

A collected volume that focuses on the interaction between translation in political institutions and in the news media.

Non-professional interpreting

Non-professional interpreting refers to the oral and signed language brokering activities performed by individuals with varying levels of bilingual competence who have not received formal training in interpreting and are not remunerated for their services. This umbrella term, however, encompasses a variety of related profiles, including volunteer interpreters and activists, regardless of their degree of training and professional expertise, and untrained interpreters who work under a structured business relationship and receive an economic compensation for their services. The term non-professional interpreter, therefore, goes beyond the stereotypical profile of the bilingual relative, friend or random passerby. It even blurs dividing lines based on age, as child language brokering – understood as the interpreting performed by children and adolescents for members of their families and communities – can clearly be conceived as a type of non-professional interpreting.

The traditional realm of non-professional interpreting has been community interpreting settings. Despite professionalization efforts, medical and courtroom-based legal encounters (Angelelli 2015; Baraldi and Gavioli 2016; Berk-Seligson 2009; Bührig and Meyer 2004), including mental health and asylum procedures (Bischoff et al. 2003; Eytan et al. 2002; Smith et al. 2013), have often been associated with this type of interpreting. The same is still true in religious centres (Karlik 2010; Hokkanen 2012), educational institutions (Colomer 2010) and social services offices (Pöllabauer 2010). Interestingly, reliance on untrained and unremunerated interpreters is not restricted to areas that have not yet been the focus of professionalization efforts, such as penitentiary institutions (Martínez-Gómez 2014), conflict situations (C. Baker 2010) and humanitarian assistance and emergency relief aid (Bulut and Kurultay 2001). Non-professional interpreters often also work alongside their trained counterparts in more regulated sectors, such as the media (Antonini and Bucaria 2015; Chiaro 2002), business (Traverso 2012) and even conference interpreting (Boéri 2012b). In a simi-

lar manner, non-professional interpreting also transcends geopolitical and sociolinguistic borders: it is present in areas with both long and short trajectories of professional interpreter service provision (Ozolins 2010), from Canada (Leanza et al. 2010) to Burkina Faso (Kouraogo 2001), and is a common reality in all types of signed and spoken-language combinations (Adam et al. 2011; Napier 2017), including indigenous languages (Ticca and Traverso 2015).

Non-professional interpreting – particularly child language brokering – permeates contexts that involve any non-official language group or linguistic minority, although it is notably prevalent within migrant communities. It is often a corollary of transitions from “redistributionist” to “interactionist” welfare models (Tipton 2012:178) in which the responsibility to access welfare benefits – and, therefore, the concomitant responsibility for language access – shifts from the state to the individual, especially at times of global economic austerity (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012:156). In these situations, non-professional interpreters intervene to fill that gap either upon the request of individuals in immediate need of assistance or on their own initiative, “driven by an altruistic spirit of voluntarism and solidarity with like-minded individuals” (ibid.), as in the case of religious settings and interpreting undertaken for non-profit organizations.

Non-professional interpreters tend to be selected – or self-select – on the basis of their (perceived) competence in the two languages involved and their immediate availability. Contrary to professional and scholarly arguments, discussed below, their non-professional status does not invariably equate with lack of skill. The two main theoretical concepts underpinning non-professional interpreting – natural translation (Harris 1977) and native translation (Toury 1995/2012) – posit that bilinguals have the ability to perform translation and interpreting tasks, and that this ability is either innate or has unconsciously developed from exposure to the cultural milieu. Indeed, research has not only shown that non-professional interpreters succeed in mediating crosslinguistically, often thanks to their sensitivity to situational and environmental factors and their unawareness of potentially constraining traditional interpret-

ing norms (Martínez-Gómez 2014, 2016; Valdés 2003), but has also provided evidence that high levels of expertise – meaning superior performance – do not systematically correlate with extensive formal training or professional status (Jääskeläinen 2010:214).

Impact of professionalization efforts on research

The mere presence of non-professional interpreting creates tensions, given the evolution of interpreting from occupation to profession, particularly in public services. Some have argued that non-professional lack of qualifications and their willingness to interpret for free threatens the hard-earned achievements of professional interpreters in terms of working conditions, appropriate compensation, social recognition and professional identity. Non-professional interpreting is thought to destabilize emerging market structures and hold back professionalization efforts, while perpetuating inconsistencies in interpreting standards. It thus comes as no surprise that what little research exists on non-professional interpreting has focused on evidencing the dangers of ad hoc interpreting practices.

Early research was mostly circumstantial, with the exception of scholarly work on natural translation and child language brokering. As the establishment of interpreting studies as a discipline went hand in hand with the professional coming of age of (conference) interpreting and the creation of the first university training programmes in the mid-twentieth century, non-professional interpreting often became the object of study not because of a specific interest in this phenomenon, but rather because it was the only type of interpreting available for examination, for instance in the area of medical interpreting (Lang 1975; Launer 1978; Marcos 1979). As professionalization evolved, the focus shifted to highlighting the drawbacks of non-professional practices. This trend persisted for decades and was replicated in community interpreting, which emerged as an academic discipline in the mid-1990s. It was not until the early 2010s that non-professional interpreting began to be consolidated as a research subfield worthy of independent enquiry, building on previous studies

on natural translation and child language brokering. The First International Conference on Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation took place in Forlì in May 2012, and the first collective volume devoted to the topic appeared in the same year (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012).

Core topics of research

Against this background, one of the most relevant topics in this area of research has been quality, which follows logically from concerns about substandard delivery. Non-professional interpreters are often criticized for their rudimentary competence in their working languages, particularly in relation to specialized terminology. For instance, they may mistranslate or omit medical terms due to lack of understanding, unawareness of equivalent terms or cultural differences (Ebden et al. 1988). Product-based error analyses have also identified additions, omissions and misinterpretations that lead to information loss and potentially impact the provision of quality services (Vasquez and Javier 1991; Cambridge 1999). Several studies have compared professional and non-professional interpreters' performance by quantifying linguistic and translation errors, both in absolute terms and in connection with their severity for clinical purposes (Gany et al. 2007; Gany et al. 2010; Flores et al. 2012). Flores et al. (2003) found that although the mean number of errors per encounter was similar among professionals and non-professional the rate of errors of potential clinical significance was higher among the latter. Primary participants also tend to report higher levels of satisfaction with professionals (Hornberger et al. 1997; Kuo and Fagan 1999; Lee et al. 2002).

Some of these problems have been associated with non-professionals' lack of metalinguistic awareness. Their failure to understand how certain discursive practices contribute to achieving communicative purposes may negatively impact communication. They have been found to alter the illocutionary force of primary participants' utterances (Pöchhacker and Kadric 1999) and to modify or suppress certain items such as modal verbs or indefinite pronouns, which may diminish patient decision-making autonomy during informed consent (Bührig and Meyer 2004).

Nevertheless, the main source of controversy around non-professional interpreters relates to their appropriation of primary participant roles. Their unawareness of the prescribed neutral role of the interpreter, together with the potential influence of primary participants' expectations and demands (Hale 2008) and of their solidarity with members of their sociodemographic or professional group (Tipton 2011:25), seems to contribute to shifts in participation status. On the one hand, non-professionals with personal attachments to public service users are often criticized for advocating on their behalf. Such non-normative behaviour is common among child language brokers (Hall and Sham 1998; Valdés 2003; Green et al. 2005), as well as adult non-professional interpreters in a wide range of settings – from medical exchanges (Rosenberg et al. 2008; Schouten et al. 2012) to conflict zones (Guidère 2008, in Tipton 2011:25). On the other hand, bilingual staff members tend to align themselves with public service providers, often given their shared institutional affiliation and discipline-related knowledge. Bilingual nurses have been found to appropriate co-clinician roles, steering communication according to their own perceptions of medical hypotheses, either by editing patients' utterances (Elderkin-Thompson et al. 2001:1352) or by following their own lines of enquiry (Meyer 2001). Likewise, instances of coercion and manipulation of police interrogations have been reported when bilingual officers assume interpreter roles (Berk-Seligson 2009).

These findings have been associated with serious short- and long-term consequences. Primary participants have reported feelings of insecurity and mistrust triggered by non-professional addition and filtering of information (Jääskeläinen 2003), and have been found to avoid certain taboo topics in their presence (Rhodes and Nocon 2003:49). Departures from the interpreter's prescribed role may lead to the disempowerment of the primary participants and/or trigger dysfunctional interactions that hamper service providers' ability to "ensure the quality and effectiveness of their work" (Pöchhacker and Kadric 1999:177). The far-reaching implications of faulty interpretation may severely affect primary participants' life experiences and overall wellbeing. Language-related

obstacles to due process may lead to wrongful convictions or acquittals (Schweda-Nicholson 1989; Berk-Seligson 2009), whereas the misinterpretation of patients' symptoms (Elderkin-Thompson et al. 2001), incorrect diagnoses (Vasquez and Javier 1991) or unclear treatment directions (Flores et al. 2003) may have clinically significant repercussions. The implications of interpretations performed with relative latitude in the context of war may go beyond the immediate interlocutors, as untrained interpreters may fail to articulate nuances and shades of meaning that are key to responsible narration in a conflictual situation (Baker 2010b:217).

The interpreters themselves may also be impacted, regardless of their translational ability. Primary participants' demands may generate different degrees of stress and discomfort among non-professionals – including family members and bilingual staff – as they may feel pressured to disrupt their routines to accommodate requests for interpreting (Schweda-Nicholson 1989:713; Rhodes and Nocon 2003:48; Schouten et al. 2012:330). Indeed, tensions about role heighten in high-stakes situations, particularly in cases of confrontational relationships between primary participants (Inghilleri and Harding 2010:166–167). The resulting psychological stress seems particularly acute for child language brokers, given the cognitive and emotional burden of some interactions, and potential disruption of family dynamics (Cohen et al. 1999).

Despite these evidenced concerns about non-professional interpreting, emerging research advocates treating non-professional interpreting as a distinctive phenomenon that can contribute to advancing our understanding of interpreter-mediated interaction. More recent studies have challenged traditional assertions about the drawbacks of non-professional interpreting and offer conflicting evidence to some of the above findings. Although limited linguistic skills are still a prevalent feature of the practice of untrained bilinguals, despite their creative strategies to overcome language problems (Meyer 2001), their personal and professional backgrounds often become assets for the specific events they mediate, as reported by primary participants. Family members and friends are trusted to act in one's best

interests, given depth of knowledge of each other, emotional commitment and loyalty. Advocacy, which tends to be criticized as non-normative behaviour in more traditional research, emerges here as a valuable trait of non-professional interpreting (Kuo and Fagan 1999; Alexander et al. 2004). Service providers – particularly healthcare professionals – also praise relatives' and friends' contribution as partners in the interaction, given their privileged access to patient health information and family dynamics, and their ability to facilitate follow-up contact with medical services and to ensure further care and adherence to treatment (Rosenberg et al. 2007).

In the case of 'terps' and 'fixers' in conflict zones, their knowledge of the community enhances communicative exchanges and has far-reaching implications for the outcomes of military operations (Inghilleri and Harding 2010a:166). Their cultural capital has proved invaluable for both troops and civilians to navigate communities safely, defuse tensions and handle 'inflammatory' situations (Inghilleri 2010a:185; Tipton 2011:21–22). Interactions mediated by bilingual staff, on the other hand, benefit from their familiarity with the institution and the specific local community it serves (Rhodes and Nocon 2003:47). Bilingual professionals may also contribute through expertise in the relevant subject matter. Thanks to their knowledge of the intricacies and requirements of medical enquiry, nurses may recognize the medical significance of casual remarks made by patients and help elicit key information for clinical decision-making (Elderkin-Thompson et al. 2001:1345). In entertainment-related fields, dual-role professionals who perform as broadcasters as well as interpreters have been shown to provide successful interpretations, given their awareness of the product-oriented goal of their services, their familiarity with broadcasting conventions and style, and their skills in coping with field-related challenges, such as background noise in motor race tracks (Antonini 2015; Ghignoli and Torres Díaz 2015).

The field of child language brokering has produced considerable research that challenges assumptions about non-professionals' lack of metalinguistic awareness and the negative impact of brokering on their life experiences. In situations of potential conflict that involve face threats, child

language brokers have consistently been shown to engage in conscious compensatory strategies to avoid communication breakdown (Harris and Sherwood 1978; Valdés 2003:119–163); the same holds for adult non-professional (Martínez-Gómez 2016). Furthermore, child language brokers' exposure to cross-cultural adult-like experiences seems to enhance their world knowledge and cultural awareness (McQuillan and Tse 1995:205), as well as their academic performance and cognitive development (Morales and Hanson 2005:491–494), often without endangering family dynamics (Valdés 2003:95–98).

Despite the ubiquity of child language brokering, particularly within migrant communities, young non-professional interpreters are less likely to be criticized than their adult counterparts. Research on child language brokering, unlike research on adult non-professional interpreting, has traditionally emphasized the multifaceted and complex role of child language brokers (Shannon 1990) and analyzed their practices independently of professional interpreting and from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Studying adult non-professional interpreting from this perspective – rather than attempting to control its activities, their quality, or their potential effect on market structures – would be more helpful in advancing the field (Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva 2012:158).

Lacking the guidance of formal training, it could be argued, non-professionals' skills and ethical considerations are shaped by previous exposure to similar encounters and by the expectations and behaviour of the primary parties, which potentially leads to heightened sensitivity to interactional dynamics. Non-professionals accommodate to the discursive preferences of primary participants in ways that challenge traditional interpreting norms, such as the use of first-person renditions or highly structured turn-taking sequences, but that lead nonetheless to effective communication. Such is the impact of some of these practices that scholars are starting to discuss “community norms of non-professional interpreting” (Angermeyer 2015:85) and are providing evidence of highly skilled professional interpreters who purposefully adopt these norms in order to accommodate the expectations of primary participants. Indeed, senior staff court interpreters are more likely to engage in non-normative strategies,

such as using the third person or relinquishing their turns to allow for direct communication between primary participants, than their younger, less-experienced counterparts (Angermeyer 2015:73). Non-professionals' freedom from the constraints imposed by traditional interpreting norms means that the encounters in which they participate offer ideal scenarios for exploring collaborative interactional dynamics. For instance, their flexibility in adapting to different types of participatory constellations, particularly in terms of varying degrees of language competence of the primary participants, has shed light on patterns of co-construction of dialogue and of shared responsibility for communication success, including both meaning and conversational dynamics (Meyer 2012; Traverso 2012).

These findings are particularly relevant in the realm of ethics and role definition. Although norms limiting the interpreter's agency, as ratified in codes of conduct, have traditionally been thought to minimize risks to communication stemming from the interpreter's wider choice of action, this normative order “rarely fits natural contexts of interaction where participants contribute in the *hic et nunc* of the situation posing continually new interactional challenges” (Baraldi and Gavioli 2016:52). Research has evidenced a need for “reflexive coordination” in multiple dialogue interpreting settings (Baraldi and Gavioli 2012b) and for ethical approaches to interpreting that override neutrality as their defining principle, particularly in conflict zones (Inghilleri 2010a:193).

Despite the fact that most non-professional interpreters are untrained, non-professional language brokering and interpreter training are not necessarily at odds. Indeed, different types of non-professional interpreters are drawn to formal training programmes for different reasons – from individual interest to institutional mandates for professional certification or increased availability of training opportunities in previously unregulated sectors and/or language combinations. In recent years, new educational initiatives have focused specifically on training non-professionals. For instance, in the programmes offered by the Centre for Interpreting in Conflict Zones (InZone) based at the University of Geneva, traditional training approaches are adapted to the specific

environment of humanitarian interpreting and supported by technological innovation (Moser-Mercer et al. 2013; Moser-Mercer et al. 2014). Training models developed specifically for (former) child language brokers follow a grassroots approach to programme development that builds on the students' previous interpreting experiences and capitalizes on their proven high-performance capacity (Valdés 2003:165–177) – enhancing not only their translational skills and professional awareness in the making, but also their sense of self and their contribution to their communities (Angelelli et al. 2002; Angelelli 2010).

The individual and isolated nature of non-professional interpreting and the frequent comparisons with professionalized practices inevitably result in lack of group solidarity and prestige, as well as of public credibility. Yet, despite controversies, existing research demonstrates that exploring non-professional interpreting can advance our understanding of features of interlinguistic communication that are yet to be appropriately scrutinized.

See also:

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; COMPETENCE, INTERPRETING; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; ETHICS; FICTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS; HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; LEGAL INTERPRETING; ROLE

Further reading

Antonini, R., L. Cirillo, L. Rossato and I. Torresi (eds) (2017) *Non-professional Interpreting and Translation. State of the art and future of an emerging field of research*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Offers a review of the theoretical underpinnings and history of research, and features analyses of recent examples of non-professional interpreting and child language brokering in institutional settings.

Evrin, F. and B. Meyer (eds) (2016) *Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation: Translational cultures in focus*. Special issue of *European Journal of Applied Linguistics* 4(1).

Illustrates the scope of non-professional practices in diverse societies and offers empirical research on child language brokering and non-professional interpreting and translation in healthcare, social services, prison settings and online translation communities.

Susam-Saraeva, S. and L. Pérez-González (eds) (2012) *Non-professionals Translating and Interpreting. Participatory and engaged perspectives*. Special issue of *The Translator* 18(2).

The first collected volume on the topic (approx. 60% on translation), it pioneered research on non-professionals in a variety of settings, from church and healthcare interpreting to volunteer translation, crowdsourcing and fansubbing.

AÍDA MARTÍNEZ-GÓMEZ

Norms

Norms constitute one of the most prominent and prolific areas of research in translation studies, with studies dating back to the 1970s and early 1980s, coinciding with the birth of descriptive translation studies (DTS) (Toury 1980, 1995/2012). The key concept of norms, which is informed by polysystem theory (Even-Zohar 1979), facilitated the development of translation studies as an independent discipline rather than a branch of comparative literature or linguistics. It allowed researchers to move away from rigid equivalence-based notions of translation as a faithful representation of the authoritative source text and focus instead on identifying regularities and explaining and predicting future translatorial behaviour (Toury 1995/2012:61).

Initially, the concept of norms was applied almost exclusively to written translation, with an emphasis on literary translation (Toury 1980, 1995/2012; Hermans 1991; van Leuven-Zwart and Naaijken 1991). The first scholar to introduce the concept in interpreting studies was Shlesinger (1989a), in the inaugural issue of the journal *Target*, which declared norms to be an important part of its research agenda. At the time, Shlesinger (1989a) was rather sceptical of the possibility of conducting research on norms in interpreting. Since then, however, norms have become a popular research topic not only in interpreting but also in audiovisual translation.

Despite the important role played by the concept in translation studies, there is still no agreed definition of norms in the discipline, nor in sociology or philosophy, where it has its epistemological origins. Nevertheless, one aspect of

norms on which there is consensus, in translation studies as well as in sociology and philosophy, is that they may be traced back to values and that values are embodied in norms (Hermans 1999a; Opp 1983; Bicchieri and Muldoon 2011). There is also consensus that social norms help explain and describe human behaviour. Furthermore, social norms are assumed to emerge through interaction and negotiation among members of a social system; as Cialdini and Trost explain, they “guide and constrain social behavior without the force of laws” and “emerge out of interaction with others; they may or may not be stated explicitly, and any sanctions for deviating from them come from social networks, not the legal system” (1998:152).

The sociologist Eichner (1981) outlined several indicators that may determine the existence of a norm. The first indicator is regularity in social behaviour. Toury, however, warns that observable regularities in human behaviour do not directly represent the norms themselves: “Whatever regularities are observed, they themselves are not the norms. They are only external evidence of the latter’s activity, from which the norms themselves (that is, the ‘instructions’ which yielded those regularities) are still to be extracted” (Toury 1999:15). The second indicator of norms is sanctions. According to Popitz (2006:69), sanctions validate the very existence of a norm and are employed if there are deviations from expected behaviour. A third indicator is the association with orders and imperatives (Eichner 1981:43). Social norms represent a class of speech acts which changes the behaviour of the people to whom it is directed in an immediate and observable way, and the regular frequency of such speech acts within a social system can be considered evidence of norms. The last indicator listed by Eichner (1981) is what he describes as behavioural predicates: the application of certain labels such as good, bad, adequate or inadequate to human behaviour or its products constitutes evidence of the operation of norms. Thus, quality evaluation in the fields of written translation, audiovisual translation or interpreting may be regarded as a norm-governed process. This holds true for the professional as well as pedagogical contexts. Through feedback, students internalize the translational norms governing the profes-

sion at any given time: “Learning to translate means learning to operate the norms of translation, i.e. to operate with them and within them” (Hermans 1996a:34).

Sources and classifications of norms

Toury (1980, 1995/2012) identified two main sources for the extraction of norms. Textual sources consist of the translation(s) under analysis; extratextual sources encompass critical and theoretical discourses about the translated texts and about translation in general. Prescriptive statements and critical comments by translators, editors, publishers and translation critics, which take various forms such as forewords, reviews and blurbs, are all examples of extratextual sources for the extraction of norms, as are the metatexts or discourses generated by professional associations in the field (Zwischenberger 2015).

Various types of norms have been identified by translation studies scholars such as Toury (1995/2012) and Chesterman (1997a). Toury (1995/2012) distinguishes three types: preliminary norms, initial norms and operational norms. Preliminary norms determine the choice of texts to be translated. Initial norms determine whether a translation orients itself towards the norms of the source or target cultures. While an adequate translation reflects source-culture norms, an acceptable translation orients itself primarily towards the norms of the target culture. This dichotomy of source- and target-norms orientation is also evident in Venuti’s concepts of foreignization and domestication (Venuti 1995b/2008). Finally, operational norms influence the concrete decisions taken during the translation process.

Chesterman (1993, 1997a) categorizes norms into four types, based on their respective underlying ethical values. These four types may be subsumed under two meta-norms: professional norms and expectancy norms. The latter refers to the expectations of users of translation services and is based on the principle of clarity, understood not just in a linguistic but also in an ethical sense. Chesterman (1997a:150) relates the principle of clarity back to Popper (1945/1962:307f.), according to whom clarity is

the basic principle of any rational communication. Thus, a translator is expected to communicate in a coherent way. Clarity is also a value closely related to the quality of a text itself. Professional norms, by contrast, are subdivided into the accountability norm, the communication norm and the relation norm. The relation norm is based on the ethical principle of truth. In order to be accepted by target readers, a translation must be assumed “to bear any kind of ‘true’ resemblance to the original (or the text in question will simply not be called a translation)” (Chesterman 1997a:151). The communication norm builds on the principle of understanding, which is closely related to the principle of clarity but also understood in terms of interpersonal relations. The accountability norm is firmly rooted in the ethical principle of trust. Trust is related to a translator’s loyalty towards the original author and her or his message. It is therefore also closely related to the principle of truth mentioned above. While loyalty is a requirement of translators alone, trust is an interpersonal value. The commissioner must trust the translator, and so must the original writer as well as the readers. Trust ultimately motivates loyalty: “one is loyal in order not to lose trust” (ibid.:153).

Descriptive and prescriptive approaches

Empirical research has traditionally focused on the descriptive and explanatory power of norms discovered through the analysis of authentic translations (Toury 1980, 1995/2012; Zanettin 2014c; Hu 2016). An alternative research strand relates norms to the concept of the translator’s habitus (Simeoni 1998; Sela-Sheffy 2005; Meylaerts 2008). Following Bourdieu (1977), habitus is understood as a set of dispositions that functions as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions, and thus ultimately also as a set of internalized norms. Simeoni (1998:33) emphasizes the inextricable link between norms and habitus, arguing that “norms without a habitus to instantiate them make no more sense than a habitus without norms”. While Toury’s (1995/2012) emphasis is on the structuring effect of norms on a translator’s output, a “habitus-governed account, by contrast, emphasizes

the extent to which translators themselves play a role in the maintenance and perhaps creation of norms” (Simeoni 1998:26). Simeoni argues that, over the centuries, the translatorial habitus has contributed to the internalization of submissive behaviour. Thus, translators have, by their own agency, created a situation of low social prestige for their profession. This account has been criticized for leading to what Sela-Sheffy has designated the “submissiveness hypothesis” (2005:7), which posits that there is a tendency for translators to conform to – rather than challenge – domestic literary norms. Both Sela-Sheffy (2005) and Meylaerts (2008) challenge this view and show that translators, particularly those belonging to so-called peripheral cultures, often break target-culture norms in order to transform literary canons.

Early research on norms in interpreting studies was mainly descriptive (Schjoldager 1995/2002); however, the work of Diriker (1999) and Zwischenberger (2013, 2015) also focuses on the actors behind the norms, more precisely, on the prescriptive aspect of norms as determined by single actors and authorities. From a prescriptive perspective, norms can be understood as a kind of grammar of social interactions. Like grammars, norms specify what is acceptable within a group or society (Bicchieri 2006). Diriker (1999, 2003, 2004) was the first to investigate meta-discourses on interpreting generated by interpreting scholars, trainers, practitioners and in media reports. Diriker (1999, 2004) linked these discourses to norms and argued that they often constitute highly prescriptive statements regulating the behaviour of the interpreter and the profession, and as such must be understood as norm-setting rather than neutral accounts. Zwischenberger (2013) followed this strand of research and described quality in interpreting as a norm-governed social construct which is built on highly prescriptive expectations. In Zwischenberger’s model, norms serve as mediating constructs between quality and the various roles performed by the interpreter. On the basis of an extensive web-based survey among conference interpreters worldwide and examination of meta-texts produced by the highly influential International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC), Zwischenberger (2015:107f.) concluded that the norm of “interpreters as conduits”

is a “supernorm” which governs the entire field of conference interpreting.

Research on norms in audiovisual translation has been mainly descriptive (Karamitroglou 2000, 2001; Pedersen 2007, 2011). Pedersen (2007, 2011) worked with a substantial corpus of films and TV programmes filmed originally in English and featuring Danish and Swedish subtitles. The main focus was the textual norms underlying the translation of extralinguistic cultural references. Norms can also determine non-textual aspects of the subtitles, such as subtitle density, expected reading speed and condensation rate (*ibid.*). Karamitroglou (2000, 2001) also situates the concept of norms in AVT on a concrete and practical level, describing the choice of subtitling as opposed to other modes of film translation as a dominant norm in Greece, and proceeds to investigate deviations from this norm. Other descriptive research has looked at features of dubbed language and their underlying norms, which are situated at the intersection of target-language norms, target-language orality, source language interference and the use of formulaic language (Chaume 2004a; Chiaro 2005; Gottlieb 2001a; Pavesi 2008).

The role of norms and norm-setting authorities

Norms fulfil key functions within a society. Their adoption offers a community certain benefits, and the more people benefit from a norm, the more likely and the more strongly they will sanction deviance from it (Horne 2001). One of the main functions of social norms in general consists in relieving people from the burden of having to make ad hoc decisions, hence making their lives easier. According to Popitz (2006:64), this is achieved in two ways. Firstly, norms prevent people from constantly having to devise new ways of dealing with recurrent situations. Secondly, norms prevent people from acting arbitrarily, and this makes their behaviour more predictable. Chesterman (1999), however, points to another important function of norms, which is to promote values and the ideologies related to them. This means that a translation can never be a mimetic representation of its original and the differences between a source text and its translation reflect different values and ideologies, with

norms acting as the driving force behind these values and ideologies, as well as mediating them (Hermans 1999a). Norms also have the capacity to avoid externalities i.e., negative effects which come from outside a group and are caused by a certain behaviour. In this respect, it is important to point out that norms are created only from behaviours that create externalities for an entire group, not an individual (Horne 2001:9f.). Translators may thus follow certain norms in order to avoid negative sanctions for themselves and ultimately the entire profession.

Norm-setting authorities such as publishers, editors, translation critics and professional associations also need to be investigated to allow us to understand how norms work (Zwischenberger 2016). One of the most powerful norm-setting authorities in the field is the prestigious International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC), which has produced many normative metatexts on interpreting and interpreters, such as its Code of Professional Ethics (AIIC 2018). Zwischenberger (2016) considers how the metatexts produced by AIIC are reproduced and used as a reference point by the language services of large international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union. Such prescriptive metatexts are directed towards members of the organizations that adopt them, other professional interpreters, aspiring interpreters, as well as potential clients of interpreting services. The purpose of adopting such norm-setting metatexts is to inspire trust.

Research on audiovisual translation largely focuses on the descriptive aspect of norms, with many studies examining regularities of behaviour in the choice of strategies for dealing with phenomena such as cultural references (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993; Pedersen 2007, 2011) and linguistic varieties (Ramos Pinto 2016, 2018; Brenner and Helin 2016). Very few studies have focused on the prescriptive function of norm-setting authorities. Pedersen (2007, 2011) examined subtitling companies and their well-guarded in-house guidelines, as well as professional associations such as the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (ESIST) and individual pioneers in the field as norm-setting authorities (Pedersen 2007:49). These guidelines are practical in nature: for example, they specify the maximum number of characters per line, demand the use of simple syntactic units and stipulate that each subtitle should be syntactically

self-contained (ESIST 1998; Ivarsson and Carroll 1998). Zwischenberger (2015:94ff.) also argues that influential individual pioneers such as Andronikof (1968), the first president of AIIC, and Seleskovitch (1968), one of AIIC's cofounders and first general secretary, have helped professionalize conference interpreting and have acted as norm-setting authorities. AIIC's current prescriptive metatexts on interpreting and the professional interpreter continue to echo the principles outlined in Seleskovitch's *theorie du sens*, according to which the interpreter's task simply consists of understanding the sense inherent in the original and transposing it without any loss.

Related concepts

The concept of norms has also been defined in relation to other concepts such as idiosyncrasies, conventions, rules, decrees, laws and universals. Toury (1995/2012:54) describes norms as situated on a scale between the two extreme poles of absolute idiosyncrasies and absolute rules. Nord (1991) places norms between the two poles of conventions and rules. According to Hermans (1991:162), norms have their roots in conventions. Both are based on shared knowledge and a pattern of mutual expectations, but “[n]orms differ from conventions in that they tell individual members of a community not just how everyone else *expects* them to behave in a given situation, but how they *ought* to behave” (Hermans 1996a:30; emphasis in the original). Particularly powerful norms grow in prescriptive power and may then develop into rules. Rules are strong norms which are usually institutionally anchored and posited by an authority (ibid.:31). When the pressure exerted by a rule becomes the only reason for the adoption of a certain behaviour then the rule becomes a decree (ibid.:32).

Translation universals may be regarded as general, all-encompassing tendencies. Unlike norms, translation universals are thus not culture-bound phenomena; they are regarded as valid across languages and cultures. Research on translation universals was initiated by Baker's (1993) seminal article, where she describes a number of features that typically occur in translated rather than original texts and are not caused by source language interference, and that can be researched in large electronic corpora. Baker herself, however, later “wondered whether the term was felicitous at all” (Mauranen and

Kujamäki 2004:2), opting instead for “distinctive features of translated text” (Baker 2007b:11).

Translation universals have become a major area of research (Mauranen and Kujamäki 2004; Olohan 2004; Hu 2016). For example, Blum-Kulka's (1986:19) “explicitation hypothesis”, which predicts a rise in the level of explicitness in translated texts and written texts of second-language learners, was later confirmed in studies by Shlesinger (1989b, 1995) and Olohan and Baker (2000). Normalization, which involves conforming to the typical patterns of the target language, is attested in the work of Vanderauwera (1985) and Kenny (1999). It was, however, Toury (1980, 1995/2012) who first saw the need to initiate research into universal features of translated texts, long before the advent of corpus-based translation studies. Toury conceptualized the phenomenon as translation laws, rather than universals, arguing that the concept of laws allows for exceptions (2004). Toury (1995/2012:265ff.) formulates two laws, which have to be derived from actual translation behaviour and which need to be expressed in a conditional form that signals the relationship between behaviour and constraints: *if X, then the greater/the lesser the likelihood that Y, where Y stands for the observed behaviour and X refers to the constraint on that behaviour*. Toury's law of growing standardization is the law of conversion of textemes into repertoremes. The law refers to the loss of source language variations and features and the tendency to adapt the translation to target-culture norms. His second law of interference refers to the transfer of phenomena pertaining to the make-up (such as syntax) of the source text through translation. Toury's laws are very broad and include many of the features studied as universals of translation.

Criticism

Despite its popularity, the concept of norms has received some criticism. Baker (2007a), for example, critiques the overemphasis on repeated and systematic behaviour and the ensuing privileging of strong patterns of socialization. Individual and small group attempts to undermine dominance, she argues, may often be overlooked through an emphasis on norms as regularities of behaviour, rendering the concept restrictive

in case studies of political resistance (ibid.:152). Baker also critiques norm theory for failing to recognize the interplay between dominance and resistance, and the intricate negotiation of spaces in which strong norms may be broken in specific political and social contexts (ibid.:152).

Crisafulli (2002) argues against the descriptivists' insistence that norms are purely explanatory tools and that the concept of norms is a purely descriptive category. No description can ever be neutral or value-free, he suggests, and "no descriptive framework of analysis is immune to interpretive bias" (ibid.:32). There still exists no uniform or consensual definition of norms. Indeed, there is only a cluster of characteristics that any norm can display to a greater or lesser extent (Bicchieri and Muldoon 2011:5). It is, however, possibly this semantic openness of the concept, which is common to all social constructs, that lends it its power and accounts for its success in translation studies and beyond.

See also:

DESCRIPTIVE TRANSLATION STUDIES; FIELD THEORY; POLYSYSTEM THEORY

Further reading

Hermans, T. (1996) 'Norms and the Determination of Translation. A theoretical framework', in R. Álvarez and C.-A. Vidal (eds) *Translation, Power, Subversion*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 24–51.

Provides a sound overview of norms in translation, their ways of operating and their origins, and outlines the differences and similarities between norms and related concepts such as conventions or rules.

Schäffner, C. (ed.) (1999) *Translation and Norms*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Includes a detailed discussion of norms from a variety of perspectives and by a number of important scholars, including Gideon Toury and Andrew Chesterman. Contributions are structured as debates with responses.

Zwischenberger, C. (2015) 'Simultaneous Conference Interpreting and a Supernorm that Governs It All', *Meta* 60(1): 90–111.

Argues, on the basis of a large-scale survey, that 'interpreters as conduits' is a supernorm that applies beyond conference interpreting and points out contradictions and adverse effects for the profession.

CORNELIA ZWISCHENBERGER

Note-taking

The pioneers of note-taking for consecutive interpreting, spearheaded by Herbert (1952a), Rozan (1956) and Ilg (1988) from the University of Geneva, were practitioners and interpreter trainers who developed note-taking in response to having to "take down and translate verbatim speeches which occasionally lasted well over one hour" (Herbert 1978:6). The most systematic attempts at elaborating note-taking principles can be found in Rozan (1956) and Matyssek (1989). Rozan formulated a series of fundamental principles, namely the transmission of ideas rather than words; the systematic application of rules of abbreviation; the indication of logical links and cohesive ties, negation and emphasis; and the adoption of a message-oriented and visualizing layout through vertical structuring and indentation. Matyssek, inspired by Minyar-Beloruichev (1969), who developed a more symbol-oriented approach, advocated the use of hundreds of language-neutral pictographic symbols, the organic development of families of symbols from a common root, and the combination of symbols. Rozan's basic principles, however, have since formed the basis for Matyssek's as well as all other approaches.

With the exception of the École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs (ESIT) in Paris, there is now widespread consensus in training institutions that principle-led note-taking relieves the burden on cognitive resources and enhances analysis and memory operations (Setton and Dawrant 2016a:143). Evidence from empirical studies involving interpreting students speaks in favour of acquiring efficient notation skills during training (Kalina 1998:182). Gross-Dinter's (2003) study of nine German-A and nine Italian-A students, six each from the second, third and fourth year in the conference interpreting programme, found that students who underwent systematic training in notation principles considerably outperformed those who did not. Detailed course descriptions and programme structures, methods and guidelines were developed in this spirit for both self- and taught study by Gillies (2005/2017), Dingfelder Stone (2015) and Setton and Dawrant (2016a, 2016b), among others.

Theory-building and empirical research

While there is a general consensus that notes are only “a means to an end” (R. Jones 1998:43) and that this end is efficient memory support, a number of language-related questions have become the focal point of controversial debate. These include how the message of the source text can be noted in a language-independent or language-neutral way, to avoid interference from source structures; whether notes should be taken in the source or target language; whether they should be taken in the interpreter’s A- or B-language; which parts of the source text must be noted down; and the extent to which abbreviations, pictographic signs and symbols might be used. A number of models have been developed and empirical studies conducted to answer these questions.

Seleskovitch (1975) was the first to conduct substantial empirical research on note-taking. Her data consisted of notes taken by 12 professional interpreters working into their native French during consecutive interpreting of seven-minute speech excerpts taken from two recorded English speeches, followed by retrospective interviews with the interpreters. Seleskovitch focused on meaning analysis and the role of memory and knowledge in the comprehension process, rather than on the particular methods and devices involved in note-taking. Her *théorie du sens*, or Interpretive Theory of Translation, viewed deverbilization as the core element in the interpreting process. Note-taking for consecutive interpreting was perceived as secondary, and even today the emphasis in interpreter training at ESIT, Seleskovitch’s home institution, is not on note-taking skills, but on the need for complete and instant dissociation of meaning from its linguistic form, and its automatic transfer into the target language based on the interpreters’ presumed comprehensive mastery of their working languages (Ito 2017).

To support her theory, Seleskovitch constructed an abstract distinction between “note idéique” and “note verbale” (1975:18–25, 32). The latter refers to the small number of “signe[s] appartenant à un code” (transcodable items such as numbers, names, lists and technical terms), and the former to “signe[s]

aide-mémoire” (1975:99), which account for a large proportion of items that are noted down but are not part of a linguistic code. These are perceived as non-linguistic memory triggers. Her somewhat paradoxical assertions that abbreviated forms of words (which she identifies in her data) are nonlinguistic memory cues (Albl-Mikasa 2017b:95) and that entirely deverbilized meaning is processed not only mentally, but also given material form in an interpreter’s notes, are not revisited in later works (Seleskovitch 1988, Seleskovitch and Lederer 1989) given the findings of research in cognitive psychology in the 1980s.

Paradoxically, the most ardent proponents of ‘language-free’ note-taking, that is of deverbilized memory cues in Seleskovitch’s case and of language-independent pictographic signs in Matyssek’s, adopt a clear stance on the language to be used for notes: Matyssek opts for the mother tongue (1989:133, 138), Seleskovitch for the target language in training and a mixed code in professional assignments (1975:161–5). Various other authors have recommended one or the other, or a mixed approach (as discussed in Albl-Mikasa 2017b:74, Setton and Daurant 2016a:151). Empirical studies have been conducted against this backdrop of disparity of approach. Dam’s findings, based on Spanish-Danish/Danish-Spanish tasks performed by four students,

indicate that the choice of language in note-taking is governed mainly by the status of the language in the interpreters’ language combination, i.e. whether it is an A- or a B-language, and much less by its status in the interpreting task, i.e. whether it functions as a source or the target language.

(2004a:3)

Dam’s (2004b) study involving five professionals with the same-language pair demonstrated preference for the target language, in this case also the A-language. In Szabo’s (2006) study, student interpreters with Hungarian A and English B displayed a strong tendency to take their notes in English, irrespective of the direction of interpreting. Studies of students interpreting from Chinese into English and vice versa tend to find evidence in favour of the source language (Chen 2016). This suggests that an interpreter’s

language combination may play a part, as may his or her level of expertise. In terms of expertise, a shift in language preference from source to target language in a study involving three groups of beginner students, advanced students and professionals was observed by Abuín González (2012). Moreover, adopting a cognitive psychology perspective would shift the focus from a discussion of language choice being a question of language combination or directionality to the decision being based on minimizing the writing effort and maximizing the retrieval potential of the code used (Alexieva 1993). According to Someya, it seems plausible from a psychological perspective to assume that, in practice and in principle, notes are a mixture of source and target language, and some non-linguistic conventions. The source language, however, might function as the “base language”, because “it is more accessible than the TL, because the SL exists in a more activated state in the short-term memory in the interpreting context” (2017b:170).

Upon concluding a larger, video-based study (a rarity in the field), Andres cautioned against the traditional emphasis on language preference or the use of symbols, words or abbreviations (2002:249). Comparing the time-coded notes and transcribed video recordings of consecutive French-German performances by 14 professionals with those by 14 students, she placed the emphasis on process- and proficiency-related aspects. These include the impact of processing overload and insufficient attention resources on *décalage* or ear-pen span, as well as related consequences for target-language production, as observed among experts and trainees. Andres draws on Gile’s Efforts Model (2009b), which applies both to simultaneous and consecutive interpreting, and which has formed the theoretical basis for many investigations into note-taking performance. The model posits that note-taking is one of the basic efforts, or concurrent operations, that compete for the processing capacity available to the interpreter. The listening phase is broken down into listening, note production and a short-term memory effort, the latter involving the storage of information to be noted down, while the reformulation phase consists of note-reading in combination with a long-term memory effort for the retrieval of elements that could not be noted, and for speech production. According to

Gile (2001), note-taking, or the additional load induced by the slowness of writing, together with greater involvement of long-term memory are the two major differences between consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. Gile thus argues against the common didactic credo of making training in consecutive a prerequisite for training in simultaneous interpreting. Despite this, and the underrepresentation of consecutive interpreting on the market, he strongly advocates training in full consecutive with notes (Gile 2001). It is worth noting that in Lambert’s experiments, simultaneous speaking and listening in the simultaneous interpreting mode proved more disruptive than listening in silence during note-taking (Ilg and Lambert 1996:85).

Albl-Mikasa’s cognitive-linguistic model of consecutive interpreting (2007, 2017b) attempts to establish note-taking as a tailored personal language by conducting in-depth analysis of the means of expression used in notation. These are divided into the linguistic subsystems of lexis, syntax and discourse. Albl-Mikasa treats Matyssek’s language-independent note-taking approach as a pattern-based, combinatorial and recursive system of linguistic symbols, rather than a “third, pictorial code superimposed on language” (Ilg and Lambert 1996:78). Note-taking is then reconceptualized as a process of notation text production and reception, albeit one that bears the hallmarks of an ancillary and solipsistic text, due to its specific function and processing conditions. Another fundamental notation text characteristic is its outstanding degree of intertextuality, in that it exists only in interdependence with the source text or, more precisely, in conjunction with the cognitive model or mental representation created during the interpreter’s source-text comprehension process.

Albl-Mikasa draws on Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995) to examine the consecutive interpreting and note-taking performance of five students of differing levels of advancement. She identifies the notational strategies involved in the source reduction process during notation text production (namely ellipsis, restructuring and high condensation), as well as those exhibited in the notation text expansion process during target-language production, involving linguistic and knowledge-based restitution. This

leads her to conclude that a notation text is one of three highly interdependent texts: the original source text, the reduced and mixed-code notation text, and the re-expanded target text. Relevance Theory-based analysis and a comparison of the three juxtaposed texts from each student performance as well as of examples from the specialist literature (Albl-Mikasa 2008) support the observation that notations follow along the lines of the source text's micropropositions. Both theoretical considerations and practical demands point in the same direction: explicature-based micropropositional – rather than holistic, macropropositional – note-taking is less capacity consuming, carries less risk of information loss and is conducive to detailed recall; it is also more in line with the interpreting-specific task demand of complete delivery and the re-textualization of standard or key expressions. Task-specific, linear micropropositional re-textualizing also explains why Albl-Mikasa is sceptical about suggestions of mind-map-oriented note-taking (Ilg and Lambert 1996). Finally, micropropositional note-taking is supportive of memory operations in that retrieval depends on an (at least partial) match between encoded items and retrieval cues. Albl-Mikasa concludes that note-taking is teachable: it is regular, productive, pattern or rule based and allows for the extrapolation or expression of concepts that have not been noted before on the basis of combinations of notational features and elements.

The concepts of notation as language and micropropositional note-taking are also reflected in the literature on training. Gillies (2005/2017) makes the SVO unit or subject-verb-object group the basic unit for note-taking. Setton and Dawrant (2016a:139) distinguish “the ‘syntax’ of the system” (layout, subordination, cross-reference, verticalization, indentation) from its “lexicon” (cue-word selection, simplification, abbreviation, symbols). In empirical research, Someya (2005, 2017b) proposes a propositional representation theory of consecutive notes and note-taking which is tested on four professional Japanese-A interpreters in an English-Japanese consecutive interpreting task. Based on the assumptions that the proposition is a basic schema of human cognition and that the mental representation of a given text is constructed as a ‘Dynamic Propo-

sitional Network’, he proposes a revision of the standard Predicate-Argument schema to account for an interpreter’s understanding of the text. In a step-by-step analysis, he demonstrates how this schema allows the interpreter to directly map the basic grammatical and informative structures of the original text in his or her notes without interrupting the natural flow of speech. The results of Someya’s video-recorded study suggest that notes are text based (2017c:196) and that the proposition is their basic unit in that they are organized along the theme-rheme continuum (2017c:202–6). By contrast, “deverbalization occurs, if it occurs at all, as part of interpreter’s [sic] coping strategy” (2017c:207). Someya concludes that note-taking training should aim at the acquisition of cognitive, notational and linguistic-pragmatic skills. Cognitive and notational skills aim at supporting propositionalization and internal mental representation, and at the efficient proposition-based notation of source-text information, in addition to serving as an internal and external memory support for linguistic-pragmatic skills, leading to a pragmatically acceptable target-language rendition.

Albl-Mikasa’s Heidelberg School-based approach differs fundamentally from that of Seleskovitch and the Paris School (Setton and Dawrant 2016b:201–5). Her cognitive-linguistic model and Someya’s propositional representation theory stress the text-based nature of notes along micropropositional (Albl-Mikasa) or theme-rheme-based (Someya) lines, with only exceptional traces of deverbalization (Someya 2017a). By contrast, Ito (2017) argues in favour of the deverbalization approach, though on the basis of the performance of one student. Kintsch’s (1998) distinction between the text base (mental representation of the text’s surface structures and propositional elements) and situation model (the non-verbal representation of the text world) is taken by Ito to be “basically comparable to the cognitive model” of the Paris School, and thus to support the idea of deverbalization (Ito 2017:47). The same distinction provides the foundation of Albl-Mikasa’s assertion that capacity-demanding processing at the highest level of the situational (or mental) model depends on a great number of situational and individual factors, and that shifts in coherence-building between word- and meaning-based levels are therefore the norm, and deverbalization the exception in interpreting (processing).

Future directions

The extended cognition approach, which assumes that “all the remembering, processing, and monitoring is [not] done in the head, since major parts of this seem to be shifted to bodily movements, spatial organization, and interaction with artefacts” (Risku 2014:349), may prove helpful in specifying the relationship between internally and externally memorized and represented information. Applied to note-taking, it means that parts of remembering and monitoring are outsourced to the notepad, and that note-taking cannot be seen as a superimposed technique, artificial code or memory trigger, but must instead be considered an integral, embodied part of self-organizing of cognitive processes which extend beyond the brain. Context- and path-dependency are inherent to embodied cognition, which means that each act of interpreting depends as much on the social and physical environment as on the individual’s history of learning and practice, and the cognitive and situational dynamics of the particular processing moment in time. Making decisions on what to note down may be only intermittently a conscious process, with one’s self-organizing system potentially finding variable and changing ways to reduce the cognitive load under particular circumstances.

One emerging and under-researched issue concerns training for non-conference settings in skills such as “text analysis, adaptation to different interpreter roles and requirements, flexible note-taking, [and] turn management” (Kalina and Ahrens 2010:152; Schweda-Nicholson 1990). The specifics of note-taking are yet to be worked out in view of the particular demands of – often bidirectional and interactive – medical, legal and other community interpreting settings, before they can be integrated into regular and specialized training courses. It may be important, for instance, to put greater emphasis on the pragmatic dimension, given the natural tendency by trainees not to incorporate “directive and procedural elements in speech, like *but, after all, let’s remember*” into their conceptual and then material representations (Setton 1999:92). Similarly, in medical interpreting, hedges and phatic expressions are often omitted despite their importance for therapeutic purposes (Albl-Mikasa et al. 2015).

Finally, note-taking research must address technology-assisted consecutive interpreting. High-performance digital recording devices for mobile use could challenge the classic consecutive technique in that “storage of the original message in the interpreter’s long-term memory and notes is replaced by a digital recording of the original speech, which the interpreter then plays back into earphones and renders in the simultaneous mode” (Pöchhacker 2007c:102). Technology also assists research and training (Orlando 2015). Livescribe Smartpens, which work on special microchipped paper, record notational movements across the page as well as the synchronized source language sound, capturing the dynamics of the note-taking process. Video recordings of the notes and audio recordings of the source speech allow the note-taking process to be played back and provide insights into any adjustments made to notes. Replaying the corresponding source-text segments also allows for an analysis of the ear-pen span. This, in turn, facilitates the assessment of the progressive acquisition of note-taking skills. Analyses of this kind should offer insights into effective cue selection and the interdependence between product (notes) and process (memory- and analysis operations).

Technology may also fill a major research gap by supporting corpus-based analyses of notes (Kellet Bidoli 2016:160). Setton and Dawrant note that

in over 60 years of formal conference interpreter training, no-one has yet assembled a corpus of recordings of authentic speeches and their actual live interpretations by master interpreters together with their original consecutive notes and self-commentary on the note-taking devices and conventions employed.

(2016a:171)

Product- and process-based studies based on a corpus of notational recordings may provide empirically informed answers to questions such as when and why a certain language is used; whether abbreviations and symbols are more difficult to note under pressure or help in overcoming comprehension difficulties; and what differences exist between the note-taking behaviour of experts and trainees noting the same source text.

See also:

CONFERENCE AND SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING; COGNITION; PRAGMATICS

Further reading

Albl-Mikasa, M. (2017) 'Notation Language and Notation Text: A cognitive-linguistic model of consecutive interpreting', in Y. Someya (ed.) *Consecutive Notetaking and Interpreter Training*, London and New York: Routledge, 71–117.

Offers a detailed account of the traditional view of note-taking as a technique and the problems associated with it, as well as a theoretical framework for a cognitive understanding of the processes involved.

Chen, S. (2016) 'Note-taking in Consecutive Interpreting: A review with special focus on

Chinese and English literature', *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 26: 151–171.

Summarizes the main empirical studies on note-taking.

Dam, H. V. (2007) 'What Makes Interpreters' Notes Efficient? Features of (non)efficiency in interpreters' notes for consecutive', in Y. Gambier, M. Shlesinger and R. Stolze (eds) *Doubts and Directions in Translation Studies. Selected contributions from the EST Congress*, Lisbon and Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 183–198.

Discusses the central questions of the traditional approach to note-taking on the basis of empirical data.

MICHAELA ALBL-MIKASA



Online and digital contexts

The terms online and digital are not synonymous. Online applies to any type of activity that is networked or connected through the Internet, specifically Web 2.0 – the “social web” that makes it possible to “us[e] the internet to enact relationships rather than simply share information” (Zappavigna 2012:2). Digital refers more specifically to the technologies that have progressed from analogue circuits, which account for most of the technology with which we interact today, for instance tablets, smart phones, interactive smart walls that create immersive experiences and spaces, and 3D printers. Not all mobile or digital technologies are necessarily online: for instance, a reader can peruse a webzine or e-book using a reading tablet but the device may not be connected to the Internet or be web-enabled as the user reads. Nevertheless, the two terms tend to be used interchangeably in translation research, making it difficult at times to classify research under either heading.

The term social media may warrant similar caution. It most commonly refers to online social media, which leverage digital technologies and usually require Internet/WiFi connection for optimized use; however, as Standage (2013) indicates in his account of the evolution of social media, media used in social settings or to support socializing are not new or specific to the digital age. Newspapers are social media in that they report social events and current affairs. Moreover, newspapers create a space in which readers are encouraged to socialize, for instance, by providing the opportunity to write and publish letters to the editor or to disseminate other types of social content, such as obituaries and wedding announcements. Littau

(2016b:908–909) thus argues that “digital media are second-order or meta media, repeating – that is, remediating – the outputs and tasks once conducted in other media”.

Terminology related to digital and online media and the realities it designates evolves rapidly. Terms that once designated a technological or online reality can quickly become obsolete or replaced by new terms, posing a challenge to research on or with new technology. This instability is not surprising given the speed at which technological advancement occurs and the relative lack of historical precedent for such exponential change. As soon as one concept or term gains currency, a new disruptive technology or new web-based development can bring about a whole new set of neologisms. Verbs such as *to Google* and *to Facebook* were once rejected by many but are now commonplace, and the overlap between mobile phones and cameras renders the two terms synonymous in many cases. Terminological research, which is a branch of translation studies, must keep apace. Web-based tools such as those listed by Folaron (2010) can be helpful in tracking new terms and usages; Desjardins (2013a) cites UrbanDictionary, an online and crowdsourced dictionary, as an example of user-generated content that can provide further support in this area.

Research themes and foci

The emergence of research interest in translation in online and digital contexts roughly coincides with the advent of Facebook, around 2006–2007. This research trend was anticipated and supported by an earlier body of work that engaged with the implications of digital technology and the web, including research on the localization of websites and software (Schäler 2010; Pym 2011c; Jiménez-Crespo 2013b;

Dunne 2015). Nevertheless, the two strands of research remain distinct. As Cronin (2003:63) points out, localization is a “corporate linguistic response” aimed at satisfying market demands. Web-based and social media-based translation activity is not always commercially motivated; in many instances, user-generated content (UGC) is produced by individuals with no corporate or commercial connection or motivation. Users on Instagram and Facebook, for instance, may translate their own photo captions and status updates in order to reach a multilingual audience of (close) friends and family members. Studies on this particular type of self-translated UGC are rare, although Desjardins (2013a, 2017) investigates some user motivations, with later work (Desjardins in press) proposing a taxonomy of social media-based self-translation.

Desjardins (2017) offers an initial categorization of research that attempts to account for the intersection of translation and online contexts/digital technology. The six categories she proposes cover crowdsourced translation, which overlaps with but is distinct from collaborative translation, as discussed by O’Brien (2011), Jimenez-Crespo (2013a) and Desjardins (2017); translation and activism; translation and crisis management; professional translation and the impact of the web, digital mobility and social media, including the impact of crowdsourcing, online behavioural economics and translator status; fan translation, including the online practices of fansubbing, fandubbing, rewriting and the role social media play in these contexts and practices; translation quality assessment, user feedback/assessment and social media monitoring.

Crowdsourced translation projects such as Wikipedia have been critiqued for the dissonance observed between their declared objective of supporting linguistic diversity and the realities revealed upon close scrutiny of their language practices. Research indicates that linguistic asymmetries found elsewhere in the exchange of cultural and knowledge capitals (Brisset 2008; UNESCO 2009) also exist on these platforms, in part due to the language expertise and demographic profiles of ‘the crowd’. McDonough Dolmaya’s (2017) study of Wikipedia concludes that translation activity primarily flows from major languages such as French and German and that recourse to English as a *lingua franca*

and pivot language dominates on the platform. Research on participatory knowledge production, for instance in the field of citizen science, has rarely addressed the import of crowdsourced translation head on, alluding instead to linguistic diversity as an ideal to achieve, which recalls discussions on the importance of diversifying STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) demographics. Research on online translation flows can tell us not only how translation can and does impact online knowledge dissemination, but also how other fields largely ignore the role translation plays in this context, and simply assume that language diversity occurs as an obvious by-product of the plurivocality and nationless character of the web. Similar studies on translation flows in Wikipedia include H. Jones (2018) and Shuttleworth (2018b). This body of work points to the need for further studies on translation flows in online and digital contexts, to examine how participatory knowledge is construed, not only after the fact, but as part of an evolving, real-time process.

The revolutions that took place at the start of the second decade of the twenty-first century – in Tunisia, Egypt, Spain, Canada, Iran and other countries – are distinct in their motivations and demands, but they all leveraged, to different degrees, mobile and digital technologies as well as social media to pursue their activist agendas. Howard and Hussain argue that while discontent was brewing for years in North Africa and the Middle East, it was the wider-spread use of mobile phones and easy access to the web that allowed oppositional groups to grow and reach a wider public. These media, they assert, “were singularly powerful in spreading protest messages, driving coverage by mainstream broadcasters, connecting frustrated citizens with one another, and helping them to realize that they could take shared action regarding shared grievances” (2011:41). Translation played an important role in all these developments. Baker’s (2016a) study of subtitling in the Egyptian Revolution analyzes the work of two activist collectives, *Mosireen* and *Words of Women* from the Egyptian Revolution, which posted documentary videos on YouTube. Baker found that while the filmmakers were aware of the importance of translation in making their documentary output accessible to an international audience, translation remained somewhat of an afterthought for them. At the

same time, subtitlers themselves were not proactive in either collective and at times tended to “prioritise semantic content over nuances of register” and to “focus on the core message of the speaker and ignore the specificities of their individual voice” (ibid.:11). Focusing a different platform, Colón Rodríguez (2013, 2016) and Desjardins (2017) examine the role played by social media in the Printemps Érablé (Maple Spring) movement in Canada, one of whose objectives was to counter mainstream Anglophone media interpretations and translations of student uprisings and protests in Québec in 2012. Primarily mobilizing Tumblr, a microblogging social networking website, the collective sought to provide its own English translations of Francophone media reports, claiming that its versions (translations) corresponded more accurately to the reality of the events and messages associated with student demands and protests, which were related to rising tuition costs and access to postsecondary education. By offering a more nuanced, plurivocal (Nappi 2013), multilingual and translated account of the student protests, the Printemps Érablé protesters effectively slowed down and disrupted media coverage and the debate related to these events. Colón Rodríguez’s (2013, 2016) work highlights the crucial role translation can play in forcing power structures to acknowledge local experiences and understandings. Pérez-González’s (2010) study focuses on political blogs and examines how lay, untrained translators contribute to anticapitalist discourses and structures by drawing on their linguistic and mediation skills to engage a wider circle of activists. His analysis engages with the comments attached to a political blog published by a Spanish journalist on a broadcast interview with the former Spanish Prime Minister Aznar, aired in English on *HARDtalk*. This case study demonstrates how fluid networks of engaged, untrained translators can emerge over time through dynamic processes of contextualization in online spaces. Sadler (in press) offers an extended analysis of translation practices on Twitter during the 2013 military intervention in Egypt, demonstrating that bilingual Twitter users adopted various strategies to translate both their own tweets and those of others, and that “a significant subset of tweets were oriented towards conveying the affective, bodily aspect of the period, rather than linguistically mediated meaning”.

O’Brien (2016) uses the umbrella term crisis communication to encompass conflicts, disasters, emergencies and other types of crises. Governments, non-governments organizations and other institutions increasingly mobilize digital technology and social media to communicate messages in crisis situations. The government of Canada, for instance, encourages citizens to register mobile information in order to ensure that they receive important alerts before or during a natural disaster or civil unrest (Government of Canada 2016); this service is offered in English and French, revealing the presence of a hidden translation activity. Federici (2016:2) observes that crisis communication necessarily involves recourse to mediation, both cultural and linguistic; and yet, although planning, preparedness, training, resilience and crisis management are all central topics in crisis communication literature and research, intercultural, and by extension interlinguistic, communication receives no attention (ibid.:5). Similarly absent from the research agenda is the interconnectedness of mobile telephony, data analytics, translation/interpretation and crisis management, though all are leveraged by NGOs and other institutions to manage different kinds of emergencies. For the most part, research on the use of computer-assisted machine translation in crisis situations tends to follow mainstream debates on reliability, accuracy and the potential threat to professional translation. Other concerns include whether translators (and other mediators) are adequately trained to use the relevant technologies, and how translation studies might contribute to developing coherent and cohesive crisis communication plans across social media platforms. Very few studies have addressed these issues. Sutherland (2013) examines crowdsourcing translation during crises, focusing on the use of mobile telephony, SMS and Twitter. O’Brien (2016) examines the role of translation in crisis communication more broadly, as well as the use of “translation-enabling technologies” (ibid.:92), and the importance of appropriate training in these contexts. One of the questions prompted by this research strand concerns the use of geolocation data: if translation flows for specific geographic locales could be mapped, these could be leveraged in crisis situations to determine which language

combinations are most needed and how interlingual communication flows between different language groups in the impacted locales, not only during crises but also as part of a preparatory strategy. Federici (2016), O'Brien (2016) and Sutherlin (2013) all address the importance of preparedness in relation to adequate translation resources and strategies in crisis contexts. This line of research also points to the relevance for translation research of the potential intersections of big data and social networking analysis.

In terms of professional blogging and social networking, the emphasis has been on how translators congregate in online contexts. McDonough Dolmaya (2011c) examines how professional translators blog about their work, working conditions in the industry and their uptake of new technology. Using content analysis, she analyzed 50 blogs between January 2009 and June 2009 and concluded that translator blogs as an object of study are particularly significant in the way that they help researchers map networked behaviour or perceptions, which could supplement existing research on the sociology of translation phenomena. Flanagan (2016) examines attitudes to crowdsourcing among professional translators based on an analysis of their blogs. Desjardins (2013a, 2017) argues that investigating how translators make use of professional networking sites such as LinkedIn can provide an opportunity to reexamine the dichotomy of translator and translation visibility vs invisibility (Venuti 1995b/2008). Because translators describe their own work and professional competencies on these sites – for instance, by using tags that identify skills, accreditation, professional rank and tasks – they are able to offer a more nuanced representation of the archetypal translator. These translator profiles then elaborate a counter-discourse to mainstream perceptions that translator competency rests exclusively on linguistic skills. Moreover, translator profiles on LinkedIn and other online professional networks are no less visible or invisible in online ecosystems than the profiles of any other professional group such as lawyers or doctors. If translators now enjoy as much agency in representing themselves as any other group of professionals, the assumption of invisibility needs to be revisited.

Social media provide a space for amateur and professional translators alike to participate in fan translation, dubbing and subtitling of content, and to discuss strategies and tools as they work collaboratively on a particular project. Users and fans are now increasingly taking to YouTube to discuss the translation, dubbing and subtitling of their favourite shows and series, prompting the creation of channels and vlogs on the subject. YouTube even provides its users with translation tools to “boost channel audience” (YouTube 2018), signalling that translation tools are not just useful for fans wishing to participate in the subtitling and dubbing process, but also for influencers and content-creators interested in discussions of fan translation and fan culture with wider audiences. Olohan (2014c) offers an extended analysis of the motivations of amateur translators who subtitle TED talks on YouTube. Of the various fan translation activities in online and digital spaces, fansubbing is the most extensively studied, and is the subject of a separate entry in this volume (O'Hagan 2008; Dwyer 2012; Pérez-González 2013a).

Translation quality assessment (TQA) has also been impacted by social media. Companies such as Microsoft and Facebook have integrated user-generated feedback tools that allow users to provide feedback on localized and translated content, whether this content is translated using automatic machine translation, crowdsourcing or individual/professional human translation. Facebook, for instance, has embedded automatic machine translation to allow users of the platform to translate their friends' multilingual content. If users wish to provide feedback on the quality of the translation, they can. In some instances, the feedback options are limited: users may be invited to click a ‘thumbs up’ or ‘thumbs down’ version, which does not say much about what the user deemed satisfactory or unsatisfactory. Other user-based TQA feedback options include filling out surveys, sent via email or accessed through a pop-up window; star rankings; and sentiment feedback, through ‘likes’ or keywords that indicate user appreciation such as “loved it” or “great translation”. Research linking TQA and machine translation/computer-assisted translations in online settings has been conducted by Anastasiou and Gupta (2011), García (2015) and Jiménez-Crespo (2015b). McDonough Dolmaya (2015) draws

on Mossop's taxonomy of editing and revising procedures to establish the extent to which crowdsourced translation by non-professional translators for Wikipedia displays transfer and language/style problems.

Future directions

One potential research strand that remains to be pursued involves comparing professional translator profiles across networking platforms, particularly between platforms that tend to be used more frequently in specific geographic locales or are frequented by specific networks of professionals. For instance, research could examine whether translators represent or describe their work similarly on LinkedIn compared to ProZ.

Other future research avenues include using social network analysis and network analyzer tools to map communities of translators on social platforms; investigating how and to what extent specific YouTube influencers leverage translation tools in the creation and curation of their content; comparative analyses across different audiovisual platforms of social media to establish, for instance, whether there are differences between digital-born content on different platforms such as Instagram, Snapchat or YouTube; and extended comparative analyses of commercially created subtitled or dubbed content and social media-based fan translations.

Perhaps one of the most fundamental questions to be explored as social media continue to evolve is their impact on our understanding of multilingual and cross-cultural communication and translation. Online content, user-generated content and social media blur the lines between source and target content, amateur contributions and professional work, paid labour and volunteer or fun labour (Desjardins 2017; Fuchs 2017). They operate within the borderlessness, nationlessness and plurivocality of digital spaces. This ambivalent, ever-changing environment provides some of the most theoretically disruptive avenues for future research connecting digital technology, mobility, social media and translation.

See also:

ACTIVISM; COLLABORATIVE TRANSLATION; CROWDSOURCED TRANSLATION; FAN AUDIOVISUAL

TRANSLATION; MEDIA AND MEDIALITY; SEMIOTICS; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Further reading

Cronin, M. (2013) *Translation in the Digital Age*. London: Routledge.

Examines translation, digital technologies and their joint histories, and addresses key issues relating to the impact of digital technology and the Internet on translation.

Desjardins, R. (2017) *Translation and Social Media: In theory, in training and in professional practice*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Offers an overview of research on translation and social media and provides novel examples that connect the two areas of study.

Dwyer, T. (2012) 'Fansub Dreaming on ViKi: "Don't just watch but help when you are free"', in S. Susam-Saraeva and L. Pérez-González (eds) *Non-professionals Translating and Interpreting: Participatory and engaged perspectives*, special issue of *The Translator* 18(2): 217–243.

Examines amateur translation with specific attention given to fansubbing, raising questions related to legalization, linguistic justice and internationalization.

RENÉE DESJARDINS

Orality

Orality is as complex and hard to define as translation. It is a term that is used very expansively to describe a vast range of linguistic productions, often even as "a synonym for 'oral communication' or (even more narrowly) 'speech'" (McDowell 2012:169). While the following list of terms is by no means exhaustive, it indicates the complex, contested nature of orality as a term: aurature; ethnopoetics; folklore; oral art, culture, literature, tradition, text(s); oraliture; orature; non-literacy; verbal art and poetics. Each term has its own associations, and may be used in particular contexts to mark differing foci. For example, those working in folklore may treat orality as a "collectivity" which functions "as a repository of national heritage" (Dal Brun 2006:3). However, a scholar or translator working in ethnopoetics may see orality as a way "to hear and read the poetries of distant others, outside the

Western tradition as we know it now” (Tedlock n.d.; Rothenburg 1968), and hence examine the poetics of oral poetry alongside orality as a site of resistance, especially in colonial contexts. Still others in this area focus on how power structures try to co-opt and domesticate oral art (Mlama 1995). To make things more complex, many of the above terms have been challenged for varying reasons; for example, the term oral literature can be seen as restricting or oxymoronic; the same is true of oral texts. It is also problematic that many of these terms privilege the written text, hence coinages such as aurature and orature.

Just as coming up with a single definition and term to describe orality is difficult, so is defining what the term covers, and what marks oral forms of knowledge and oral societies. Goody defines an oral culture as a “culture without writing” (Halverson 1992:12), and distinguishes sharply between literate and non-literate societies. However, more recent discussions of orality are less categorical and argue that “oral and written discourse should be considered two extremes of a continuum that displays overlap” (Rosa 2015:211). Walter Ong, a foundational figure in the study of orality, divides it into primary and secondary to show the difference between orality in fully oral societies and in partially or fully literate societies. Primary orality here refers to specific ways of managing information, ways which are irrevocably wiped out with the acquisition of writing; secondary orality refers to the orality of telephones, radio, TV and other modes of modern communication which depend on literacy for their existence. A third concept, tertiary orality, has now been added to cover digital orality (Logan 2016:103). Uncomplicated examples of primary orality are hard to find, as most oral cultures have some contact with writing, even if it is not part of their tradition, and some in primarily oral societies will show some knowledge of writing, even if they are producing oral poetry: such is the case in the eighth-century Greek epic *The Iliad* which, despite depicting and being a product of an oral world, still mentions writing, though almost as a form of magic (6.102). Given that it is difficult to find purely oral societies (Ong 1982:11; Goody 1986:xii), the question is then one of degrees of difference on a sliding scale: from almost complete orality to nearly com-

pletely literate societies which, nonetheless, will feature significant oral elements such as radio, television, movies and podcasts. Today, many oral productions are part of the “communication explosion of the twentieth century” (Alexieva 1997:153), and orality is a concern in all societies and for most translators, not just those dealing with so-called ‘primitive’ or ‘primal’ cultures, or with mostly or completely oral societies. Lastly, orality can remain a key component of the culture of traditional societies, even when they are fully literate and producing texts that might appear to fit within the dominant norms of written culture. For example, Canadian “First Nation writers have used their orality to restructure the conventions of western literature” (Ridington 2001:224) by employing their own narrative technologies and oral traditions as they negotiate with settler culture, whether in texts or in courts of law dealing with land claims (ibid.:224–225).

History of the study of orality

Although orality has been a subject of interest in the European and Anglophone tradition at least as early as Plato (427–347 BCE), whose Socrates argued that writing distorted speech and corrupted memory (*Phaedrus* 274c–279c), the modern study of orality began with the examination of two eighth-century BCE Greek epics, Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Orality appeared as an English word in 1666 in a religious context, but that meaning changed radically in the 1760s, when ‘oral tradition’ appeared in a new secular sense, used in reference to early Homeric scholarship, as in Friedrich Wolf’s (1795) *Prolegomena to Homer*; it later began to be used for discussing other cultures and authors. A new stage of the study of orality, again focused on Homer, began in the early twentieth century. In the 1930s, Milman Parry and his student Albert Lord described and catalogued the mnemonic purposes of formulaic features in the composition of Homeric epic (oral-formulaic composition), by looking at contemporary modes of oral composition among Serbo-Croatian oral singers (Parry 1971). Parry died in 1935 but his work was continued by Lord (1960, 1991); others such as Havelock (1963, 1986) extended the work to the study of Plato and the impact of the acquisition

of writing in fourth- and fifth-century Greece. Parry, Lord and other scholars worked with comparative, living cultures, but their aim was to better understand a particular form of orality that only existed in centuries-old written documents. This has created its own issues, especially with the reification of Homer as the apex of oral literature (Foley 2014). Even in Homeric studies, Parry and others' claims about the oral nature of Homeric composition have been challenged (Sale 2001:64).

Much early work on orality and literacy focused "on differences and on change" (McDowell 2012:175). This has led to translations that attempted to highlight their difference from poetry produced in literate societies, retaining, for example, formulae that might have been excised in earlier translations. The practice was not new: it had already occurred in ancient Rome, where poets like Statius (first century CE) imitated Homeric formulae, despite writing in a literate milieu. This approach to orality worked within an evolutionary model, where orality was seen as a first stage that is overcome and left behind as a society develops. Such a view ignores important and numerous cases where orality and literacy are both significant to a society; a culture may be literate, as Pharaonic Egypt was, but keep that literacy within a small, priestly or professional class, thus allowing orality to play an important and valued cultural role alongside written texts. Ong's work and his distinction between primary and secondary orality still stands and is important, but his basic premises have been challenged. Ruth Finnegan, another important figure in the field, rejects the idea of a great divide between orality and literacy, pointing out that orality and literacy frequently appear alongside each other (1988; de Vries 2000). Those who work on biblical translation are particularly aware of this, and in contemporary scholarship the Bible is often understood as a product of a literate matrix, which nonetheless used a high degree of oral transmission and oral performance as a communicative medium (Carr 2005:5–27). Biblical translators and scholars have striven to outline the Bible's oral elements and situate it in historical and contemporary highly oral environments since Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig translated the Bible into German in the 1920s. At times this involves rearranging biblical stories to form a narrative,

or recording sections for parishioners to study by listening rather than reading the text, even though they may have access to the text and may be literate (West 2004; Draper 2004; Muller 2004; James and Nkadameng 2004).

Most importantly for translation scholars, studying orality requires significantly expanding the range of those we see as translators, and incorporating into discussions of translation and translators anyone involved in transcribing or recording oral performances (Finnegan 1988; Okpewho 1992). These activities constitute a type of translation that occurs before other forms of translation, whether or not alternative terms such as transcription or transmutation are used for the process of textualizing or contextualizing orality. Hence the term secondary translation is often applied to translations even from a text transcribed in its original language. A transcription may itself also be translated in part, sometimes out of a desire to either make the text seem more authentic, or to make it more accessible to those who might wish to access an archive but lack knowledge of the language or languages used by the speakers who feature in it (Elsadda 2016).

Recording may distort an original oral event. Even a modern recording device that may seem unobtrusive and neutral involves a process of selection in the choice of where it is positioned or how it is held. Recording also fixes a temporary performance, and may ignore how this performance is socially embedded in its cultural setting. Thus, new media platforms such as YouTube, which displace performances and divest them of their relationship with their immediate audiences, should be seen as unacknowledged translation mechanisms. Editing is also involved when non-verbal elements are elided in final or archived versions, although such versions are "an essential, not just a marginal part . . . of all oral performances" (Finnegan 1990:135). Collections of oral performances, testimonies and cultural knowledge – for instance, archives of rituals, botanical knowledge and the like – may group together objects that were not originally linked, or involve the state or institutions appropriating and gathering community material without consultation or consideration; this is particularly an issue in situations of unequal power and where the original ordering or recording of the material is lost. Transcribers and interviewers may

further influence oral testimony by shaping the discussion through posing certain questions or through the design of structured or semi-structured interviews. Some scholars have therefore argued that “we need more theoretical and methodological discussion of how to collect and assess personal reminiscences in societies that still retain collective oral traditions that pattern how people narrate their own lives” (Ranger 2003:230). Or, to put it slightly differently, “archives of oral histories, like museums, curate people” (Elsadda 2016:156), even when created by those within the society.

Certain attributes have been traditionally ascribed to both oral and literate societies in terms of the types of texts these societies produce and the forms of knowledge they can manage and transmit. For example, Goody and Watts (1963) argue that literacy is a necessary precondition for logical reasoning, and hence logical procedure was necessarily literate (Ong 1982:31–47); Goody (1977:49) has revisited this claim, arguing that writing “creates the possibility of what is almost a different kind of critical examination” to orality. However, while it may be that “in general, inconsistencies and contradictions are easier to detect in writing than in speech . . . much depends on the quality and content of particular discourse [*sic*] and attitudes of reception” (Halverson 1992:306). Many scholars have rejected the idea that literacy is a necessary precondition for complex thought or logical reasoning even in relation to ancient Greece (Nails 1995:179–191; Lloyd 1990:132–135), pointing out that audiences steeped in oral forms of discourse are capable of tracking complex arguments and noting inconsistencies even in performance. It is also a mistake to think of orality as producing simple or inchoate texts, as an oral performance can produce many elements that add extra complexity to the words spoken (Quayson 1995), making it even denser as a mechanism for transmitting information. Oral literature is not merely “folksy, domestic entertainment” but “a domain in which individuals in a variety of social roles articulate a commentary upon power relations in society and indeed create knowledge about society” (Furniss and Gunner 1995:1). While oral cultures and languages “without written script have little or no literary capital within the global marketplace” (Bandia 2008:2), translators and self-translators

should be wary of perpetuating this imbalance by adopting the same attitude to orality.

The intersection of translation and orality

Many scholars of orality see transcription or capture of an original performance as a primary form of translation. All other forms of translation are often considered secondary; no one works from the original source, because simply by inscribing it in some form the source has been changed. As such transcribers exercise enormous influence in terms of shaping and even distorting orality before it reaches the stage of interlingual translation. This also applies to members of colonial and indigenous cultures: an author who writes of their own culture and represents orality in a novel, for example, is performing an act of what Bandia has termed “postcolonial intercultural translation” (2008:3). Examinations of the intersection of translation and orality, such as those by Bandia (2008) and Mpe (1998), often deal with issues “related to the representation of otherness or alterity, marginalized identities, minority or subaltern language cultures in the context of interculturality and transnationalism” (Bandia 2008:216).

All this makes it problematic that much has been written on orality, but less on those who translate oral material, especially if we understand translation in its broader sense, to include a student transcribing an oral performance as part of their fieldwork or anonymous officials or travellers reporting encounters with oral societies over a range of historical periods. Some attention has been paid to older encounters and the circumstances under which information was collected or transcribed; for example, Filonova (2006) reexamines encounters in the 1780s between Russians and Alaskan natives, rereading narratives of indigenous surprise and befuddlement at the wonders of writing as nuanced and performative, and showing that Alaskans were well aware of what writing could do, despite not being themselves literate. Others have warned against taking at face value accounts of encounters between so-called oral societies that had their own systems of literacy and recording knowledge which did not match those of colonial powers in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries (Gérard 1990:47; Na'Alah 2010:37–54). In response to unease with the initial collection of material in these contexts, their translations and assumptions about oral literature as childlike, simple or naïve, translators have developed strategies to recontextualize textual versions of verbal art. Tedlock, for example, translated Zuni poetry using variation in typography, layout, capitalization, ellipses and different type sizes to represent features of oral performance, such as pauses and emphasis (1999; Rothenburg 1968; O'Neill 2013).

Among translation scholars, the question of orality has been addressed from different perspectives. In interpreting studies, Wurm (2014) argues that translation studies replicates older sharp divisions between orality and literacy. Scholars frequently divide interpreting studies and translation studies into two disparate areas, with the latter consistently privileging the written over the oral as a more complex phenomenon. Alexieva (1997:155) advocates a more nuanced understanding of interpreting events and the use of multiple parameters for evaluating and discussing them. One such parameter is how orality is culturally or academically perceived by a society, given that how an interpreter or their audience(s) view orality (or oralities) and its markers will influence their interpretation and the work they are expected to perform. Those negotiating initial encounters or encounters between unfamiliar groups in oral situations may find their role magnified and extended to more extensive acts of translation and mediation, especially when faced with competing or alien communicative strategies that require dense or thick interpretation of far more than the verbal elements (Appiah 1993). In practical terms this suggests that a description or discussion of any interpreting event should include the cultural context in which the audience, performer or larger social entity views the performance or activity. At the same time, this approach runs the risk of presenting oral cultures as “primitive cultures” and turning them “into exotic artefacts for Western consumption” (Bandia 2008:165). In the case of translation, as Bandia argues, extensive paratexts may undermine a creative work “by drawing attention away from the story line and directing it at sociological, anthropological or historical details, thus interrupting the smooth flow, or reading experience, of the text”

(ibid.:165). This risk is particularly evident in the case of some traditions and genres, such as early Native American literature, where discussions of “beauty, art, and aesthetics” are often omitted (Calcaterra 2014:499–516).

Future directions

The potential for engaging with orality in translation studies looks set to grow as new modes of orality continue to emerge, and as we approach what may be termed an age of tertiary orality. With increasing Internet connectivity and the rise of smart phones, a particularly rich and unstable intersection is developing between technology and hybrid visual-verbal forms of communication, even in traditional and long-established media such as newspapers. However, these forms of orality will not affect everyone equally. Access to technology and connectivity is geographically and economically constrained, and it may be that we will witness an increasing divide not only in forms of orality, but also how they are perceived. It is possible, for instance, that digital oral productions will acquire higher prestige than some traditional oral forms, and thus be ‘read’ differently. This has implications for interpreter-mediated events: if participants can record a speech and later check it, or even use their phones to check on language or the interpretation, this could constrain interpreters, who may find their authority increasingly challenged. The same applies to audiences at a performance, who may compare it with earlier recordings or even with another version by a different performer. None of these potential developments has been explored in relation to orality, although they have important implications for some areas such as audiovisual translation and sign language interpreting.

See also:

BIBLE, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; DUBBING; MEDIA AND MEDIALITY

Further reading

Bandia, P. (ed.) (2015) *Orality and Translation*, Special issue of *Translation Studies* 8(2).

A range of papers on different features of orality and translation from the Romans through to postcolonial studies.

Finnegan, R. (1990) 'What Is Orality – If Anything?', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 14: 130–149.

An excellent introduction to the issues involved in defining orality, with a particular focus on African oral poetry.

Hymes, D. (1965) 'Some North Coast Pacific Poems: A problem in anthropological philology', *American Anthropologist* 67: 316–341.

A classic case study that discusses the transcription and translation of Northwest Pacific Coast oral poetry in North America, but with implications for understanding this topic elsewhere.

Na'Allah, A.-R. (2010) *African Discourse in Islam, Oral traditions, and performance*, New York & London: Routledge.

A key reference that discusses oral literature on its terms, and in the light of European theory and poetics.

SIOBHÁN MCELDOUFF

Orientalism

Although in the fifth century BCE Herodotus described the world as divided into three parts – Asia to the east, Libya to the south and then Europe – the Orient, including all of Asia and Africa, has for much of history been known simply as the opposite of Europe. The rise of Islam and the expansion of Muslim rule in North Africa, Central Asia and Spain during the seventh and eighth centuries paved the way for the use of European as a racial and cultural concept to distinguish Christians from Muslims (Appiah 2016), and religious difference has since been a significant barrier between the so-called East and West. These two common terms are problematic, implying a geographic rather than cultural division, as well as a fixed rather than complex, dynamic relationship. European encounters with Asian religions – Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism, among others – laid the foundation for an entrenchment of Orientalism in the nineteenth century, when the term Orient grew to encompass lands further east from Europe, namely India and the Far East, owing to burgeoning interest in these civilizations (App 2010:xii–xiii). Through a large body

of writings about the Orient, Europe incrementally formed an identity that distinguishes itself decisively from the cultures of lands deemed different, strange and inferior; it is this discursive formation of texts that became a subject of study with the 1978 publication of Edward Said's groundbreaking *Orientalism*.

Central to the formation of Orientalist discourse is translation, which can be viewed as the first, crucial stage in the encounter between the West and its other. The promotion of religious causes required the translation of Oriental languages in Europe as early as the eighth century, when the Catholic Church began to study the languages of the Islamic world in order to thwart the Muslim advance. In the early thirteenth century, Dominican monk Raymond Penaforte founded the first formal school of Oriental languages, *Studia Linguarum*, in Tunis, with a mission to train interpreters in order to negotiate the release of Christian captives held along the North African coast (McCabe 2008:29). Conflict with Muslims led to Arabic becoming widely taught in Europe, and the study of Oriental cultures more broadly became increasingly popular in the sixteenth century, when Francis I entered into an alliance with the Ottoman Empire. The major breakthrough in translation from Arabic took place in 1647, with André du Ryer's French translation of the Qur'an (McCabe 2008:97). Jesuit missions significantly expanded the purpose of translation, with missionaries in different parts of the Orient carrying out a number of translation projects with the aim of converting locals to Catholicism. In the early seventeenth century, for example, Matteo Ricci and Michele Ruggieri helped translate the Four Books of Confucian classics into Latin, in the process converting Ricci's Chinese language assistant, Xu Guangqi (Blue 2001:49).

The religious motive transitioned to a more secular enthusiasm, especially in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the rising thirst for scientific knowledge. The Orient attracted not only men of faith but also adventurous travellers, fortune seekers, curious writers and non-Christian pilgrims. Antoine Galland's *Les mille et une nuits*, completed in 1717, caused a sensation across Europe not only as the first translation of non-religious Arabic tales, but also with its emphasis on exoticism and magical elements (Sallis 1999:49). Several other transla-

tions followed, most notably Richard Burton's *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885–1888), which despite huge commercial success has been criticized for its archaic language and erotic overtones (Marzolph 2004:507). The *Nights* translation phenomenon epitomizes an act of cultural mediation that functions to manipulate the reception of the translated subject. Translation here acts as the very means of representation allowing the West to recast the Orient to serve its own desires and ideology. The treatment of the East poses complex questions about the role of translation in representing the Orient in European languages given that, on the one hand, the East is inferior to the West, but on the other, its foreign and mysterious traits appeal to Europeans who find inspiration in cultures that are, as Said put it, “lamentably alien” (1978/1979:207). Arabs are portrayed as grossly misogynistic and barbaric, yet the exotic lands invite the West’s imagination beyond what can be realized at home: attraction and repulsion are simultaneously at work, with translation at the heart of this paradox.

Paradox and translation in Said's *Orientalism*

Drawing on Foucault’s approach to discourse, Said proclaimed Orientalism to be a textual construct: the Orient comes to be perceived as the opposite of the West because its difference is consistently reiterated in writings, paintings and music. Similar to Marx’s proclamation of the proletariat’s silence and oppression, the Orient is viewed as the product of hegemonic dominance that ensures it can never represent itself, but must instead be represented by the West (Said 1978/1979:289, 293). Said makes reference to a number of translations that have been influential in shaping the image of the Orient. Several concern spiritual pilgrimage; they include the *Bhagavad Gītā*, known as India’s Bible, and the *Upaniṣad*, which was read by Schopenhauer and influenced his philosophy of will (Wicks 2017). Others contain erotic elements, feeding into the conflation of the Orient and sex, as in the case of *Śakuntalā*, translated multiple times during the nineteenth century. Despite Said’s inescapable reliance on translated works, he mentions

translation’s critical role in recasting and positioning the Orient in only one passage:

The relationship between Orientalist and Orient was essentially hermeneutical: standing before a distant, barely intelligible civilization or cultural monument, the Orientalist scholar reduced the obscurity by *translating*, sympathetically portraying, inwardly grasping the hard-to-reach object. Yet the Orientalist remained outside the Orient, which, however much it was made to appear intelligible, remained beyond the Occident.

(Said 1978/1979:222; emphasis added)

Chittiphalangsri (2014:54) demonstrates how Said’s views on translation are grounded in the paradox of “inside and outside” – a concept Said borrowed from the sociologist Merton. No matter how hard the West tries to understand, to sympathetically get ‘inside’ the Orient, it can never transcend the barrier it imposes on itself and the East, and most Orientalists, despite their immense knowledge of the East, would themselves keep their distance from the Orient in order to maintain a superior position. Such was the case of Edward William Lane, who, despite living and dressing as an Egyptian, refused to enter a *mariage de convenance*, as local norms would demand, which would have mitigated the shame of remaining unmarried at his age. Lane ends this anecdote, recounted in his 1836 *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, emphatically, with a period and a dash (Said 1978/1979:163). The encounter between Lane the Orientalist and Egyptian customs is symptomatic of an act of Orientalist translation in which the moment of convergence is brief and almost impossible, exemplifying Said’s understanding of how translation functions to reduce the Orient’s obscurity and foreignness, while paradoxically demarcating the West from the East (Chittiphalangsri 2014:54).

The paradox also points to what can be viewed as two different modes of translation in Orientalism: the mode of representation in which the Orient is depicted and projected, despite its desirability, as strange and different from the West, and the mode of circulation in which only selective parts of the Orient are

disseminated, mainly to prove the West's control over the East and ensure its superiority.

Translation as mode of representation

Translation from the perspective of Orientalism is virtually synonymous with appropriation, or in Venuti's terms, domestication. Since Orientalism is about controlling the representation of the East, the translation strategy is one that allows the reconfiguration of those images the Orientalists wish to convey in European target languages. In many cases the original is adapted to conform to European literary and sociocultural norms, with a view to making it more palatable. William Jones's *Śakuntalā*, whose prose was celebrated by many of his contemporaries as reminiscent of a Shakespearean style (Thapar 1999:199), serves as a case study for the transformation of Indian texts. To translate the Sanskrit compound word *jaghanagauravāt*, literally 'by the heaviness of hips', which he felt too peculiar a description of the heroine for British tastes, for example, the translator carefully reformulated this as "by the weight of her elegant limbs", eliminating the more explicitly sexual reference (Thapar 1999:200–201).

Conversely, Orientalism is also said to be responsible for making the translated text strange and inaccessible, in other words, for explicitly foreignizing the Orient through translation. Given the progress in scientific learning, nineteenth-century Orientalists had the benefit of more advanced linguistic tools such as dictionaries and textbooks. The growing discipline of Orientalism also encouraged the application of science-oriented methods to translation, which was now treated as research, resulting in unsparingly literal translations, accompanied by copious notes and glossaries. Jacquemond terms this approach "the Orientalist paradigm", since such use of marginalia provides evidence that without Western intervention, the mysterious East would remain indecipherable (1992:149–50). This account resonates with Bolle, who criticizes earlier translators of the *Bhagavad Gītā* for tending to follow the Sanskrit grammatical structure so faithfully that

their renditions were illegible (1979:230). Bolle observes that

[i]t sometimes seems as if unconsciously the majority of translators, and some of the best translators part of the time, tried to make the Hindu look odd. Although it was not always done in the same spirit, the Hindus were depicted as members of another world – perhaps higher, perhaps lower than 'ours', but certainly different.

(1979:234)

It is therefore challenging to classify Orientalist translation as either domesticating or foreignizing, free or literal. Shamma (2009a:80) rejects the dichotomy, arguing that Venuti confuses strategy with effect: translation strategy is carried out on the textual level whereas the effect can be measured only in its sociopolitical and intercultural dimensions. Given that the conflict is not always obvious, the relationship between Orientalism and translation merits careful scrutiny, with some critics such as Carbonell i Cortés (1998:64–65) observing a tendency among translators to defamiliarize the Orient when encountering unfamiliar subject matter. Comparable to Venuti's foreignization, defamiliarization concerns how Orientalists preserve the Orient's exoticism, and may be conceived as a norm followed by those who feel such exoticism should be presented as discernibly foreign to the West. Carbonell i Cortés deems such an attempt at preservation a kind of rewriting in which distinctive features are introduced and incorporated as a norm into the target-language culture (ibid.:65). Chittiphalangsri, by contrast, proposes that Orientalist translation should be viewed as a process in which translation is transformed into a "sufficient proxy" (Chittiphalangsri 2014:55) – a surrogate of the Orient that is created through the Orientalist's mediation. This virtualization allows the West to produce a legitimate version of the Orient that is no different from the actual Orient, such that the European audience would have no need to access the original themselves in order to comprehend its strangeness (ibid.:58). This underscores the performative function played by Orientalist agency, which has tended to be overlooked since Orientalism is typically viewed as a form of textual

representation rather than the jostling among Orientalists for legitimacy in writing about the Orient. Weiss also criticizes Orientalism's theoretical underpinning, which overtly relies on what he calls the "archeological-genealogical" of Foucault and Said, hence treating Oriental texts as a fixed discursive entity (2004:11). Weiss argues that the fundamental role of translation in the confluence of East and West lies in its heuristic cognition and hermeneutical capacity, with the interpretive function of translation allowing a process of representation that is always emerging rather than arriving at the "closure of essence" (ibid.). Both Chittiphalangsri and Weiss view translation as a dynamic process in the representation of the Orient rather than a static textual depiction.

Apart from the connection between translation and different modes of translation, Orientalism also frames and represents translation itself in sexual terms that reflect its blinkered conception of the East and its own inherent sexism. As Said noted, if a group of ideas allowed one to separate Orientals from advanced, civilizing powers, and if the 'classical' Orient served to justify both the Orientalist and his disregard of actual, modern Orientals, latent Orientalism also encouraged a peculiarly (not to say invidiously) male conception of the world (1978/1979:207).

The exoticization and eroticization to which Eastern works of literature have been subjected in rewritings by the West largely accounts for their appeal. The encounter with radical alterity is not uncommonly linked with a "remarkably persistent motif in Western attitudes", namely the "almost uniform association between the Orient and sex" (Said 1978/1979:188). Unbridled sexuality remains a theme associated with Eastern works and one regularly exaggerated through their reception in the West. Henitiuk (2008, 2011) explores examples drawn from a wide range of Orientalizing translations, adaptations and imitations of texts by classical Japanese women writers. These provide evidence of how glaring instances of appropriation are readily legitimized when text and author can be classified as essentially Other in terms of gender as well as of race, language, culture and even genre. Works such as Murasaki Shikibu's *The Tale of Genji* or Sei Shōnagon's *Pillow Book* are encountered in versions by Arthur Waley, Edward Seidensticker and other male transla-

tors, often with paratextual matter such as prefaces and translator notes that undermine the Oriental woman as autonomous author. Each translation is reflective of its time and place, of prevailing attitudes toward the East and simultaneously has a significant impact on how Japanese culture circulates abroad. Male authority is ineluctably inscribed, especially when readings tend toward obtuseness or even hostility toward the work.

Translation as mode of circulation

Studying translation in the context of Orientalism also engages with the mode of circulation in which only selected translated works are deemed worthy of dissemination, either because they fulfil the West's expectations or, worse, because they reinforce stereotypes about the Orient to the benefit of the West. In his discussion of "latent Orientalism", Said argues that what maintains the power imbalance between East and West is the "absence" of the tangible, active Orient, an absence which allows the Orientalist to apply his expertise in rescuing the Orient from passivity and oblivion (1978/1979:207–209). Described as "an almost unconscious positivity" (ibid.:206), latent Orientalism assigns the East to the realm of untouchable, opposite inferiority which must be delineated by the West. Such a negative designation of the Orient is sustained through stubborn stereotype and bias which also determine the dissemination of the Orient's representations. The popularity of *The Thousand and One Nights*, for example, contributes to the West's fixation on Arab literature as solely a collection of exotic desert tales. It is therefore hard to imagine or make space for Arabic narratives that are modern by Western standards. Said expresses his concern that contemporary Arabic literature continues to be ignored, with emerging writers whose works do not conform to stereotypes remaining unacknowledged, as if "embargoed" (1990:278–280).

The power to embargo Oriental literature also points to the hegemonic position of the Orientalist translator whose mediation is necessary in deciding which image of the Orient should be presented to a Western audience. Said cites the case of Silvestre de Sacy, the iconic Arabist and

President of the Société Asiatique, as an example of how an influential European can impact the representation of an entire culture. Sacy, who taught at the Collège de France and worked as the French foreign ministry's resident Orientalist, was famous for his *Chrestomathie Arabe* (1826), an anthology presented as a collection of fragments. Said argues that in using fragments to represent the whole of Arabic poetry, Sacy justifies his status as an expert by announcing that his intervention is sufficient in proclaiming these to be a legitimate representation. The Orientalist, he suggests,

is required to *present* the Orient by a series of representative fragments, fragments republished, explicated, annotated, and surrounded with still more fragments. For such a presentation a special genre is required: the chrestomathy, which is where in Sacy's case the usefulness and interest of Orientalism are most directly and profitably displayed.

(Said 1978/1979:128;
original emphasis)

In his work on literary anthologies, Damrosch (2006) argues that a hyper-canon of non-European literatures reflects a concerning tendency whereby a tiny number of translations are made to stand for what should be a more diverse reading of any given culture. The concept of world literature may offer a way to think of translation in the context of Orientalism as a mode of reading that helpfully combines the notions of representation and circulation. However, Mufti (2010) argues that in practice world literature is merely today's version of Orientalism, with Anglophone novels, for instance, made to stand as India's representative genre, thus eliminating any need for translation for Western audiences. This has the effect of eliding a much greater range of regional languages and literatures, thereby impoverishing the reader's experience.

Translation and Orientalism today

While Orientalism is usually thought of as an influential critique located in the eighteenth-and

nineteenth-century imperialist mode of cultural representation, the twenty-first century is not immune to an orientalizing tendency when it comes to the encounter between East and West, the two categories that continue to have currency today. The shift in mainstream media from written to audiovisual texts introduces additional dimensions to the debate – for instance, when certain broadcasters feature non-Western characters speaking or being voiced over in accented English rather than having them simply speak standard English. Nakata Steffensen has criticized BBC programmes that, for example, have Japanese characters voiced in a generic East Asian accent, thereby reaffirming racial stereotypes rather than promoting diversity (2012:521).

Stereotypes continue to operate on various levels. Suleiman (2014) affirms that translation of Arabic literature remains controlled by the Western allegiance to Orientalism; for example, Arabic novels able to garner a publishing contract for an English-speaking market tend to be those that reinforce an image of the Arab as foreign and mysterious. Publishers are interested in Arab women writers because “they tend to want to know about a more hidden perspective” (ibid.), and it should come as no surprise that the books that sell are those with veiled women or only partially revealed faces on the cover, as in Nawal Al Saadawi's *The Hidden Face of Eve* (2007).

“Oh, East is East and West is West”, wrote Kipling in 1889, “and never the twain shall meet”. The impossibility of convergence between East and West has long been assumed. While Said's *Orientalism* raises awareness of the unjust representation of the East, the tendency to characterize Oriental subjects as strange and inferior to the West is still relatively ubiquitous. Translation between Orient and Occident will continue to raise questions about gatekeeping, circulation and reception as long as the West holds onto its hegemonic position.

See also:

CONQUEST; POSTCOLONIALISM

Further reading

Chittiphalangsri, P. (2014) ‘On the Virtuality of Translation in Orientalism’, *Translation Studies* 7(1): 50–65.

Critiques the way in which the concept of Orientalism has been applied to the analysis of translation and proposes to view the relationship between Orientalism and translation as a more complex form of power struggle that involves the virtualization of the Orient, or the creation of a translational proxy that serves the West's interests.

Weiss, T. (2004) *Translating Orients: Between ideology and utopia*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Grounded in hermeneutics and phenomenology, translation in Weiss's usage per-

forms an interpretive function that posits the Orients as neither subjects nor objects but an experience of emergent realities; analysis of literary works by major authors such as Jorge Luis Borges and Salman Rushdie portrays translation as an interpretive move between the fixity of closed viewpoint (utopia) and the openness of possibility (ideology), leading to continual transformative encounters.

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Paratexts

The notion of the paratext was first introduced by Gérard Genette, a French literary critic and narratologist. In *Seuils* (1987; *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, 1997), he demonstrated the importance of analyzing elements that surround the text rather than considering the text in isolation. The significance of Genette's work has been widely acknowledged, and it has sparked a wave of research both in literary domains and in studies of media, digital culture, and film and television (Birke and Christ 2013; Desrochers and Apollon 2014; Gray 2010; Kreimeier and Stanitzek 2004). Translation studies has also drawn on the notion of the paratext, albeit in a slightly different way from that originally envisaged by Genette.

Genette introduces the notion of the paratext in material terms, explaining that a text is

rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions . . . these productions . . . surround it [the text] and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it, *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world.

(1997b:1; emphasis in original)

In simple terms, then, a paratext “is what enables a text to become a book” (Genette 1997b:1); and Genette devotes his own book to developing a typology of paratextual elements based primarily on French literary publishing conventions. These elements include binding and typesetting, cover pages, titles, dedications, prefaces and notes (elements which are appended to the text and which Genette calls the peritext), as well as elements external to the text (epitexts) such as press releases and interviews with the author.

Although Genette's study is structured in a way that foregrounds these material productions, a careful reading of his work indicates that the paratext itself is to be defined in functional rather than material terms.

When setting out his approach to the study of paratexts, Genette states that “[a] paratextual element, at least if it consists of a message that has taken on material form, necessarily has a *location*” (1997b:4; emphasis in original). In this scenario, Genette suggests that a paratext is not a physical thing but a message, and that an element can be considered to be paratextual even if it is invisible. Furthermore, Genette argues that both factual information such as the gender of the author, and contextual information such as the historical period in which the book was published, can have paratextual value, concluding that “in principle, every context serves as a paratext” (1997b:8). The criterion for deciding whether or not facts and contexts are paratextual is functional: “By *factual* I mean the paratext that consists not of an explicit message . . . but of a fact whose existence alone, if known to the public, provides some commentary on the text and influences how the text is received” (1997b:7; emphasis in original). In Genette's definition, then, a paratext is anything which comments on the text and influences its reception; it may or may not be manifested textually, although Genette also argues that the peritext (i.e. the material appended to the text) is by definition paratextual: it always comments on the text or influences how it is received (Genette 1997b:345–346). A final important aspect of Genette's definition is that, for something to count as a paratext, the commentary needs to be “authorial or more or less legitimated by the author” (1997b:2). While the function-based definition of the paratext given by Genette makes the notion relatively easily applicable to other types of text beyond literary or even

written genres, Genette's insistence on authorial intention is problematic for scholars looking to extend the notion to other domains, including translation. Similarly problematic for translation studies scholars is Genette's own view of how translations might fit into his typology: conceiving of translations primarily as paratexts of originals, Genette's comments do not sit well with the view of translation as rewriting commonly held by translation studies scholars (Tahir Gürçağlar 2002; Wardle 2012; Deane-Cox 2014b:27–29).

Despite these potential barriers, the notion of the paratext has been incorporated into translation studies research by scholars working on a variety of research themes. While the bulk of the research has been into literary translation, a small number of studies have begun to explore the relevance of the term to other domains, including non-literary written texts (Castro Vaquez 2008; Delistathi 2011; Dybiec-Gajer 2013; Hassen 2012a; Schöglér 2018), interpreting (Batchelor 2018; Jiang 2013a), audiovisual translation (Batchelor 2018; Bucaria 2014; Matamala 2011), news translation (M. Zhang 2013), music (García Jiménez 2012; Taviano 2013) and comics (Brienza 2009, 2016). Literary historians such as Coldiron (2003a, 2003b/2010) have also incorporated analysis of the paratexts of translations into their research. Although there are some studies on epitextual material such as translators' memoirs (Kellman 2010) and author-translator dialogue (Jansen 2013), the majority of scholars have been concerned with analyzing peritextual material of translated texts, often in comparison with the peritexts of the original. In terms of their understanding of the paratext, scholars tend to favour the material definition given by Genette, often limiting the paratext effectively to Genette's peritext and disposing of his insistence on a connection with authorial intention. Alvstad's (2003:274n1) definition of the paratext as "what presents the literary text and makes it a book, e.g. title, name of the author, preface, illustrations" represents a common understanding of the term. A number of studies (Deane-Cox 2014b:26; M. Zhang 2013:1) stress the mediatory aspect of the paratext, quoting Genette's description of the paratext as "a zone not only of transition but also of *transaction*: a privileged place of pragmatics and strategy" (1997b:2). In a more extended reflection on applying Genette's theoretical framework to translation studies, Batchelor (2018:142)

builds on Genette's functional definition of paratext, replacing his criterion of authorial intention with one of conscious crafting: "A paratext is a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received". This definition simultaneously expands and narrows the range of material encompassed by the paratext, extending it to material produced by people with no connection to the author, but excluding context and factual information.

It should also be noted that a significant amount of research in translation studies analyzes paratextual elements such as translators' introductions, cover material and titles, without connecting directly with Genette's notion of the paratext. Translators' prefaces, in particular, have been collected and analyzed in order to trace the history of translation theory and to construct regional and national traditions and theories of translation (Robinson 1997b; Cheung 2006a). Reviews of translations – which could be conceptualized as epitexts, depending on the definition of paratext used – are similarly generally researched without reference to Genette's framework.

Research themes

The theme of paratexts as sites where the translator's presence and intervention can become manifest was first explored by Hermans (1996b) and has continued to be a focus of interest. Hermans (2007a:24) shows how, in translations which "work hard to look like originals", paratexts are one of the elements which can "puncture the illusion" of originality. They are also sites where the inherent self-referentiality of translation can be "raised to self-reflexivity" (ibid.:51), or where translators can "signal their agenda" (ibid.:33). A much later study by Selim explores the translator's self-reflexivity in paratexts, arguing that translation is "a process of deep reflection in its own right" (2018:199). Selim illustrates this *inter alia* by showing how the footnotes that she wrote to accompany her translation of Arwa Salih's *al-Mubtasarun* were a work of excavation and solicitation of the "intangible archive buried beneath the author's speech" (ibid.:193), an archive which belongs as much to the translator and her time of translation as to the author and

“the diachronic social memory through which she speaks” (ibid.:193).

While Hermans’s primary concern is to show that the translator is always discursively present, rather than to argue overtly for an increase in visibility or a disruption of existing hierarchies through changes to paratextual practices, other theorists take a more combative stance. Yuste Frias (2012), Nergaard (2013) and McRae (2012), for example, link the relatively low level of translator visibility in the peritexts of translated literature to the low status of translation, and echo Venuti’s calls for greater visibility for translators. A valuable reminder that the situation lamented by these and several other scholars is not a universal phenomenon is offered by Bilodeau’s (2013) study of Japanese translation publishing practice, which commonly allows translators a space for their own voice in *yakusha atogaki* (translator afterwords). Schögler’s extensive study of the peritexts of contemporary social sciences and humanities works translated from German into French further indicates that, in non-literary genres at least, “it is common practice to comment on, embed, and frame a translated text” through peritextual material written by the translator (2018:73).

Other case studies linked to the broad theme of visibility focus on issues that arise when a particular translator is particularly visible within the target culture. Examples of visible translators include Adolf Hoffmeister (Woods 2012a), Aldo Busi (Wardle 2012) and Gayatri Spivak (Simon 2000). Research into the implications of their visibility raises a number of important questions including the multiplicity of functions served by paratexts in the target culture (Woods 2012a), the potential for the translator’s identity to affect the author’s image in the target culture (Wardle 2012) and connections between translation and cultural appropriation in postcolonial contexts (Simon 2000).

Links between paratextual research and research into the sociocultural and ideological contexts of translation could be argued to be a dominant characteristic of studies involving paratexts. Studies in this broad area are interested in the ways in which the dominant ideologies of societies with high levels of censorship and central control are reflected in paratextual material (Pinping 2013; Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009); in exploring paratexts as sites in which

translators position themselves relative to competing ideologies within a society (Baker 2006b; Deane-Cox 2014b; Delistathi 2011; Hanna 2016; Kovala 1996; Valdeón 2014b); and in connections between paratexts and gender, as in the studies by Hassen (2012a), Malay (2006), Martin (2011) and Henituik (2011).

One of the most significant studies in this area is Gaby Thomson-Wohlgemuth’s (2009) exploration of translation in the German Democratic Republic, which incorporates analysis of print permit files submitted to censors and of afterwords to translated children’s literature. Afterwords to books from non-socialist countries, for example, “had to show that, despite the text being bourgeois, it would not stand in the way of a socialist education and, hence, would not pose a threat to Historical progress” (ibid.:199). Thomson-Wohlgemuth argues that the afterwords served three distinct functions: educating young readers, appeasing the censors and protecting the publishers (ibid.:209–210). Furthermore, she suggests that the ostensible function of the afterwords (education) was in fact the function of least importance: “the majority of afterwords were printed after the main text, and they were monotonous and tiresome . . . and on the whole not reader-friendly, all suggesting that children and young adults were not the intended readers” (ibid.:223). Thomson-Wohlgemuth’s study thus offers an important extended reflection on notions of function, reader and author in the context of the paratexts of translated works.

The potential for translations to shape the image of specific authors within a given target culture, as well as that of entire source cultures, has been well documented in translation studies (Lefevere 1992; Tymoczko 1999). A number of studies in this domain incorporate analysis of translation paratexts, exploring connections between cultural stereotyping and the paratextual material produced by publishers, such as covers and blurbs. Watts’s analysis of Caribbean and North African literature in US translations, for example, suggests that publishers situate novels in “a nebulous, subtly romanticized, and exotic ‘before’” (2005:164), presenting such fiction not in terms of the specifics of the source culture but by invoking the category of World Literature, thereby appealing to a vague but familiar kind of otherness. Similar tendencies

are observed by Alvstad (2012), while Kung (2009:62) suggests that the cover designs of American translations of Taiwanese literature draw on “stereotypical representation of foreignness or even Orientalism” and Chittiphalangsri (2014:61) discusses paratexts as a “space for Orientalists to exhibit their insider’s knowledge and outsider’s intrusion”. The possibility that such representations are not necessarily imposed by the receiving culture is considered in Pellatt’s (2013) comparison of the twin volumes of Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang’s memoirs edited by Bao Pu, one produced for a Chinese-speaking audience, and the other for an English-speaking audience. In contrast with the Orientalism identified by Kung, the Orientalism that Pellatt identifies in the English-language version of Ziyang’s memoirs is an auto-Orientalism, or in other words, “a new kind of Orientalist discourse which is created by none other than the Chinese themselves” (ibid.:102).

It is generally acknowledged that the translation decisions observed in published translations are not always the preserve of the translator, and research into paratexts pushes such issues of agency to the fore. Nathalie Mälzer (2013) draws on her own experiences as a literary translator to show the extensive interventions of the editor in both the text and the paratext. In the case of Gaëlle Guernalec-Levy’s *L’amant inachevé*, for example, the editor took a number of measures to turn the translation into a more explicitly erotic novel. These included replacing a rather neutral cover image with one of a semi-naked prostrate woman and extensively rewriting sex scenes within the novel itself (Mälzer 2013:159–164). While the input of agents other than the translator may not be easily evident in the final translated product in such cases, in the case of allographic prefaces to translations discussed by Tahir Gürçağlar, the identity of the allographic preface-writer is clear. Writing from a Bourdieusian perspective, Tahir Gürçağlar shows that such preface writers “use their agentive power to attain goals that reach beyond presenting a work” (2013a:103); these goals may include, for example, helping to “consecrate” the translator and create some literary capital for him or her” (ibid.:98–99), or “creat[ing] value for a translated work by their critical appraisal” (ibid.:99), functions which are linked to the fact that these preface writers often occupy a “more established

literary position than the translators of the target texts” (ibid.:98).

Future directions

If we take the paratext to be not the material elements that form Genette’s literature-based typology but rather anything which comments on a text and influences its reception, as discussed above, then there is clear potential to apply the notion of the paratext to interpreting research. Jiang’s (2013a) study of the ethical position of the interpreter offers a valuable outline of the potential directions such research could take, picking up on Hermans’s (2007a) discussion of paratexts as a place in which translators can signal their distance from the text and in particular from the ideological position of the author. Jiang argues that “while the standard paratextual devices of the translator are not available” to the interpreter (2013a:211), interpreters can nevertheless draw on a range of techniques to indicate their distance from what is being said. These include “‘oral forms’ of footnotes or brackets” (ibid.), such as saying *or rather*; asking for a repetition; or switching to indirect speech. Batchelor (2018:179–85) builds on Jiang’s study to identify three types of paratextual device open to exploitation by interpreters: prosodic, linguistic and corporeal. While the exploitation of many of these devices would run counter to the ideal model of the neutral, invisible interpreter that is affirmed in professional codes of practice and training programmes, research into interpreting practice – particularly but not exclusively in the domain of dialogue interpreting – suggests that they are in fact widespread.

As noted above, scholars in media, film and television studies have engaged intensely with the notion of the paratext, but this is yet to be reflected in research in corresponding areas in translation studies. Exceptions can be found in Bucaria’s (2014) and Matamala’s (2011) articles on subtitling and dubbing, respectively. Bucaria (2014) draws on the paratextual framework developed by Gray (2010) and applies it to case studies of two US series broadcast on Italian television, showing that in audiovisual contexts, the channel that airs the series itself becomes a paratext, the brand identity of the channel influencing viewers’ perceptions of the

show even before they view it (ibid.:306). She also observes that not all of the officially created paratexts such as promos, teasers, websites, alternate reality games or fan competitions are transposed or even re-created for the international market (ibid.:297), demonstrating that questions of how translations are tailored to target audiences are entwined with issues of marketing and international distribution mechanisms. Matamala (2011) explores the professional contexts in which the various paratexts relevant to dubbing are produced and who produces them. Much like Mälzer's study discussed above, Matamala's practitioner-based study calls for greater transparency around how paratexts are created, and like Bucaria's, emphasizes the importance of industry-based awareness for translation research. Other insights from paratextual research in media studies which are important for researchers in audiovisual translation studies include reflections on the ephemerality of many media paratexts and the consequences of that ephemerality for scholarly interpretations of media texts, and discussions of methodologies for taking into account variability in paratextual experience from viewer to viewer. These and other issues are explored at some length in Batchelor (2018:46–73, 153–161, 172–174) and should provide useful points of reflection for future research.

See also:

AUTHORSHIP; INTERTEXTUALITY; POSITIONING; REVIEWING AND CRITICISM; REWRITING

Further reading

Batchelor, K. (2018) *Translation and Paratexts*, London: Routledge.

First full-length work on paratexts in translation studies. Includes a critical overview of Genette's concept of the paratext and its subsequent development in translation, digital and media studies, and outlines a theory of paratextuality for translation research.

Tahir Gürçağlar, S. (2002) 'What Texts Don't Tell: The uses of paratexts in translation research', in T. Hermans (ed.) *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research models in Translation studies II: Historical and ideological issues*, London: Routledge, pp. 44–60.

One of few early articles to engage directly with Genette's framework and its relevance

for translation studies; but see Deane-Cox (2014b:27–29) and Batchelor (2018:28–30) for a problematization of some of Tahir Gürçağlar's points.

Thomson-Wohlgemuth, G. (2009) *Translation under State Control: Books for young people in the German Democratic Republic*, London: Routledge.

Explores the ways in which GDR ideologies shaped the selection and presentation of children's literature in translation, and demonstrates the value of paratextual analysis for historical research.

KATHRYN BATCHELOR

Philosophy

Philosophy is an ancient activity that involves reflecting on how we should live and on the nature of knowledge (Craig 2002), and translation has often been the subject of such reflection. As early as the fifth century BCE, for example, Herodotus asked how those with different languages could understand each other (1998:118). When Wittgenstein became involved in Ogden's English translation of his 1921 *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, he remarked: "It is a difficult business!" (1973:19; original emphasis); it is the realization of this difficulty that has motivated philosophical involvement with translation. Thus, Crane (2015:8) asserts that we start to philosophize about translation once we see that translating is not a matter of straightforward conversion. And yet, in the context of canonical and/or professional philosophy, relatively little has been written on translation, leading Venuti to refer to translation as philosophy's "dark secret" (1998a:115). What attention has been given to translation has largely come from philosophers in the continental tradition, which privileges existential enquiry, most notably Schleiermacher, Nietzsche, Benjamin, Heidegger, Gadamer, Ricoeur and Derrida. However, some philosophers in the analytic tradition, which privileges questions of logic and language, have made important contributions to relevant debates, notably Quine and Davidson. Arrojo (2010:247) suggests that there is increasing interaction between philosophy and

translation studies, as evidenced by the growing number of publications and conferences linking the two disciplines (A. Benjamin 1989/2015; Foran 2012). Both disciplines have been influenced by the so-called linguistic turn in the humanities, which may account for growing dialogue. Cassin's *The Dictionary of Untranslatables* (2004, 2014), which examines philosophical terms and their life in translation, is a particularly important development in this direction. Rawling and Wilson (2019) provide an overview of canonical philosophers' views on translation.

Translation is important to philosophy for two reasons. First, few philosophers can read all relevant source texts in the original. A contemporary Anglophone undergraduate syllabus, for example, might include works translated from Arabic, French, German, Greek, Latin, Pali and Sanskrit. Second, translation raises issues of conceptual interest to philosophers (Pym 2007c:24), because it tells us about language, life and the mind. Nietzsche (1882/2012), for example, examines Roman renderings of Greek texts to show how human affairs inevitably involve a struggle for power, which implies that translation can be read in terms of appropriation, while Derrida argues that with the problem of translation we are dealing with "nothing less than the problem of the very passage into philosophy" (1972c/1981:72).

Philosophy is important to translation studies because theorists often use it to support their views (Pym 2007c:24). Steiner draws on hermeneutics to develop his translation theory (1975/1998); Tymoczko uses the notion of family resemblance in Wittgenstein to argue that translation is a "cluster concept" that should not be accorded an essentialist definition (2007:83–90); the debate on domestication and foreignization introduced by Venuti (1995b/2008) is rooted in readings of Schleiermacher, and his subsequent support for a hermeneutical model against an instrumental model (Venuti 2012) draws on the hermeneutic tradition in general as well as on Derrida and Peirce. There are risks involved in linking the two fields, however. Pym suspects that "philosophers would not always identify with what has been done in their name" by nonspecialists (2007c:33). If translation studies is to continue to establish itself as a discipline, it must treat its boundaries as fluid (Boase-Beier et al. 2014:1–3) and continue to interact with

other disciplines, but what is needed is dialogue, not the naïve belief that philosophy can solve all the problems of translation (Pym 2007c:37).

The philosophy of translation

Attempts to link translation studies and philosophy typically adopt an analytic approach, applying tools from philosophy to clarify problematic issues in theory or practice (Pym 2007c:44). Such an approach allows the rational investigation of views that might otherwise be accepted unthinkingly, because many philosophers aim to show that things are not what they seem to be. As Wittgenstein remarks, it is easy to be held captive by pictures, but to realize that you are held captive is to be able to move on (1953/2009:§115). Benjamin's 'The Translator's Task' (1923/2012), considered the most influential philosophical statement on translation, uses imagery from the Kabbalah to encourage readers to form new pictures of what goes on in the mind during translation; for example, translation is described as a process of realigning the fragments of a broken vessel (ibid.:81).

Drawing on philosophy has allowed scholars of translation to challenge the classical paradigm and its implications for translation. European and Anglophone culture has tended to view meaning as something that can be divorced from content and transferred intact (Arrojo 2010:47–48), a view that originates in ancient Greek philosophy (Kristal 2014:29). Berman refers to the "typically Platonic separation between spirit and letter, sense and word, content and form, the sensible and the non-sensible" (1985/2012:252), as evident in Plato's *Cratylus* and *Republic* and Aristotle's *De Interpretatione*. Taleb (2007:xxv) describes the classical paradigm as "our tendency to mistake the map for the territory, to focus on pure and defined 'forms'"; a dualistic tendency that Wittgenstein attacks in his later work (1953/2009). The legacy of such dualism promotes a view of texts as code rather than creation (Sontag 1996:54), so that translation becomes a matter of restoring meaning (Berman 1985/2012:252). Kristal asserts that both continental and analytic traditions in philosophy now agree that there is "no simple correspondence between mental contents, words, and things" (2014:31), which has

important consequences for translation. A number of translation theorists have used philosophy to undermine the classical paradigm: Arrojo draws on Nietzsche to argue that concepts and meanings “are not discovered, but constructed” (2010:249); Gentzler argues that deconstruction offers an approach that can subvert “modes of traditional metaphysical thinking” by resisting the assumption of “some determinable meaning as that which must be reconstituted in another language” (1993:149); and Wilson uses Wittgenstein’s later work to show that meaning is a physiognomy resulting from choice, that it can be seen as intersubjective, i.e. as a question of how we actually use words (2016:47ff.).

The rejection of the classical paradigm has consequences for our understanding of equivalence, a notion that has long dominated European and Anglophone writings on translation (Leal 2012:39). Even though translation theorists frequently attack equivalence as an unhelpful concept in practice (Chesterman 1997b:9), rejection of the classical paradigm means that a philosophical case can be made for seeing equivalence differently (Leal 2012:45). In a thought experiment that has proved controversial on account of its apparently colonial setting, Quine discusses the indeterminacy of translation through the story of an Anglophone field linguist in a community whose language has never been translated (1960:23ff.). The linguist records how the locals say *Gavagai* on the appearance of a rabbit, and infers that *Gavagai* does mean ‘rabbit’ (Wilson 2019:105). For Quine, the situation is more complicated, because *Gavagai* could mean many things, such as ‘food’ or ‘let’s go hunting’, so that manuals of translation will give “as their respective translations of sentences of one language, sentences of the other language which stand to each other in no plausible sort of equivalence however loose” (1960:27). The best we can hope for is to get by through the use of a “principle of charity” (ibid.:59), which posits that we should always see our interlocutors as rational and as committed to telling the truth. In addressing Quine’s arguments, Davidson (1977/2001) begins with the principle of charity in order to dismiss the idea of incommensurable schemes: in particular circumstances, we will always be able to use context to come up with a translation. Malmkjær describes this debate as a philosophical version of the discussions

on relativism in translation studies (2005b:52) and concludes that it shows that equivalence is a problem not only on a practical level but also on a theoretical level (ibid.:58). The debate on incommensurability continues as a major area in which philosophers and translation theorists have something vital to say to each other (Kusch 2012).

Translating philosophy

Despite Steiner’s insistence that “problems of untranslatability strike at the heart of the whole philosophic enterprise” (1975/1998:255), philosophy has been and continues to be translated. Significantly, much of the untranslatability debate has developed around the translation of philosophical terms (Cassin 2004, 2014), although the term untranslatable is not used in this context to mean that something cannot be rendered, but rather that any rendering will be a “linguistic form of creative failure with homeopathic uses” (Apter 2013:20), with homeopathy understood as “a life-oriented management system” (Robinson 2017:55). This approach follows Derrida in his discussion of the Greek noun *pharmakon* (medicine/poison) in Plato’s *Phaedrus*: the noun defeats any expectation of one-to-one equivalence, leading Derrida to speak of the “redoubtable, irreducible difficulty of translation” (1972b/1981:71). For Derrida, as for Apter, the task of translating philosophy is at once necessary and impossible (Derrida 1985:8; Davis 2001).

Cassin’s *Dictionary* has exercised considerable influence in shaping the debate on the translation of philosophy since its publication in 2004. Crane (2015:8) calls it an “extraordinary book”, though he also points to weaknesses from the standpoint of philosophy, including the assumption that French is in some sense the best language for philosophy. Venuti argues that the *Dictionary* is too Eurocentric and operates with an instrumental theory of translation; ultimately, he suggests, “the rhetoric of translation loss” is unproductive, stressing that “untranslatability lays a shaky foundation for an approach to the history of philosophy, let alone world literature” (2016b:189). The issue of untranslatability receives more extended treatment in Large et al. (2019).

Whatever the criticism levelled at it, the value of Cassin's ambitious work is that it demonstrates unequivocally that translating philosophy is never straightforward. Rée explains this in terms of philosophy's obscurity, its dialogical and literary nature, and the fact that many terms in philosophy develop a life of their own (2001:226–230). Most philosophical works are therefore translated by professional philosophers with the appropriate academic training (Large 2014:183). Wittgenstein's *Investigations*, for example, was published posthumously in 1953 in an edition that included the German text with a facing English translation by Anscombe, a leading philosopher and Wittgenstein's pupil; it was revised in 2009 by philosophers and Wittgenstein scholars Hacker and Schulte.

The texts that constitute what is known as the western canon circulate widely in English, with new versions appearing as older translations are judged out of date, or as works become available out of copyright. Hacker and Schulte (2009) explain that new translations are necessary in order to update the use of English, correct misprints, standardize terminology and punctuation and correct translation errors. At the same time, important works outside the western canon remain untranslated. For an Anglophone student, for example, the lack of published translations makes it difficult to gain an overview of Buddhist, Chinese, Indian and Islamic philosophy. Translation both determines and is determined by the canon. Translation also has an important role to play in shaping the debate on the underrepresentation of women in both canonical and professional philosophy (Hutchison and Jenkins 2013; Deutscher 2000:4).

In addition to what is translated and why, there is also the question of how philosophical texts are translated (Pym 2007c:24). Charlston (2013) examines the translation of key terms in Baillie's 1910/1931 rendering of Hegel's *Phenomenology*, and shows how Baillie's choices are influenced by his philosophical position within British idealism. Charlston's study is exemplary for relating phenomenon and theory. "As an experienced translator and a student of translation studies", he comments, "I provide an 'outsider' perspective on the world of professional philosophy which is objectified here in terms of Bourdieusian field theory" (2013:56n). The German terms investigated by Charlston are

the subject of an ongoing debate on Hegel in English (Harden 2012). *Geist*, for example, can be translated as *mind*, *spirit*, *Spirit* or even *ghost*, and as Charlston demonstrates, the choices have important social and political ramifications. Many key terms in the work of other philosophers raise analogous issues, and are often left untranslated in target texts and/or discussed at length in translator paratexts. They include *eudaimonia* (wellbeing) in ancient Greek texts and *Dasein* (being-there) in Heidegger.

Bodies of translation as well as specific translations of philosophical works are often evaluated by scholars. Rée argues that the translation of French philosophy into English is generally problematic because translators assume that the two languages are closer than they are (2001:232–234). Venuti argues that Jowett's nineteenth-century translations of Plato stress fluency, which undermines the source texts' "pagan unfamiliarity" (1998a:116). Moi's (2010) review of Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier's English translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* (*The Second Sex*) is scathing, pointing to "three fundamental and pervasive problems: a mishandling of key terms for gender and sexuality, an inconsistent use of tenses, and the mangling of syntax, sentence structure and punctuation" (ibid.:5). Moi's critique sparked an extended debate in the Letters section of the *London Review of Books* and elicited a detailed response from Borde and Malovany-Chevallier.

Not all critiques of translations of philosophical texts are negative. Rée notes that Kemp Smith's 1929 English translation of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* has been used by thousands of students, is still studied, that hardly any serious weaknesses have been noted and that many German readers consult it when facing problems with the source text (2001:231). For Venuti, G.E.M. Anscombe's translation of the *Investigations* can be said "to have communicated Wittgenstein's ideas, even to have mimicked his style of writing" (1998a:109). Her work is revised but generally maintained by Hacker and Schulte in their 2009 edition.

Evaluations, both negative and positive, provide empirical data that may be used to guide practice and the theorization of practice. Venuti has called for "greater experimentalism" in the translation of philosophy (1998a:122),

advocating a movement away from merely preserving content to re-creating the text as performance, drawing on Lewis's (1985/2012) concept of abusive fidelity in the context of translating Derrida. Many canonical philosophers who have translated philosophy have intuitively adopted such an approach (Large 2014:194). Translation theorists are in a good position to challenge the obligation to produce translations that read fluently. Indeed, Rée argues that serious philosophy in any language "always sounds like a translation already", and hence there is no reason to worry if translated philosophy sounds like a translation (2001:253). Philosophy comes in a wide variety of genres – autobiography, dialogue, essay, journal article, lecture notes, letter, meditation, novel, prayer, prose-poem, remark, sermon, tale (Danto 1985:67) – and translators need to be flexible in their response to both text type and style.

Philosophical insights can inform the translation of any text. Thus Scott describes how he uses insights from the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty "in the direction of a translational practice" when rendering poetry (2012:2), while Wilson shows how Wittgenstein's concepts can be applied to all forms of translation, arguing that the notion of the language-game in *Investigations* (Wittgenstein 1953/2009: §23) can enable the translator to develop strategies to play the source text's language-games in the target text (2016:42). Philosophical ideas are also increasingly used to theorize target texts and translation as such. Elsworth, for example, draws on Benjamin to describe her translations of the Danish poetry of Strunge (2000:9), while Hermans employs the speech act theory of the analytic philosopher Austin (1962) to account for what is at stake when we examine *The Book of Mormon* as a translation, arguing that we should not read that text as declarative, but as performative (2007a:5).

Future directions

Rée notes that what he terms western translations of non-western philosophers are frequently guilty of imposing western paradigms and expectations onto source texts (2001:238). Translation scholars have an important role to play here, and engaging with philosophy can

facilitate the dialogue necessary to overcome this situation. In her survey of Chinese translation discourse, Cheung asks whether "philosophically speaking, it is the elusiveness of the constant Tao [Way] (of translation) that has given rise to the endless attempts through the centuries to spell it out" (2006b:23). Ranganathan, in the paratext to his translation of Patañjali's Sanskrit *Yoga Sūtra* (2008), discusses not only the nature of Indian philosophy but also how philosophical questions about translation raised by Anglophone and European thinkers such as Quine can be addressed in theory and practice. Robinson aims to set up an "East-West dialogue" between Chinese thinkers and what he refers to as western thinkers (2016:viii). Such work both changes the field and suggests ways of moving on in a changed field.

Translation theorists may draw on philosophy to explore cognitive aspects of translation. For example, Steiner's claim that all discourse, all communication is translation (1975/1998:49) can be theorized by drawing on the computational theory of mind, which argues that we translate into natural language out of the language of thought (mentalese); thus when we translate from one natural language into another, we are already on a second level of translation (Carruthers 2004).

Substantive philosophies of translation may be written, as Sallis (2002) suggests, in the manner of substantive philosophies of history, law and science. Such work does not have to be undertaken only by philosophers (Scott 2018). Although translation studies is currently a "client discipline" of philosophy in terms of authority (Pym 2007c:24), this situation can change as the discipline continues to establish itself. Indeed, boundaries within philosophy itself are blurred: a figure such as Derrida attracts as much attention from literary scholars as from philosophers, and there are philosophical aspects to the writings of a sociologist like Bourdieu, whose work has been extensively used in translation studies (Inghilleri 2005c). This blurring of boundaries will continue through interdisciplinary collaboration, to the benefit of both translation studies and philosophy.

See also:

DECONSTRUCTION; HERMENEUTICS; PURE LANGUAGE; TRANSLATABILITY

Further reading

Pym, A. (2007) 'Philosophy and Translation', in P. Kuhiwczak and K. Littau (eds) *A Companion to Translation Studies*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 24–44.

Reviews the conceptual and historical links between the two disciplines and suggests ways forward.

Rawling, P. and P. Wilson (eds) (2019) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Philosophy*, London: Routledge.

An overview of current research on canonical philosophers on translation; philosophical issues in translation; case studies in the translation of philosophy; and emerging issues.

Rée, J. (2001) 'The Translation of Philosophy', *New Literary History* 32(2): 223–257.

Examines the issues that arise when philosophy is translated, considers the nature of philosophical language, and offers a survey of world philosophies and their translation history.

PHILIP WILSON

Poetry

The central question that most studies of poetry translation ask, implicitly or explicitly, is whether poetry can be translated. It may seem obvious that it can, since poetry has always been translated. Some poets, such as Catullus, Shakespeare and Rilke, have been translated many times, and translated poetry plays such a large part in the literature of most cultures that it is often taken for granted (Honig 1985:1). English readers of Catullus or Rilke, or Chinese readers of Keats, for example, might recognize the poems as foreign without reading them as translations. This could be taken as evidence that the poems have been successfully translated, if successful translation is seen as writing that avoids drawing attention to its translated nature.

The opposite view – that poetry translation is impossible (Burnshaw 1960:xii–xiv), or at least very difficult (F. Jones 2011:1; Grossman 2010:95), arises from the coincidence of two assumptions. First, that poetry is cryptic and ambiguous, that is, it is characterized by a special relationship

between form and meaning (Furniss and Bath 2007:11; Folkart 2007:284; A. Fawcett 2018:48–54). And second, that translated poetry should be poetry in its own right (Folkart 2007:124; Paterson 2006:73). Taken together, these two assumptions suggest that translated poetry will also be cryptic and ambiguous; it must further exhibit a special relationship between form and meaning. The main difficulty of translation is to re-create this relationship in a way that might reasonably be deemed equivalent (Pym 2010a) to the relationship which obtains in the original poem. This difficulty has led some writers – though often those not directly involved with translation – to regard poetry translation as at best a compromise (Langer 1995:553). One way of overcoming it is demonstrated by Burnshaw (1960), who translates poetry into a non-poetic text with detailed commentary. This approach can, as this case illustrates, provide highly sensitive prose translations that allow the reader great insight into the original poems. But they are clearly not intended to be poems in their own right, and hence do not exhibit the typical characteristics of poetry. Another way is to move away from the original, producing what Lowell called *Imitations* (1958) or what Paterson calls “versions” (2006:73–75), poems that exhibit all the characteristics of poetry, but no longer reflect the form-meaning relationship of their originals. Or a translator may move away from the original by attempting to “improve” or “explain”, as demonstrated in a study of translations of a poem by Wang Wei (Weinberger and Paz 1987:9).

It cannot be taken for granted that translated poetry should avoid drawing attention to its translated nature. Scholars such as Boase-Beier (2015:51–85, 124–142) and Wright (2016:88–90) have argued against such a view, proposing instead that the reader should be encouraged, through a bilingual presentation or the addition of notes or prefaces, to read it *as* translated poetry, taking full account of the act of interpretation and communication that the translator has undertaken. The complexity of the form-meaning link and the difficulty involved in translating it are foregrounded so that the translated poem is also read with careful attention to its style and poetic qualities rather than with a focus only on its meaning in a superficial sense (Benjamin 1968/1992:78–79).

Indeed, it could be argued that it was in part the complexity of the form-meaning link in poetry that made poetry translation the natural starting point for modern translation studies, which is often seen to have developed largely from the work of poetry translator James Holmes (Holmes 1988), and those with whom he fostered collaborative ties, such as Anton Popovič and Itamar Even-Zohar (Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006:393–395). Outside Europe and the Anglophone world, the development of modern translation studies often followed a somewhat similar pattern, as these ideas were absorbed, but the reliance on European discourse is increasingly being criticized, for example in China (Tang 2007:363–644). Though it is often suggested that the translation of poetry demands a special combination of critical and writing abilities (den Broeck 1988:1; Weissbort 1989:x), a combination embodied in James Holmes, it is nevertheless important to make a distinction in principle between the theory of poetry translation and its practice.

Poetry translation: theory and practice

Some writers on translation, especially practising translators who are not themselves theorists (Chesterman and Wagner 2002:1), tend to see theory as (negatively) prescriptive rather than descriptive. But the distinction is not clear-cut. Toury, for example, notes that descriptive theory can help make predictions about practice (1985:34–35). Furthermore, theory can enhance the poetry translator's knowledge of what is possible (Boase-Beier 2006b:111, 2010:27), and thus be a valuable tool. The phenomena that theory describes generally come from observations of practising translators, especially where lesser-known languages are concerned, as in the case of Clancy's (1999) discussion of his translations of Welsh poetry. The sources of such observations are today not just interviews, books or introductions to translations, though these still have an important role to play, but increasingly include recorded public events and discussions, as well as websites, blogs, online discussion fora and academic and social networking sites.

Three main types of theory are likely to be of particular relevance to theorizing the translation

of poetry: theories of poetry, theories of the mind and theories of translation. The view that theories of poetry itself – the first type – will be helpful to the theorist of poetry translation is expressed by many writers on the topic (Boase-Beier 2015:14–23; Hyun 2005). Theories of poetry often aim to explain the special form-meaning relationship that characterizes the genre (Furniss and Bath 2007:3–26), and to discuss the characteristics of poetic style and whether they distinguish poetry from prose or indeed literary from non-literary texts (Fowler 1981:162ff.). Some of the stylistic elements that have been put forward as distinctive of poetry include its physical shape (Furniss and Bath 2007:14–15), including use of lines and spaces; its use of inventive language (Eagleton 2007:46), especially patterns of sound, meaning and structure (Jakobson 1960:358; Verdonk 2013:19; Short 1996:127); its openness to different interpretations (Furniss and Bath 2007:267–294); and its ability to engage the reader and achieve cognitive effects (T. Jones 2012:12; Gronas 2011:4–6).

Since the physical shape of a poem can be seen as a signal to read the text in a particular way, as a text in which style is the main repository of meaning, translations will typically aim to preserve it, along with its patterns of sound, such as repetition (Boase-Beier 2003b), and of meaning, such as metaphors and ambiguity (Boase-Beier 2004). Ambiguity allows for different interpretations and thus its preservation in translation enables the poem to retain its open-endedness and its ability to engage the reader. While this is also a characteristic of prose writing, it is of paramount importance in poetry, where there is likely to be less emphasis on narrative or straightforward representation of elements of the world outside that of the poem. Preserving the poem's capacity to engage helps ensure that poetic effects of different elements, such as emotions of joy, fear or anger, as well as the potential to rethink cognitive models of the world, can also be experienced by target-text readers (Boase-Beier 2011:100–109). While some theories of poetry – perhaps especially those that draw on linguistics (Fabb 1997:15) – appear to suggest that there are universal poetic characteristics, others stress the cultural variation in poetic traditions (Connolly 1998:174).

Theories of the mind – the second type – can help provide a modern understanding of earlier

views of what Pope called the spirit of a text (Lefevere 1992:64f.), or what Fowler described as mind style (Fowler 1977:103): stylistic patterns in a poem that represent a state of mind the reader may take to be the mind of a character in the poem, of the poetic 'I', or even of the poet, who is often conflated with the speaker (Stockwell 2002b:42). Theories of the mind in relation to poetry are the remit of cognitive poetics, which engages, for example, with the use of dreams in Keats's poetry (Giovannelli 2013), the importance of memorized poetry in Russian society (Gronas 2011), or the way we mentally process enjambement when reading poems (Kjørup 2008). Such theories, whether dealing with a specific poetic tradition or more general poetic processes, might help explain how translations engage their readers, and why some translations fail to do so.

Theories specifically concerned with translation – the third type – include those of equivalence (Pym 2010a) and *skopos* (Nord 1997), as well as studies of the place of translation within literary systems (Hermans 1999). These all serve to explain particular aspects of poetry translation. Boase-Beier et al. (2014:3) argue that reflections on poetry translation that originate outside translation studies are just as insightful. Thus, for example, theories of literature may lead us to question the authority of the author (Lecerle 1990:127), of the source text (Montgomery et al. 2000:279), of the metaphors we use for translation (Reynolds 2011) or the notion that there is one correct interpretation (Scott 2000).

Theories enhance knowledge of different aspects of poetry translation, and can therefore be a source of creativity for the translator (Boase-Beier 2006a). Berman's theories of the aesthetic foreignness of the text, for example (Berman 1984/1992), can have a profound influence on the way a translator works (Folkart 2007:299). Hence the need for poetry translators to be aware of theoretical discussions (Calfoğlu 2010:101), although some continue to resist engaging with theory (Honig 1985:186).

Much of the information about poetry translation that serves as the basis for theorizing is provided by practising translators in prefaces, notes, introductions and descriptive essays (Balmer 2013), as well as on various online platforms. Several translators of poetry have

described the process as having distinct stages. Bly, for example, speaks of eight stages of translation (1984), Barnstone of two (1993:49) and Diaz-Diocaretz (1985) explicitly distinguishes the process of reading from the production of the new poem. Others differ: F. Jones (1989:188) suggests that such stages are "helical rather than unilinear"; Scott (2000) goes further, maintaining that reading and translation are inextricably linked. In this latter view, creativity is an element in reading as much as in writing. This seems also to be what Felstiner (1989:36) implies in calling his translation of Celan "the closest act of reading and of writing".

Besides being a possible way of translating poetry, a non-poetic version such as Burnshaw's prose versions might form one stage in the production of poetic translations. Ted Hughes, for example, liked to work from close literal versions of foreign poems, not only when he did not know the original language, but also because, as he said, "The very oddity and struggling dumbness of word for word versions is what makes our own imagination jump" (Weissbort 2006:199). A similar view of the importance of word-for-word translations (or glosses), was held by Walter Benjamin, who saw them not merely as facilitation for a further, more poetic translation, but as a way of drawing attention to the nature of language (Benjamin 1968/1992:82).

Though poetry translation might seem to be a solitary activity, F. Jones (2011:51) argues that, even if the individual translator works alone, there is always the interaction of publishers, of the source-text and target-text context, history and politics, and the envisaged public, all of which form part of a network that affects how poetry is translated. Venuti (2011c:127), however, argues that translated poetry is still a marginalized area of publishing. Some translators are most concerned with the poetic qualities of the target-language poem they produce (Clancy 1999:5), but others might place more emphasis on the original poem, concerned to focus on what is behind the text and to understand what drives the poem; Folkart (2007:8) calls this doing "as (not *what*) the source-language author did". Doing as the poet did could be seen as re-creating the poetics of a particular poet: that poet's way of expressing, in poetry, a state of mind (Boase-Beier 2015:14). This is quite an abstract

notion, but, for the poetry translator, it can be made more concrete when the poetics of a particular poet are seen to be reflected in their style, because style is the result of the poet's choices (Verdonk 2002:9) and therefore the embodiment of poetic voice (Stockwell 2002a:78) or mind (Boase-Beier 2003a, 2011:86–112); this is Fowler's concept of mind style. The focus on style as an embodiment of the original poet's poetics, and therefore as central to poetic translation, is found especially in the writings of translators who are themselves poets and can be assumed to have an inherent (perhaps unconscious) knowledge of how poetry works (Williams 2002:8).

Reading translated poetry

Many readers of translated poems may not consciously read them as translations, but they could be encouraged to do so. Just as students can be taught to read poetry critically, and to acknowledge the need for multiple interpretations, so they can be encouraged to consider the consequences of such stylistically aware reading for translation (Boase-Beier 2015:87–101). To some extent this also applies to the more general reading public, and the way translated poetry is presented – for example with background notes, explanatory annotations and prefaces, or bilingually – can help encourage such engaged reading. Examples include a Welsh anthology by Minhinnick (2003) and Crucefix's version of Rilke's *Duino Elegies* (2006), both of which are bilingual and contain introductions. Many of the translated poetry books from Arc Publications, a publisher based in the UK, include a translator's preface. Arc's online forum encourages discussion about issues of poetry translation. Wright (2016:85–86) argues that reading that takes the translation into account will have greater effects on the reader. For example, the reader of Crockatt's Old Norse poetry who feels encouraged by his Introduction to consider both the poetic form of the original poetry and the way he has rendered it in translation (Crockatt 2017:19–21) will be able to read the poems not only in the context of other contemporary poetry, from which it clearly deviates, but also within the imagined Old Norse world that the

notes to each poem conjure up. This makes for a cognitively rich reading experience. Such works suggest that successful translation of poetry does not depend on the reader's belief that the translated poem is an original.

Future directions

Future research into the translation of poetry might pursue a range of issues. Some are of particular relevance to areas outside translation theory. For example, using translation to read a poem (Boase-Beier 2014) is of interest to literary theorists and students of literature. Discussions of the ethics and politics of translated poetry (F. Jones 2004) are interesting to those working in history and sociology. Collections of essays such as *Teaching Translation* (Venuti 2016a) and *Translating Holocaust Lives* (Boase-Beier et al. 2017) contain chapters on the interactions of poetry translation with other disciplines. Other fruitful areas for research into such interactions where poetry is concerned might consider poetry translation and mobility theory, or poetry translation and music, or poetry translation and national identity, for example.

There is also much work related to poetry translation that could be taken further within translation studies. One underresearched area is the study of poetry translation done by theorists. Walter Benjamin, for example, is mainly known as a translation theorist, largely on the strength of one essay, familiar in English translation as 'The Task of the Translator' (1968/1992). But that essay was the preface to his translations of Baudelaire (Benjamin 2013). However, with the exception of Gaddis Rose (1997:39–54), there are few studies of how Benjamin put his views on translation into practice. Similar studies could be undertaken of the poetry translations of other theorist-translators such as Roman Jakobson and James Holmes.

There is scope for revisiting key concepts such as equivalence, original and even translation in the context of poetry. Such notions are particularly called into question by the translation of experimental poetry. One example is concrete poetry, which originated in its modern sense largely from the work of Brazilian writers, including poet and translator Haraldo de Campos, but

its origins can be traced to earlier pattern poetry such as that by Herbert in England or Rabelais in France. Because it foregrounds visual or sonic aspects of meaning over the more conventionally semantic aspects, its translation raises questions about the type of equivalence that might be possible or desirable (Scott 2000).

The idea of the original poem becomes problematic in the case of translations of ancient texts, where the exact form of the original is no longer known (Balmer 2006:186), and also in the case of poetic experiments such as that described by T.K. Lee (2011b), in which Taiwanese poet Hsia Yü generated English poems from random phrases found on the Internet and used a machine to produce Chinese translations. These were fed back into new versions of the English that were recursively subject to further machine translation. Such experiments not only undermine conventional notions of both original and translation, but also of the translator and the tools of translation, and allow the questioning of ideas of authority and mistranslation. The translation of experimental poetry also frequently raises questions about the relationship between creative writing and translation (Perteghella and Loffredo 2006; Bassnett and Bush 2006). Issues of authorship and influence can be investigated with respect to new practices in poetry translation, such as video poetry (Iribarren 2018). The role played by other “actors” (F. Jones 2011:4) in the translation of poetry, such as publishers, booksellers and professional organizations, is also an interesting area for further research.

One of the most interesting areas yet to be explored concerns the question of poetic tradition and discourses on translation, how the two interact, both within and between European/Anglophone languages and non-European ones. Future research might examine the conventions of Tibetan poetry, for example, and how is it translated; the influence of translated Persian poetry on the French poetic tradition; or how European poetic theory influenced Japanese poetry through translations into Japanese. With the exception of Chinese poetry, about which a great deal has been written, such studies are generally found in specialist journals relating to a specific culture or among the extensive resources of research networking sites such as Researchgate, but less often in mainstream publishing in translation studies.

See also:

ADAPTATION; FICTION; LITERARY TRANSLATION; MACHINE TRANSLATION; MUSIC; THEATRE; TRANSLATABILITY

Further reading

Boase-Beier, J. (2015) *Translating the Poetry of the Holocaust: Translation, style and the reader*, London: Bloomsbury.

An examination, within the context of Holocaust poetry, of the nature of poetry and poetics. Considers how we read original poems in order to translate, how we read translated poems and how translated poetry might be presented to encourage reading it as translation.

Fawcett, A. (2018) ‘The Poetry of Gerrit Achterberg: A translation problem?’, in J. Boase-Beier, L. Fisher and H. Furukawa (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Literary Translation*, London: Springer, 39–62.

A case study that considers a widely translated poet, addressing questions of poetic difficulty, translation technique, readership and reception.

Jones, F. (2011) *Poetry Translating as Expert Action*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A thorough analysis, using an actor-network theory approach, of the practice of poetry translating based on a wealth of data from several different sources, including interviews and think-aloud protocols.

Reynolds, M. (2011) *The Poetry of Translation: From Chaucer & Petrarch to Homer & Logue*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

A study of poems in English that are the result of translation; addresses some of the many ways we can view translation, and argues that it is above all a creative process.

JEAN BOASE-BEIER

Politics

Politics is a paradigmatic example of Gallie’s “essentially contested concepts” (1956:168), that is, concepts whose use involves a value judgement – other examples being art and democracy – and whose definition is consequently disputed. Indeed, it has been claimed

that defining politics is itself a political act (Leftwich 2004:2), as any definition will be dependent on an understanding of what the content and limits of politics are and should be. For example, while certain paradigms restrict politics to the act of governing (Peters 2004), others claim that “politics is everywhere”, since “no realm of life is immune to relations of conflict and power” (Squires 2004:119). Of the various possible definitions, this entry broadly adopts Rancière’s understanding of “the political” as a site of tension between “police”, understood as the process of governing and organizing humans in communities based on a set of hierarchies, and “emancipation”, understood as the set of practices aimed at asserting equality among individuals (2004a:112–113). As such, the notion of politics is fractured with oppositions and interactions at various levels – including regional, national and global; personal and collective; and hierarchy and equality.

The role of written and oral translation in the constitution, expansion and functioning of politics will be explored here along two axes that cut across the multiple levels of politics: the contribution of translation to the evolution of political practices and concepts (translation of politics), and the place of translation within political structures (politics of translation). These axes will also intersect with many established themes in translation research, including gender, nation, activism and censorship.

Translation and the evolution of political practices

As Meiksins Wood has argued, “every complex civilization with a state and organized leadership is bound to generate reflection on the relations between leader and led, rules and subjects, command and obedience” (2011:1). In its wide variety of forms – including speeches, precepts, constitutions, pamphlets and articles – the discourse on and of politics is an integral part of the field. It is not always possible, however, to retrace processes of translation and diffusion given the multiplicity of means and the frequent obscurity of the agents involved. The powerful presence of anarchism in Spain, for instance, did not start with the dissemination of texts, but with a visit in 1868 by Fanelli, an Italian follower

of Bakunin who, despite his ignorance of Spanish, met a small group of workers in Madrid and gave them an improvised talk on the values of anarchism; this was partially conveyed through the help of a worker who spoke some French (Lorenzo 1974:41–43). Hence, while it is possible to examine how translations of certain texts have made an impact on the evolution of political practices, it is important to remember that political translation also bears the imprint of multiple, unknown agents.

The role of translation in the evolution of political thought has not been consistent. For instance, certain historical periods, such as the age of the ancient Greek *polis* or city-state (roughly sixth to second century BCE), produced a wealth of political thought (Meiksins Wood 2011:28–98) that was not itself influenced by translation but nevertheless enjoyed a lasting legacy thanks to it, as the reception of Aristotle’s *Politics* demonstrates (ibid.:191–198). By contrast, translation played an important and visible role in the development of political thought in other periods, such as the European Middle Ages (Baldwin 2007).

A clear example of a political line of thought shaped by translation is Marxism, first proposed in the works of Marx and Engels in the nineteenth century. As a branch of socialism that aims to provide a scientific explanation of capitalism and its impact on social relations and structures, Marxism was in itself the product of translation from “German philosophy, French politics and English classical economy”, as Marxist thinker Gramsci – himself a translator (Borghese 2010) and translation theorist (Boothman 2010) – argued (Boothman 2010:114). Both Marx and Engels were polyglots who approached politics from an internationalist perspective. After Marx’s death in 1883, Engels closely followed the translations of Marx’s works into a variety of languages, engaging with translators, clarifying doubts and reviewing publications (Marx and Engels 1974:475–542).

As a method of social analysis, Marxism is at the root of various political ideologies, most notably social democracy and communism. The gradual expansion of these ideologies across different countries involved multiple processes of translation, which were especially notable in the case of communism (Ertürk and Serin 2016). Throughout their political careers, Lenin

and Trotsky, leaders of the Russian Revolution (1917), paid significant attention to foreign politics and understood the political importance of translation; indeed, Lenin was initially inspired by the powerful German Social Democratic Party and eventually translated from German into Russian the famous Erfurt Programme, an explanation of the strategy and principles of the party, written by Marxist thinker Kautsky (Lih 2011:42–45). To break the international isolation of the USSR, the Bolshevik Party established in 1919 the Communist International (or Comintern), which functioned until its dissolution by Stalin in 1943. Considered “the most ambitious attempt to create a world organization since the expansion of the Roman Catholic Church” (Vatlin and Smith 2014:200), the Comintern promoted communism across the world and, in doing so, fostered translations of communist texts into a large number of languages, although with uneven results (ibid.). Beyond the Comintern, several case studies have examined the dissemination of communism across the world and have highlighted the tensions between contextual constraints such as the importance of party hierarchy and translators’ agency, in a variety of settings such as China (Guo 2008), Slovenia (Pokorn 2012), Greece (Delistathi 2011), Spain (Rodríguez 2016) and the Caucasus (Feldman 2016).

In addition to its impact on political systems such as communism, translation has also been central to the development, importation and negotiation of new political ideas. For instance, increased contact with European cultures in the wake of European colonial expansion (Mishra 2012:40–44) led to growth in the volume of western works being translated into Asian languages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (L.H. Liu 1995; Wang 2018:468–470; Uchiyama 2018) and the adaptation of European political concepts to local conditions.

One of the key political concepts that developed in Europe during the eighteenth century was that of the nation, which contrasted with the less specifically defined contours of the political entities that constituted the Ottoman, Chinese and Austro-Hungarian empires. As an imagined community (B. Anderson 1991), a nation created a sense of belonging that hinged upon the perception of shared characteristics, including a shared language. For Japan, nationalism meant

the coalition of the group of Japanese-speaking islands into what is now considered Japan (Sakai 1997:40–71). The translation of international law in the nineteenth century (L.H. Liu 1999) helped cement ideas of national sovereignty and conditions for self-rule across these disparate territories.

The concept of democracy and its associated values has also been translated and imported into many countries. The ways in which democracy has been adopted and practised often varies from its European and American origins, to the consternation of some (Appadurai 1997:174–175). This variation is the result of adapting the relevant ideas to local traditions and conditions; for instance, Schaffer (2000) argues that *demokaraasi* – the Wolof translation for *democracy*, introduced in Senegal in the late 1970s (ibid.:69) – elicits in users meanings of consensus and solidarity that are more closely connected with their daily experience of politics in villages and towns (ibid.:80–85) than with the standard Euro-American understanding of democracy. Similar processes of negotiation impacted the notions of the individual and of liberalism when they travelled to China (Gagnier 2015:21–26). Such processes of negotiation between imported ideas and local conditions have been frequently viewed as an imposition of so-called progressive western values; in the field of gender and sexuality, for instance, scholars of Islamic feminism (Ali 2012) and sexual identity in Arab societies (Massad 2007) have questioned the preconceived views of groups of European and American activists and scholars on marriage, sexual freedom and homosexuality. While much of the scholarship on this topic focuses on the nineteenth century, the translation and adaptation of political ideas are ongoing processes that continue to take place in the contemporary period. Azuma’s reinterpretation of Rousseau’s concept of the general will for the Internet age is one example of such continuing translation (Azuma 2014).

Translation within political structures

Translation is a double-edged practice as far as political structures are concerned. It can contribute to the maintenance and consolidation

of structures of power, by facilitating communication between rulers and ruled in multilingual societies or increasing the international prestige of a given culture. But it equally has the potential to subvert the current status quo by introducing new and subversive ideas.

Translation has historically been used as a tool of empire (Robinson 1997a:10). Empires span large geographical areas and incorporate many ethnicities, and hence require the services of translators and interpreters to negotiate linguistic diversity and mediate between speakers of different languages, with the official language of empire remaining the most powerful (Chow 2014:14). Colonial practices may differ from empire to empire; for example, French policies in Vietnam were more assimilationist than their British counterparts in countries such as India (Wright 2002:228), and translation practices will therefore also differ. In many cases translation served to reduce and erase colonial difference (Mignolo 2000:3), leaving imperial subjects with a fractured sense of self (Fanon 1986) and undermining local forms of knowledge (Niranjana 1992:2; Mignolo 2000:4–6; Halberstam 2011:9–15). In some contexts, translation was used by imperial powers as a means of policing their subjects: in colonial Korea, for instance, Korean officials translated texts for the benefit of the Japanese police force (Suh 2013:1–17).

Niranjana describes translation as a “technology of colonial domination” (1992:21), explaining that British powers in India translated texts in order to understand and domesticate Indian learning (ibid.:12), and then used it in developing British science. Translation contributed to the development of a colonial discourse that constructed Indian colonial subjects as needing to be ruled from outside (ibid.:14), a claim that served as justification for British rule. The use of English as a language of administration meant that existing elites, both Muslim and Hindu, found their authority reduced and were distanced from their traditional cultures (Mishra 2012:34). It also necessitated the translation of Indian laws into English that could then be taught to the locals, giving British administrators more control over the legal system by which the locals were governed (Niranjana 1992:16–18).

In the colonization of North America, the translation of property and related concepts

shaped the interactions between European colonists and Native Americans (Cheyfitz 1991:41–58). Native American concepts of land use were not exclusive in the same way as the term property is understood in English (ibid.:57), but by explaining Native American notions through English, the colonists were able to buy property from the Native Americans. Here, translation elided colonial difference and local understanding to allow the colonists to appropriate land in a way they considered legal but that was detrimental to the local population.

One of the colonial strategies adopted in the Spanish empire, which covered much of Latin America and the Philippines, was to convert the locals to Catholicism. In the Philippines, the use of Spanish to express Christian concepts such as *dios* (God) or *virgen* (Virgin Mary) meant that the largely Tagalog speaking audience’s understanding of Catholicism was partial. It also meant that there was some room left for local (re)interpretations of these terms (Rafael 1993:29, 110, 116) and therefore for resistance to colonial rule. The growing use of Castilian Spanish in the multilingual Philippines would later allow Filipino nationalists to communicate with each other and with people sympathetic to their cause in Spain (Rafael 2005:19). The imperial language in this case offered a means of overcoming imperial rule.

While some political regimes such as that of Meiji Japan embraced translation as a way of developing the country (Uchiyama 2012), other regimes such as Fascist Italy saw translation as a threat (Rundle 2011b). Fascist regimes in Europe often censored translation (Rundle and Sturge 2010) in order to protect the population from the influence of foreign (political) ideas. Earlier in history, China and Japan closed their borders for similar purposes (Ferguson 2012:32; Mishra 2012:130–131), though the Japanese maintained contact with Europe in the Edo period through Dutch traders based on the artificial island of Dejima in the Nagasaki harbour, thus allowing some room for controlled translation of European works (Wakabayashi 2012b:34). Exercising control over translation tends to be equated with direct or indirect censorship, a topic widely discussed in translation studies (Merkle et al. 2010; Seruya and Lin Morin 2008). But exercising control is also involved in translation policies that encourage the publication of works supporting

a political agenda: one example is how German jurist and thinker Carl Schmitt came to find a cult-like following among intellectual elites in Francoist Spain, as his anticommunist ideas fit in well with the interests of right-wing thinkers (Saralegui 2016). However, translators and editors may also subvert translation policies by presenting potentially conflictual foreign authors in a light that would make them politically acceptable and suitable for publication; for instance, Lygo (2016:55–57) shows some of the ways in which forewords and other paratexts were used by some editors in the USSR during the Brezhnev period (1965–1981) to make experimental and controversial foreign authors more palatable to the censors.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the collapse of the colonial world order and the destruction caused by the long European Civil War (1919–1945; Traverso 2015) paved the way for the rise of transnational institutions such as the European Coal and Steel Community (1952), forerunner of the European Union. Originally “set up with the aim of ending the frequent and bloody wars between neighbours” (European Union 2017), critics such as P. Anderson (2009) argue that trade was enshrined as the leading principle of the Union, which was to become a major force behind globalization. Like the United Nations, created in 1945, the European Union established multilingualism as a central aspect of its political dealings, creating its own translation services and expanding them with the inclusion of new official languages.

While the capitalist world system has been in place since the sixteenth century (Wallerstein 2004:23), the period since the 1970s has seen an intensification of globalization (Cronin 2003:10), understood as the ability of companies to operate transnationally and move their sites of production around the world (Beck 2000:1–15). Factors which have made this development possible include changes in logistics, such as the availability of container shipping, and improved communications (Appadurai 1997:29). International treaties such as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT 1947) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (1994), and the founding of the World Trade Organization (WTO 1995), have also facilitated the flow of products across the world. The underlying ideology supporting the growth in free trade and

the rule of the market is neoliberalism (Harvey 2005), an idea which has itself been translated and adapted to different local conditions (Ban 2016). The so-called Washington Consensus (Stiglitz 2002) is the hegemonic form that neoliberalism has taken, leading to the development of global free trade. Resistance to neoliberalism and globalization has taken various forms, ranging from protests against the WTO in the late 1990s (Klein 2000) to sustained scholarly critique (Beck 2000; Harvey 2005; Sassen 1998) as well as political violence around the globe (Bielsa and Hughes 2009).

The growth of world trade and the concurrent increase in global communications have extended the need for translation to new contexts (Bielsa 2009:14; N. Wang 2004:17) and opened up the translation market to previously peripheral locations such as Ireland (Cronin 2003:80–88). Reflecting on these developments, some scholars have argued that globalization has led to the development of a translational world system (Heilbron 1999; Sapiro 2009b), where exchanges between languages are dependent on hierarchical relations shaped by economic, political and cultural power. The numerous programmes created by institutions such as the German Goethe Institut, Swiss Pro Helvetia and the Ireland Literature Exchange to promote their literatures abroad through translation can be understood in a political sense, as part of larger projects of nation-branding and cultural diplomacy (Flotow 2007). The shrinking role of the state and the increased focus on the market (Harvey 2005:2) have led to a revaluation of cultural values, with popular and other previously low prestige forms of culture becoming more visible and thus translated (N. Wang 2004:6). The accelerated movement of people, things and texts has highlighted the role played by translation and interpreting in mediating communication between speakers of many languages and the officials who hold the power to allow them entry into a country. The so-called European refugee crisis of 2015 highlighted both the political power of borders and the need for language services; one app (InfoAid) was developed by Hungarian volunteers to provide refugees with essential information on aspects such as transport and weather reports and give them access to useful phrases in a variety of languages. Contrary to earlier expectations of globalization (Ohmae 1990), borders have

continued to exist and even increase in number (Ferguson and Mansbach 2012; Mezzadra and Neilson 2013). Borders are clearly political phenomena, and their intersection with language and translation policies deserves more attention from translation scholars.

Finally, translation and interpreting are becoming increasingly important in global activism, whether in terms of allowing citizens to network across the globe or raising international awareness of certain causes. A variety of networks and organizations such as Babels, Tlaxcala and Translate for Justice use translation for political purposes, including supporting communication in humanitarian and activist settings and promoting linguistic diversity. Transnational activist groups such as ATTAC and Coalition Climat 21 have also established their own networks of volunteer translators to disseminate their messages in multiple languages. Although the field of activism remains relatively underresearched (Tymoczko 2010d; Baker 2016b:10–12), a number of studies have analyzed the practice of translation and interpreting at the World Social Forum and its political implications (Boéri 2012b; Doerr 2012), as well as the ways in which translation underpins the daily functioning of activist groups (Doerr 2018), while growing attention is also being paid to activist subtitling (Baker 2016a; Pérez-González 2010, 2016).

See also:

ACTIVISM; CENSORSHIP; COSMOPOLITANISM; GLOBALIZATION; NATIONS AND NATION-BUILDING; POSTCOLONIALISM

Further reading

Doerr, N. (2018) *Political Translation: How social movement democracies survive*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Puts forward a theory of interventionist political translation based on ethnographic work among activist groups.

Fernández, F. and J. Evans (eds) (2018) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Politics*, Abingdon: Routledge.

The first volume to chart the political component of translation and interpreting in its full diversity, combining historical overviews with more contemporary approaches and case studies.

Tymoczko, M. (ed.) (2010) *Translation, Resistance, Activism*, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

The essays in this collected volume address the political agency of translators and translation as a form of activism from a historical and contemporary perspective.

FRUELA FERNÁNDEZ AND
JONATHAN EVANS

Polysystem theory

Originally arising from the work of a group of Russian literary theorists, the concept of the polysystem has received considerable attention in the work of a group of translation scholars since the mid-1970s. Its advantages as an approach include its flexibility and extensibility and its accommodation of literature and translation within the wider context of social, economic and other forces (Gentzler 2001:119). While offering a general model for understanding, analyzing and describing the functioning and evolution of literary and other systems, its specific application to the study of translated literature – an area frequently marginalized by literary theory – has given rise to much useful discussion and research but has also attracted a certain amount of criticism.

The polysystem model

It was in the early 1970s that Itamar Even-Zohar, a scholar from Tel Aviv, developed the polysystem model while working on his PhD, a theoretical work on literary translation. Its roots, however, lie in the writings of the late Russian Formalists Yuri Tynyanov, Roman Jakobson and Boris Eikhenbaum (Matejka and Pomorska 2002). Although many aspects of their thinking are taken up by Even-Zohar, probably the most significant contribution of the Formalists is the notion of the system. This term, which was originally defined by Tynyanov (1929), was used to denote a multilayered structure of elements that relate to and interact with each other. As a concept, this was flexible enough to be applicable to phenomena on various levels, thus enabling

Tynyanov to view not only individual works, but also entire literary genres and traditions – and ultimately even the entire cultural and social order – as systems, or even systems of systems, in their own right.

Even-Zohar took up the systemic approach in the early 1970s more or less from the point where the Formalists had left off. His immediate aim at the time was to resolve certain problems connected with translation theory and the historical structure of Hebrew literature, and his application of the Formalists' ideas to these areas resulted in the formulation of what he termed polysystem theory. In his writings, the terms system and polysystem are to a large extent synonymous. However, the latter term was proposed in order to stress the dynamic nature of his conception of the system and to distance it from the more static connotations that the term had acquired in the Saussurean tradition; Even-Zohar (1990b:9–13) offers an account of the provenance and rationale of the term. According to his model, a polysystem is conceived as a heterogeneous, hierarchized conglomerate (or system) of systems that interact to bring about an ongoing, dynamic process of evolution within the polysystem as a whole. Polysystems can therefore be postulated to account for phenomena existing on various levels, so that the polysystem of a given national literature is viewed as one element making up the larger sociocultural polysystem, which itself comprises other polysystems besides the literary, such as the artistic, the economic and the political. Furthermore, being thus placed in a broader sociocultural context, literature comes to be viewed not just as a collection of texts, but more broadly as a set of factors governing the production, promotion and reception of these texts.

Essential to the concept of the polysystem is the notion that its various strata and subdivisions are constantly competing with each other for the dominant position. Thus, in the case of the literary polysystem there is a continuous state of tension between the centre and the periphery in which different literary genres all vie for domination of the centre. The term genre is understood in its widest sense, and is not restricted to high or canonized forms, i.e. "those literary norms and works . . . which are accepted as legitimate by the dominant circles within a culture and whose conspicuous products are

preserved by the community to become part of its historical heritage" (Even-Zohar 1990b:15). It also includes low or non-canonized genres, "those norms and texts which are rejected by these circles as illegitimate" (ibid.). Hence the literary polysystem is made up not only of masterpieces and revered literary forms such as the established verse forms, but also of genres such as children's literature, popular fiction and translated works, none of which have traditionally fallen within the domain of literary studies.

Although so-called low forms tend to remain on the periphery, the stimulus that they give to the canonized forms occupying the centre is one of the main factors determining the way in which the polysystem evolves. Thus, for Even-Zohar literary evolution is not driven by a specific goal but is rather brought about as a consequence of "the unavoidable competition generated by the state of heterogeneity" (1990a:91). Another facet of this competition can be seen in the further tension that exists between primary (innovative) and secondary (conservative) literary principles: once a primary form has been accepted into the centre and has managed to achieve canonized status by maintaining its position there for some time, it will tend to become increasingly conservative and inflexible as it attempts to fight off challenges from newer, emerging literary ideas. However, it will eventually succumb to a newer model that will ultimately evict it from its privileged position at the centre of the polysystem.

Polysystem theory and translation

While the polysystem concept was designed specifically to solve certain problems connected with the study of translation, as a theory it should be able to account for systemic phenomena of a considerably more general nature. Indeed, since at least the 1990s Even-Zohar's interests have moved on from translation and literature, and although he has by no means abandoned his polysystem framework, his later work focuses on the general study of culture. His collection of articles *Papers in Culture Research* (2005b) is typical in this respect. The article 'Polysystem Theory (Revised)' (2005a), an updated version of an earlier article (1990a) that appears in the collection, does not even mention the concept

of translation, although it occurs seven times in the main text of its predecessor. Any discussion of his work from the perspective of translation studies must therefore focus on his earlier, translation-specific writings as well as the manner in which the concept has been taken up and developed by translation scholars.

Although it might be tempting, on the basis of the scant attention traditionally accorded to it by most branches of literary studies, to conclude that translated literature will invariably occupy a peripheral position in the polysystem, it would be a mistake to do so. While a peripheral situation is normal, Even-Zohar identifies three sets of circumstances in which translated literature can occupy a more central position (1990a:46–48). The first of these involves the situation in which a young literature in the process of being established has not yet been crystallized into a polysystem. In this case, translated literature becomes one of its most important systems as the emerging literature looks to other, more established literatures for initial, ready-made models for different genres. The second instance is when a system's own literature is itself peripheral or weak, for example when the literature of a small nation is overshadowed by that of a larger one. The third set of circumstances occurs at moments of crisis; at such evolutionary turning points, the vacuum left when older, established models cease to be tenable can frequently only be filled by an influx of new ideas via translation. At times other than these, however, translated works tend to be representative of more conservative, secondary norms, and consequently come to act as a means of maintaining traditional, even outdated models. Nevertheless, regardless of the overall state of the literary polysystem, the translated literature within it will not necessarily all behave in the same way, as like any other literary form it comprises its own stratified polysystem.

Given that translated literature can take on a variety of roles in the target polysystem – either conforming to already existing models or else introducing original elements into the system – it follows that the ways in which translation is practised in a given culture are themselves dictated by the position that translated literature occupies and the models that are currently operative within the polysystem. To use Even-Zohar's words, "translation is no longer a phenomenon

whose nature and borders are given once and for all, but an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system" (1990a:51). This new insight leads to a widening of the definition of translation itself, a non-prescriptive approach that has led to three important insights.

The first is the suggestion that it is more profitable to view translation as one specific instance of the more general phenomenon of intersystemic transfer (Even-Zohar 1990a:73–74). The second concerns our conception of the translated text. Instead of limiting the discussion to the nature of the equivalence that exists between source and target text, the translation scholar is now free to focus on the translated text as an entity existing in the target polysystem in its own right. This new target-oriented approach, now chiefly associated with the name of Gideon Toury, has led to a large volume of descriptive work investigating the nature of target texts. Thirdly, once it has been recognized that the target text is not simply the product of selections from sets of ready-made linguistic options but is shaped by systemic constraints, it becomes possible to suggest explanations for translation phenomena – such as the appearance in a translated text of functions native only to the source system – within the more general context of intersystemic transfer (*ibid.*:75–77).

Finally, although polysystem theory has been closely associated with descriptive translation studies and manipulation, as Hermans (1999b:102) points out, this connection is by no means inevitable as polysystem theory can just as easily function within other theoretical approaches such as *skopos* theory.

Further developments

Further systemic concepts were proposed relatively early on to supplement the model: Lefevere (1983:194), for example, suggests the addition of notions of polarity, periodicity and patronage. On the other hand, a number of scholars have questioned the necessity of the primary vs secondary distinction (Lefevere 1983:194; Gentzler 2001:121). In addition, polysystem theory has provided the theoretical framework for numerous case studies that focus on different kinds of translation activity within a wide range of linguistic, cultural and historical contexts. These

include the representation of Ireland in Finnish realist drama (Aaltonen 1996); the French writer Malraux in English translation (Fawcett 2001); a study of the Chinese translation of a David Lodge novel carried out along multiple dimensions (N.F. Chang 2001); French existentialism in post-World War II Jewish-American literature (Codde 2003); the translation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* into German and Japanese (Schwerin-High 2004); translated children's books (Thomson 2005); and an examination of four periods of significant translation activity in Chinese history (D. Wang 2008). At least two edited collections of articles on the subject have appeared to date (Iglesias Santos 1999; Monti and Regattin 2006). The theory has been used in a wide range of research contexts and to investigate many different configurations of intersystem interaction, including interaction between two dominant languages (N.F. Chang 2001) and between two languages both considered to be on the periphery of larger systems (Pięta 2016). Very little work using the approach has been carried out so far on interpreting, and within translation studies the approach has been used almost exclusively as a framework for text-based research. A number of studies have applied polysystem theory to audiovisual translation, however; prominent examples include examinations of British New Wave film adaptation, screenwriting and dialogue (Remael 2000) and the position of dubbing in Poland (Chmiel 2010). Karamitroglou (2000) uses the polysystem approach as part of a broader methodology for audiovisual translation research.

Over the years polysystem theory has provided a framework for a steady stream of research projects. If anything, the number of these has grown since it was first proposed: according to the Benjamins *Bibliography of Translation Studies*, the start of the new millennium has generally seen the publication of more new studies using this methodology year by year than the final 20 years of the last century. Throughout this time, the influence of Even-Zohar's original ideas has been considerable, the new approach that it has engendered being largely associated initially with groups of scholars in Israel, Belgium and the Netherlands and, more recently, China and Spain. Probably the most significant extension of the model is found in Toury (1995/2012), where Even-Zohar's target-oriented approach is

consolidated and the notion of translation norms – the factors and constraints that shape standard translation practices in a given culture – is greatly developed. Hermans's (1985b) collection of largely descriptive essays by a variety of scholars is another important expression of the approach, contributing in particular the notion of translation as the manipulation of literature. In a later work (1999b), Hermans observes that the polysystem approach is able to accommodate a "range of traditionally neglected texts" that permit translation to be located within the broader context of cultural history (ibid.:118). However, in the same work (ibid.:117–119) he discusses a number of limitations to polysystem theory. Firstly, he highlights the danger of depersonalization. Ultimately text based, the approach does not typically concern itself with individuals, groups or institutions, revealing an unwillingness to engage with the underlying causes of the phenomena that are of interest to it. Hermans also characterizes the primary versus secondary opposition as problematic, a self-fulfilling prophecy because, unlike the other oppositions, it may not be deduced from statements deriving from within the system that forms the object of study but is imposed retrospectively by the researcher.

In its essence, the nuanced picture of real-world systems that the application of polysystem theory enables researchers to elaborate is based on a small number of distinctions such as central vs peripheral, canonized vs non-canonized, source vs target and primary vs secondary. The thought that some of these are laden with values has also been expressed, with some for example arguing that it is controversial, and even offensive, to describe a particular national literature as weak (Hermans 1999b:109; Tymoczko 2000a:31). On the other hand, N.F. Chang downplays the significance of these distinctions, arguing that the complex, dynamic manner in which they interact as well as the applicability of polysystem thinking to multiple different systems – for example, not only literatures, languages and ideologies but also the agents associated with them – transcends the seemingly simplistic nature of these basic oppositions (2011:332).

Over the years, a number of scholars have argued, like Hermans, that polysystem theory does not allow a sufficiently significant place for the agency of translators as three-dimen-

sional individuals, nor does it offer a sophisticated account of the effect of sociocultural constraints on the translation process (Gouanvic 1997:126). Hanna is representative of these scholars: he argues that sociological approaches are well placed to supplement and extend polysystem theory and the concept of norms as it is used in Toury's version of descriptive translation studies (2016:6). That said, other scholars have proposed that the theory possesses sufficient flexibility to give a full account of such issues. N.F. Chang (2001), for example, uses what he describes as an augmented version of polysystem theory in his analysis of a Chinese translation of David Lodge's *Small World*. This new version arguably introduces sociological factors as it places the translator centre stage, the analysis encompassing phenomena on both systemic and textual levels and leading to the proposal of a list of norms active in the translation that includes many different factors, each set of norms being traced to their respective polysystem (ibid.:326–329). Chang's article offers a proposal for translation research to take account of six polysystems – the political, ideological, economic, linguistic, literary and translational (ibid.:321); this augmented version of polysystem theory (ibid.:320) has also been taken up by other scholars such as O'Sullivan (2006a). Codde (2003) is another scholar who argues for the continued relevance of polysystem theory as a powerful, flexible framework for systems-based research. Importantly, Chang also discusses how polysystem theory can be given the flexibility to account for situations characterized by an “overlapping of conflicting translation norms”, as was for example the case in China during the early decades of the twentieth century (2011:319).

In spite of a number of criticisms, polysystem theory has continued to be used, and indeed developed, for the purposes of research on translation. As Hermans states, it offers a “comprehensive and ambitious framework” for providing “explanations and contexts of actual behavior” (1999b:102). Some scholars look to sociology to supplement the approach while others seek instead to utilize what they perceive as its built-in flexibility to address any perceived inadequacies. Polysystem theory as articulated by Even-Zohar and other scholars is not a complete, watertight package but rather a flexible research framework that is capable of being

adapted as the need arises. Its strengths and weaknesses vis-à-vis other research frameworks have been discussed in detail by various scholars and it seems that the theory possesses sufficient rigour and flexibility to continue to serve as a powerful tool for research. As long as it is viewed as such, it is likely to continue to give rise to fruitful investigations of both a theoretical and a descriptive nature. Although it remains very much a work in progress, open to further modification and refinement, the contribution of polysystem theory to our understanding of the nature and role of translation has been significant and highly influential.

See also:

DESCRIPTIVE TRANSLATION STUDIES; LITERARY TRANSLATION; NORMS; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES; REWRITING

Further reading

Chang, N.F. (2011) ‘In Defence of Polysystem Theory’, *Target* 23(2): 311–347.

Offers a detailed discussion of all the important points of polysystem theory and a proposal for how to take the theory forward.

Even-Zohar, I. (1990) *Polysystem Studies*, Special issue of *Poetics Today* 11(1). Available at https://m.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/Even-Zohar_1990--Polysystem%20studies.pdf.

A comprehensive collection of writings by Even-Zohar that include a focus on translation.

Hermans, T. (1999) *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and systemic approaches explained*, Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Chapter Eight of this work contains a detailed and perceptive discussion of polysystem theory.

MARK SHUTTLEWORTH

Positioning

The idea of translators positioning themselves in their translations, and being positioned by them, has been explored from various angles and using a range of terms and concepts. Voice and visibility are among the most commonly used metaphors in this respect. Voice refers to the

question of who speaks in a translation, and the issue here is whether translators can be thought of as merely transmitting someone else's words without omission, addition or distortion, or as engaged in a more complex form of speaking. Visibility, made popular by Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995b/2008), appeals to the figure of the translator as either discreetly and often anonymously remaining in the background or as stepping out of the shadows to assert their right to be regarded as a coproducer of the translated message. Other, more incidental images suggest translators inevitably leave their signature or thumbprint on their work, or establish a certain discursive presence in their translations through their individual choice of words.

All these metaphors, and the debates conducted in their terms, are about different ways of conceiving of what translators do and should do. The notion of positioning has grown out of these debates. It concerns the way in which, and the degree to which, translators make not just their presence but their views felt even as they report someone else's words. Translators may deliberately create conditions that enable them to foreground or intimate their own opinion regarding the words they are transmitting, but it can be argued that a certain positioning is present in all translating, indeed in all communication. Speaking of translation in terms of positioning casts translation emphatically as a form of social interaction. The significance of the concept lies in its social and ideological import. The judgements which translators convey as they present their translations concern values that are alive in the communities they are addressing. It also has ethical implications inasmuch as the expression of value judgements involves assuming responsibility for their consequences.

The concept of positioning in sociology and linguistics

The concept of positioning was initially developed by linguists and social psychologists working in the area of conversation analysis. They in turn acknowledged their indebtedness to the sociologist Erving Goffman, who wrote extensively about everyday social interactions, the roles played by the participants in these encounters and the management of one's

self-image as the interaction wears on. In the essay 'Footing' in his *Forms of Talk* (1981), Goffman developed the concepts of participation framework and production format. The former refers to the roles played by different participants in a communicative exchange, typically a face-to-face conversation. The production format of an utterance refers to the degree of responsibility individual participants accept for what they are saying. In Goffman's terminology, an animator is merely the medium through which an utterance is channelled, the author is the one who scripted the utterance, and the principal is the one whose views are being articulated. An example is a spokesperson reading (as animator) a statement scripted by a political speechwriter (the author) on behalf of a political party (the principal). In Goffman's essay, the term position made its appearance in this context. It is the principal "whose position is established by the words that are spoken" and "who is committed to what the words say" (1981:144). The term positioning puts a more active spin on this by suggesting that we are talking about an ongoing process as part of a communicative exchange.

One influential definition of positioning which builds directly on Goffman describes it as "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (Davies and Harré 1990:48). The story lines here are the narratives that take shape as individuals engage in an ongoing conversation. As the conversational exchanges run on, successive speakers project themselves, and are cast by the others, as discursive subjects, selves who claim certain traits and attitudes or have traits and attitudes ascribed to them. With each intervention or turn-taking a speaker may be said to affirm or challenge the role in which they find themselves. For the constant manoeuvrings in which self-perception and perception by others are adjusted in the course of a conversation, Goffman coined the term footing as a more dynamic alternative to role. Positioning and footing are very similar concepts, with positioning more readily allowing the double perspective of self-positioning and being positioned by others.

Positioning, then, happens during social interaction and is part of the dynamic of human relationships. It involves both an agent who

positions himself or herself, and an observer who positions the agent. It can be seen simply as “the process by which certain characteristics are attributed to an individual or a group or some other entity” in the course of an exchange (Baert 2012:310). The entity may be an institution. The individual may be oneself, in which case self-positioning amounts to self-fashioning, the pose one strikes or is seen to strike, consciously or unconsciously. At the same time, speakers cannot control the effects of their self-positioning, as others may perceive a speaker’s words very differently from what he or she intended. Positioning is also a relational concept in that one position is always defined in relation to other positions in a given context. Self-positioning, too, means positioning others in relation to oneself. Focusing on an utterance for the positioning it contains means focusing on the utterance’s performativity: what someone says matters less than the kind of profile they seek to project, or are seen to project, through what they say.

Positioning and translation

In applying the concept of positioning to translation, a basic assumption is that the translation is delivered to an audience by someone, and that the very fact of delivering it already allows an observer to make assumptions about the presenter. Obvious as this may be, it brings us to the heart of the matter if we think, for instance, of interpreters operating in situations of violent conflict. Even if interpreters in these conditions do their best to mediate as accurately and objectively as possible, they are unlikely to be recognized as neutral or innocent facilitators but are almost invariably perceived as working for one side or the other (Inghilleri and Harding 2010). In other interpreting situations such as conference or court interpreting, the relevant institutions may put measures in place to guarantee the neutrality and objectivity of the interpretation. In the case of written translation, the text is likely to be issued by an institution such as a publisher or another public or private organization, but here, too, the translator’s association with such a body may already position him or her in the eyes of a beholder. The context of utterance, that is, entails an institutional affiliation that may be read as signalling loyalty or complicity. As with

interpreting in conflict situations, the publication of controversial or ideologically partisan texts is likely to position the translator by association, even if he or she had, for instance, only commercial gain in mind. The performance of the translation itself, whether spoken or written, will be perceived within this broad context of utterance. In other words, the context already positions the translator, and that positioning affects the way in which the actual translation is read.

There is also the more immediate, textual frame surrounding the translation. Just as interpreters may introduce themselves to their clients prior to starting the interpretation, written translations may be framed by various kinds of paratexts such as translator’s introductions, footnotes, endnotes and afterwords. The list may be extended to include what Genette (1997b) calls epitexts, such as private letters or interviews. In these texts – insofar as they are not blurbs penned by someone else – translators speak in their own name. They can present themselves in any number of ways as experts or amateurs, old hands or novices; they can adopt or resist the stereotypical roles assigned to them by tradition and take a stance regarding prevailing modes of translation. More often than not these texts also contain value judgements about the original that has been translated. The default attitudes one expects to find are loyalty or a non-committal stance, as when a translator praises the qualities or usefulness of the foreign text, or refrains from explicit comment and lets the act of translating speak for itself. But other, more discordant positionings are possible. A translator may thoroughly disapprove of the original on moral, ideological, aesthetic or any other grounds, or they may express reservations about certain aspects of the original. Alternatively, or in addition, they may align themselves with or voice opposition to fellow translators, existing translations or other discourses that are alive in the receptor culture.

Positionings of this kind that occur in the textual frame around the actual translation serve as an interpretive threshold to the translation and help to condition the way it is read. Exactly how the frame affects the translation depends on the available evidence and on individual acts of reading. One example is the 1939 translation into English of Adolf Hitler’s *Mein*

Kampf. This was an American initiative by a group of anti-Nazi liberals who included Albert Einstein, Pearl Buck, Thomas Mann and others. Their translation was emphatically presented as unexpurgated, in contrast with the abridged 1933 version by E.T.S. Dugdale. The distinguishing feature of the 1939 translation is its extensive introduction and numerous notes, all of which show hostility to Hitler's ideas and present them as a danger to the world. A complete translation, the editorial team explained, was needed precisely because the book was dangerous. The name of the translator, Helmut Ripperger, does not appear on the title page but in the publisher's note. Only indirectly, then, and on the basis of external evidence, do we know Ripperger shared the editorial team's ideological stance. Reading the translation with that knowledge in mind enables us to dissociate Ripperger's position from Hitler's even as the translation has Hitler speaking in the first person singular through Ripperger's words. The ideological discrepancy between translator and author is not linguistically marked in the translated text, but it sets this version apart from pro-Nazi translations in which no such discrepancy is at play. It makes the translation into a distanced performance rather than a complicit act. To understand how the translation works to create meaning for its audience, it is essential to grasp the translator's double act as both enabling Hitler to speak in English and signalling disagreement with what he is saying.

A second, more complex example is Samuel Dunster's otherwise unremarkable translation of the Latin poet Horace in 1709. Justifying a translation into prose, Dunster's preface alludes approvingly to John Dryden but is critical of earlier verse translators like Thomas Creech. On Horace's sexual improprieties Dunster is firm: he has "castrated" his poet and papered over anything that might be "contrary to the Rules of Decency and good Manners" (Dunster 1729:Preface). The positioning thus happens on two fronts simultaneously, aesthetic and moral. Creech is mentioned by name and stands for a number of previous verse translators from the Classics, while not every reader may recognize the homage to Dryden or realize that Dryden did not usually translate verse into prose. The moral stricture appeals to a common

eighteenth-century discourse about decorum in polite bourgeois society. Just how the moral reservation inflects the actual translation can be established by comparing Dunster's often conspicuously bland version not just with the original but especially with other translations, old and new. From a modern point of view, the prudery of Dunster's positioning is likely to be viewed differently from his own perception of himself. But it also opens a window on the values the translator shares with at least a section of his intended readership and which both he and they seem keen to uphold. Looking at the translation from this angle means paying attention not so much to its representational aspect as to its contribution to a public narrative. The way the translator positions himself with respect to his audience is key to this.

Framing a translation is one way for a translator to establish a position and promote a certain reading of the translation. Another is the delivery and textual make-up of the translation itself. In face-to-face interpreting, the interpreter's voice, timbre and body language may sometimes be read as clues suggesting where the interpreter stands in relation to what is being said, although most professional interpreting frowns on such conduct. In written translation, it is primarily the translator's choice of words that gives away his or her positioning. Linguists and narratologists pointed out decades ago that a speaker's discourse always conveys an attitude as well. In *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, Wayne Booth argued that authors can to some extent choose their disguises but they cannot disappear altogether, and consequently their judgements can be detected by anyone who knows how to look for them (1961:20). Fowler observed in *Linguistics and the Novel* that we cannot say something without at the same time conveying an attitude towards this something (1977:76). If this is true, the words chosen by translators to represent a source text are bound to do more than merely represent; they convey attitudes and judgements, that is, positionings. It is a matter of reading for the relevant clues.

The clues may be obvious, such as a sudden change of language. When Clement Egerton translated a Chinese erotic novel into English as *The Golden Lotus* (Egerton 1939), he put all the more explicitly sexual passages into Latin, often

switching from one language to the other in mid sentence. Similar techniques, using Latin or French, had been used before by English translators of Boccaccio and by a variety of original writers. In terms of positioning, two aspects of the technique stand out. One is the appeal to the audience's understanding. This may be signalled in a preface or footnote, but even in the absence of a paratextual intervention the translator, rightly or wrongly, expects the readers to acquiesce in part of the translation being shielded from their eyes for the sake of the greater good, i.e. the covering up of perceived indecency. The other is the social dimension of the technique. Audiences who could read Latin or French as well as English, and thus had access to the salacious detail, were evidently deemed to be immune to the danger of moral corruption, whereas the less well-educated, usually the lower classes, were not.

In most translating the signals are more subtle. Comparison with other translations will often highlight the significance of individual choices. Both similarities and differences allow for the particular choices to be read as symptomatic of a stylistic or political or other alignment, or of a certain interpretation of the original. Retranslations may claim to offer added value exactly because they foreground a new reading of an original (Venuti 2013c), but they may also be read more antagonistically as trying to supersede, discredit or demolish their predecessors; in this respect Jorge Luis Borges (1935/2012:92) speaks of "hostile dynasties" of translators.

If retranslations create very particular intertextual filiations with their predecessors and allow translators to position themselves accordingly, looser connections can also be established, stretching the concept of intertextuality to what Genette (1979) calls generic intertextuality and architextuality. Translators may, through their choice of texts to translate and through the textual choices they make, align themselves not just with individual role models but with broader modes or styles of translating. Individual translators may make these choices unconsciously or as a matter of routine, following established practice or teaching. Even the most inconspicuous and anonymous translation lays claim, architecturally, to being recognized as a translation by virtue of appealing to the label 'translation'. It is

up to audiences to assess these self-positionings, and to position the translators accordingly.

Methodology and relevance

Approaching translations with the help of the concept of positioning fosters an appreciation of translation as a communicative act, a conversation in which, as a minimum (real conditions will always be more complex), a translator addresses an audience and the audience responds. The conversation may extend over many years and involve a number of translations and their relative success or impact, encouraging translators to carry on as before or to adjust their choices. In this longer timespan, individual translations are interventions, turn-takings by means of which discursive identities are established, participants position themselves and are in turn positioned by others.

For this perspective to be fruitful, translators have to be seen as speaking to an audience. They are agents who present a product and thus frame it, before they subsequently engage in the performance of translation by letting the original speaker speak in the translator's words in the language of the translator's audience. The transition from frame to performance is marked by the first-person displacement (Pym 2004:8) typical of most translating: the initial first person used by the translator in his or her own name is followed by the first person that has the translator enacting the original speaker's discourse. A positioning perspective suggests that these two speaking situations, while distinct, are not separate but interconnected. Audiences can move from one to the other by shifting their deictic focus. Whereas the deictic centre of a discourse is normally anchored in the 'I-here-now' of the speaker, a deictic shift from a translated discourse to the translation's frame interrupts the performance of translation. The 'edgework' (Stockwell 2002) that consists in toggling between deictic levels enables audiences to position translators by evaluating the translator's words not merely as a representation of an anterior discourse but as a series of discursive choices revealing attitudes and judgements. Every translation, however illusionistic or fluent

or domesticating, can be subjected to this kind of non-compliant, positioning reading.

The relevance of reading translation in terms of positioning lies in the fact that positioning draws attention to the relation between translators and the communities for which they cater. In this relation, values are likely to be shared, affirmed, challenged or undermined. A positioning perspective suggests that translators take part in these social and cultural dynamics by infusing their translations with value judgements.

See also:

HYBRIDITY; IDEOLOGY; METAPHORICS; NARRATIVE; PARATEXTS; RETRANSLATION; ROLE; SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Further reading

Baert, P. (2012) 'Positioning Theory and Intellectual Interventions', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 42: 304–324.

A linguistically informed account of positioning theory as applied to intellectual exchange and debate, stressing the performative character of language use and the dependency of individual utterances on their context.

Davies, B. and R. Harré (1990) 'Positioning: The discursive production of selves', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 20: 43–63.

A seminal essay on the notion of positioning as applied to conversational analysis, with reference to the work of Erving Goffman.

Hermans, T. (2014) 'Positioning Translators. Voices, views and values in translation', *Language and Literature* 23: 285–301.

An exploration of positioning theory as applied to translation, suggesting different ways of reading the self-positioning of translators and their positioning by audiences.

Schöglér, R. (2018) 'Translation in the Social Sciences and Humanities: Circulating and canonizing knowledge', *Alif. Journal of Comparative Poetics* 38: 62–90.

Demonstrates how positioning plays a part in the diffusion of ideas and in disciplinary canon formation as translators advance their own agendas in promoting or criticizing the authors they translate.

Postcolonialism

Postcolonial criticism reveals commonalities between histories of European imperialism in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Africa, with translation playing a crucial mediating role that – at its worst – reinforces western epistemologies and perpetuates entrenched hierarchies.

Said (1978/1979) catalogued the complicity of colonial state-sponsored actors in maintaining western forms of knowledge that undergird global power structures, a critique that other scholars built on in the following decades to bring the role of language hierarchies and translation in colonial contexts into increasingly sharp focus. His powerful critique was pursued by Bhabha, but with an explicit focus on Indian and Anglophone examples to draw attention to academic investments in "cultural translation" as a practice that "desacralizes the transparent assumptions of cultural supremacy" (1994b:228); in the process Bhabha helped institutionalize postcolonialism as a field of study, primarily in US universities. In one particularly influential essay, he reads Salman Rushdie's controversial novel *The Satanic Verses* in conversation with the writings of Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida and Paul de Man on metaphors of translation to raise broad theoretical concerns about "the transcultural, migrant experience" as "the act of living on borderlines" (ibid.:226–227). Niranjana (1992) works from his earlier critiques of colonial discourse and devotes an entire chapter each to Benjamin, Derrida and de Man in her project of rethinking translation in colonial and postcolonial contexts; unlike Bhabha, she approaches the task through a detailed study of the translation archive, arguing specifically for the importance of studying what she calls the outwork of practising translators. Her most enduring contribution to the field has remained her opening chapter, in which she discusses the work of colonial officials such as the late eighteenth-century translator, scholar and lawyer William Jones, who served as a judge for the East India Company's government in India and as president of the newly constituted Asiatic Society (ibid.:12). Jones, she contends, relied on translation to "purify" and thus "improve" what he and other British colonizers saw as

“unreliable” interpretations of native law, art and philosophy (ibid.:17–19). To counter the colonial attempt at producing “transparent” translations and ensuring their adoption in a range of discourses, Niranjana proposes that postcolonial readers look more carefully at the “effective history” of each text, asking instead who used it, in which context and for what purpose (ibid.:35).

L.H. Liu (1995) examines a range of Chinese examples to argue similarly for the importance of studying the “historicity” (in the Nietzschean sense) of translated exchange, insisting that “a cross-cultural study must examine its own condition of possibility” beyond tidy binaries (ibid.:20–23). As part of this project, Liu develops a methodology that more effectively tracks the dynamic relationship between language cultures in a way that disrupts linear, teleological understandings of these sites of exchange, questioning the very premise of “hypothetical equivalence” that insists on European superiority even while concealing the underlying hierarchies between languages (ibid.:16). Few scholars have been able to put non-European language examples on an equal footing with those written in European languages as Liu did; they include Niranjana and Spivak. In her closing chapter, Niranjana compares a number of different translations into English of the same work from the south Indian language of Kannada, in order to call for a translation method of “disruption” (ibid.:164–168). Spivak also famously calls for what she terms resistant translation. In a much-anthologized essay, she draws on her own experiences of translating the work of Jacques Derrida (from French) and Mahasweta Devi (from Bengali) to call for a practice attuned to issues of gender and other structural imbalances, one that might disrupt what she memorably calls the homogenizing gesture of a “with-it translate, so that the literature by a woman in Palestine begins to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan” (1993:182). Spivak here deftly personalizes the larger ethical concerns at play in what she considers this “most intimate act of reading” (ibid.:183).

These few examples aside, however, the primacy of European-language examples in the literature remains a problematic issue, and scholars specializing in postcolonial translation have not been able to counter fully the suspicion expressed by postcolonial theorists that the

detailed philological expertise required in area studies departments is inevitably Orientalist in nature. Lamentably, this tension is exacerbated by regarding those who study European-language traditions as more theoretically sophisticated, and those working on and in local languages as more provincial in their thinking.

Challenging the inequality of languages

Scholars from a range of disciplines as well as literary writers have long argued independently and passionately that addressing the perceived hierarchies between languages is fundamental to the study of postcoloniality, and that these hierarchies dictate our own complicities today. Mukherjee (1981/1994) was one of the first to raise difficult questions about the production of Indo-English writing and the neglected role of translation in postcolonial literary production. In a contribution to a landmark volume that examines the writing of anthropology, Asad (1986) offers a critical overview of twentieth-century ethnographic practice as cultural translation. Asad raises pointed questions about “the inequality of languages” underwriting so many representations of what he called “weaker . . . Third-World societies” in disciplinary discourses (ibid.:157). Fellow Europe-based anthropologist Johannes Fabian (1986) also investigates uneven language policies, this time in colonial administration in Africa. In a 1983 essay that ignited heated conversation across India – including a decade later in English translation as ‘Nativism in Literature’ (Nemadé 1997) – the Marathi writer Bhalchandra Nemadé rails against colonial legacies devaluing indigenous vernaculars. More famously in transnational circles, the Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (1986/1997) decries the English language’s hegemony and declares defiantly – in English – that henceforth he would write only in his native language of Gikuyu. Ngũgĩ writes movingly of the colonizer’s language being “the most important vehicle through which . . . power fascinated and held the soul prisoner” (ibid.:9).

A number of translation scholars and postcolonial theorists have since critiqued existing language hierarchies, either individually or collaboratively. Cheyfitz (1991/1997) investigates

early European encounters with native and enslaved people in the Americas, where language itself became “hierarchized into absolute and oppositional entities”, revealing entrenched asymmetries in the very workings of the colonial state that made these newly colonized citizens unable to use legal language to demand their rights (ibid.:39). Postcolonial theorist Anuradha Dingwaney and translation studies scholar Carol Maier coedited a volume in 1995 that brings increasing nuance to the reading of difference across a range of categories. For example, bell hooks’s contribution offers a crucial reflection in which she imagines African slaves in America “first hearing English as ‘the oppressor’s language’ and then rehearing it as a potential site of resistance” (bell hooks 1995:297); Karamcheti defends the “opaque” translation strategy that re-created the decolonizing gesture behind Aimé Césaire’s Caribbean landscapes (1995:182); and Sengupta argues that Rabindranath Tagore’s own translations of his Nobel-prize winning *Gitanjali* evidence a “colonized psyche” he was not able to overcome (1995:166). The editors’ own contribution argues for pedagogical intervention in teaching the Guatemalan indigenous rights activist Rigoberta Menchú’s *testimonio* in translation to undergraduates in a way that might engage productively with perceived differences so as to avoid a lawless “domain of pure relativity” (Dingwaney and Maier 1995a:313), while still taking care not to exoticize those same differences.

Rafael (1993:38) talks of language being “alienated” from native Tagalog speakers by missionary-translators in the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines, but finds agency in resistant and at times hilarious multilingual interpretations of imported religious texts. Kadish and Massardier-Kenney (1994) return to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French archives to catalogue a new repertoire of translated material where women writers’ awareness of gender discrimination recognized the rights of enslaved subjects ahead of their time. Devy counters colonial legacies by arguing that citizens in a multilingual country like India possess a unique “translating consciousness” that should be celebrated rather than scorned (1993:141). Ramakrishna’s (1997) edited multidisciplinary volume on *Translation and Multilingualism*

draws explicit comparisons between language policy issues in India and Canada. Batchelor (2009) similarly calls for a radical rethinking of linguistic diversity in the translation of sub-Saharan French African texts into English. These scholars are attuned to what Tageldin refers to in the Egyptian context as “the seductions of empire” and the need for a “new imperative of recognition” (2011:64).

Reconceptualizing translation in theory and practice

Although much work had already been done to draw attention to the role of translation in the history of colonialism, it is Bassnett and Trivedi (1999a) who announced the subfield as such, and drawing on a wide range of local examples offered new ways of understanding translation from a postcolonial perspective. Contributions to this collected volume include Vieira’s discussion of Haroldo de Campos’s polemical readings in Brazilian Portuguese of translation as cannibalism (Vieira 1999); Prasad’s argument that Indian literature written in English should be understood as an act of translation (Prasad 1999); and Devy’s exploration of Indian literary history to recover an interpretive practice untouched by the British (Devy 1999). The collection coedited by Simon and St-Pierre (2000) likewise draws parallels between examples across multiple continents – from Dublin to Hong Kong, and from Malaysia to Quebec – to question fundamental concepts such as fidelity (Ramakrishna 2000) and generic terms such as the novel (Fitzpatrick 2000). Wolf’s contribution explores ways in which Bhabha’s (1984, 1994a) concept of “hybridization” as “subversion of colonial authority” applies specifically to translated discourse (Wolf 2000:133), and St-Pierre’s confronts difficult questions about “Translating (into) the Language of the Colonizer”, with an example from Oriya into English (St-Pierre 2000). Contributors to St-Pierre and Kar (2005) move the discussion forward with reflections on issues such as translation rights and intellectual property (Basalamah 2005b), and the need to address the “responsibilities” (rather than “rights”) of a translator (Spivak 2005b/2007:239).

Contributors to these collections have all questioned the predominantly European conceptual frameworks that have influenced how we

read the history of translated work. A number of contributions to the two volumes edited by Hermans (2006) extend this critique in important directions. Among others, Cheung (2006a) reflects on the conceptual underpinnings of an anthology of Chinese translation theories, which she discusses variously as 'thoughts' or 'discourse'; Salama-Carr examines the influence on the Arab Renaissance of French genres adapted into Arabic in the nineteenth century; Paker examines early Ottoman-Turkish debates over distinctions between imitation and translation; Bandia challenges European conceptualizations of originality that have shaped readings of African texts in translation – his discussion engages with multilayered moves between oral and written forms, as does Muhawi's in a contribution on Arabic folkloric traditions. Bandia (2008) and Merrill (2009b) later develop the theme of oral-to-written traditions in Africa and northern India respectively, and issue calls for rethinking the hierarchies at play in these and other postcolonial contexts.

Reconceptualizing translation theoretically soon lead to calls for developing relevant critical practices on the ground. In the Indian context, scholars, translators and publishers have been working together to rethink received categories of translation for a nation both postcolonial and multilingual, not to mention ethnically divided, and have devised scholarly and editorial practices that can take into account the vibrant heterogeneity of the country. Kothari's *Translating India* (2003) provides a series of snapshots of the ways in which colonial attitudes towards translation have been perpetuated in and outside of academia, including in the publishing industry. Her final chapter is devoted to the postcolonial landscape of translation in Gandhi's native tongue of Gujarati, examining the complexities of intranational multilinguality. Majeed (2007) has also investigated the role of translation in Gandhi's publishing ventures across languages during the heyday of the nationalist movement, particularly in his autobiographical writings. In postcolonial India publishers such as Katha Press have published topic-specific volumes – such as *Translating Partition* (Ravikant and Saint 2001) and *Translating Caste* (Basu 2002) – that bring together translated work and critical writing on the translations themselves, in their specific historical contexts, by scholars and translators well

versed in the politics of postcolonial translation. Attention to these postcolonial critiques in turn has shaped the editorial policies of the publisher. For example, editors at Katha avoid italicizing words of Indian origin and refuse to allow the translators to provide glossaries. Other presses, like Stree, purposely include endnotes and allow a translator like Maya Pandit to provide both an extensive introduction and an additional "note on kinship terms" on the anti-caste memoirs of activist Urmila Pawar (2008), equally paying attention to current postcolonial debates but deciding to adopt a different strategy from Katha's. In an article drawing parallels between the voices of minorities in Indian and Canadian contexts, postcolonial theorist and translator Arun Mukherjee notes the discrepancy between publishing her translation of anti-caste writer Omprakash Valmiki in India and then with a US academic press. She charges that the latter added an insulting explanatory description to the title of the book that highlighted the author's untouchable background, and insisted on including footnotes that Mukherjee deemed "totally unnecessary" because they assumed the reader was a "total fool" (quoted in Mukherjee et al. 2006:13). This was especially shocking given that the work of the Dalit activists being translated was, as Mukherjee argues, successfully "reorienting the parameters of postcolonial literary studies which had previously focused exclusively on works by high-caste Indian writers" (ibid.:4). Such approaches begin to complicate the perceived binaries of postcolonial rhetoric, insisting instead on formulating translation strategies that recognize the heterogeneity of power structures in postcolonial cultures – whether multilingual or monolingual.

Nowhere is the comparison clearer between colonial-era approaches to translation and jurisprudence in the days of Jones and more recent attempts to see justice served in the postcolonial era than in the example of multilingual South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). While journalist Krog (1998) offers a popular and riveting account of the TRC proceedings as a whole, she makes few explicit interventions in terms of understanding the role of translation in these proceedings, beyond providing a glossary of terms. Likewise, scholars like Anthonissen (2008), who investigated the role of translation in the TRC testimonies, do

not make explicit links with colonial discursive regimes. Instead, the most insightful work that reconceptualizes translation in a postcolonial context is being done by the Truth in Translation project: members explore the fraught politics of ethnically defined violence and intranational multilinguality by dramatizing interviews with South African interpreters on their experiences of working for the TRC. What started in 2005 as an intensive three-week workshop with the TRC interpreters turned into a play that has toured the world in places where “there is, or once was, struggle for justice, human rights, or basic human dignity, and which celebrate the possibility of perceptual change” (Truth in Translation website). Staging the dramatic courtroom scenes has served to emphasize the difficult and exhausting emotional work that went into empathizing with victim and perpetrator alike, often in ways that might have contradicted expected alliances. These complex experiences demand more work in theorizing the stakes involved in mediating state-sponsored exercises of justice, especially in postcolonial contexts.

Elsewhere, too, work on translation in a postcolonial context is being undertaken from the perspective of multilingualism. Mamula and Patti (2016) bring together studies of daring politicized language use in cinema traditions from Africa, South America and Asia, often framed in terms of inherited, colonizing epistemologies. Kothari (2018b) asks what a focus on multilingualism in the Indian context might offer scholars in translation studies. This edited volume showcases the linguistic diversity evident in a single nation such as India, including – as Kothari’s own chapter (Kothari 2018a) shows – in a single classroom at an academy of tribal languages.

On the face of it, postcolonial studies trades in reductive binaries, starting with the colonizer and the colonized. Translation as practice necessarily complicates and disrupts these simplistic divisions. A local idiom turned national language is celebrated as autochthonous in one quarter and despised as hegemonic in another. Nearly every translation exchange uncovers such contradictions, which can become productive if the practising translator is able to explain these dilemmas to the theorist, and the theorist is willing to have her conceptual frameworks further challenged. The best work in postcolonial translation has come from vexed col-

laborations such as these, and will continue to engender lively, thoughtful debate if we remain committed to nuancing received categories.

See also:

CONQUEST; COSMOPOLITANISM; CULTURAL TRANSLATION; FICTION; GENDER; HYBRIDITY; MEMORY; MULTILINGUALISM; NATIONS AND NATION-BUILDING; ORIENTALISM; POLITICS

Further reading

Bassnett, S. and H. Trivedi (eds) (1999) *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and practice*, London & New York: Routledge.

A key collection of essays that announced the field of postcolonial translation explicitly and attempted to critique and reshape existing preconceptions of translation.

Niranjana, T. (1992) *Siting Translation: History, post-structuralism, and the colonial context*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

One of the first publications to focus on translation in a colonial context, and to point to the ongoing effects of incommensurabilities in postcolonial settings.

Spivak, G. (1993) “The Politics of Translation”, in *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, New York: Routledge, 179–200.

Spivak speaks from her experiences as both scholar and translator to reflect on translation practice in postcolonial contexts as an ethical act of unexpected intimacies, focusing particularly on women’s writing.

CHRISTI A. MERRILL

Pragmatics

Broadly speaking, the study of pragmatics is the study of all the “correlation[s] between linguistic units and their user(s) in a given communicative situation” (House 2015:22). It is thus central to the study of translation, which is concerned with both linguistic and extralinguistic factors, the latter having to do with norms of use in the source and target lingua-cultural community, the attitude of the translator towards these norms, the requirements of the commissioners and the translator’s profile and background, among other considerations.

The interface between pragmatics and translation is particularly useful to explore through the performative dimension of language use: that is, the use of utterances to perform different social actions. Areas of particular relevance are speaker meaning and utterance meaning; speech acts, relevance theory, and politeness and face. The common denominator in all these areas is the assumption that translation does not take place between linguistic systems but involves real speakers operating in specific contexts of situation and culture.

Speaker vs utterance meaning, speech acts and the cooperative principle

Since the pioneering work of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), the idea that utterances are forms of 'doing' has become an interdisciplinary commonplace. As early as 1990, Hatim and Mason drew attention to the performative aspect of every utterance and its importance for translation. Drawing on Austin (1962) and distinguishing between locutionary act as "the action performed by uttering a well-formed, meaningful sentence", illocutionary act as "the communicative force that accompanies an utterance" and perlocutionary act as "the effect of the utterance on the hearer/reader" (1990:59–60), they argued that translators attempt to re-perform locutionary and illocutionary acts in a target language, within a different context and for a new audience, with a view to accomplishing the same intended perlocutionary effect as the original utterance.

A number of studies of translation have explored presuppositions and inferences, two areas that are closely related to coherence (Baker 1992/2018; Ehrman 1993; El-Gamal 2001; Şerban 2004; Cui 2008; Cui and Zhao 2014). Presuppositions refer to the linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge the sender supposes the receiver to possess or which is essential to make sense of the sender's message (Baker 1992/2018; Fawcett 1998). Fawcett underlines the pervasiveness of presuppositions, which make it possible "to save time by not supplying information for which there is no demand, since you believe it to be shared" (1998:120). Depending on the extent of the presupposition employed in the

source text, the translator has to gauge whether it is appropriate to require the target audience to fill in the same cognitive and emotional gap. This is particularly difficult since the translator is not always aware of the kind of audience for whom the translation is destined and is thus in a position of having to decide whether to be condescending and instruct the audience, or to refrain from equipping them with information they might need to bridge presuppositional gaps. Fawcett (*ibid.*) cites the case of an Inuit legend in which baby seals are killed and their skin is taken, and where the translator skipped the detail about the animals' age, as this might have caused a western audience to form a negative perception of the Inuit for killing baby seals.

Drawing on Grice's cooperative principle, one strand of studies has explored another type of pragmatic inference, namely implicature, which focuses more on speaker rather than utterance meaning (Hatim and Mason 1990a; Neubert and Shreve 1992; Malmkjær 1998; Klungervik Greenall 2011; Machali 2012). Implicatures depend on recognizing the cooperative principle and a number of maxims associated with it: quantity, quality, relation and manner. They are achieved when the speaker appears to be violating a maxim but nevertheless seems to expect to be interpreted as being cooperative, and at the same time expects the hearer to be able to work out any additional supposition implied by the departure from norms of conversation. Grice's proposal, despite its appeal, has been critiqued on different grounds. Venuti (1996:105), for example, argues that "maxims can differ within any community, and a translation discourse, even when cooperatively described in an introductory statement, can divide readerships". While Grice's model implies that the maxims are universal because they are rooted in rationality, Baker (1992/2018:252) provides many examples to support the claim that "maxims are both language- and culture-specific" and that this may relate "to norms of discourse organization and rhetorical functions in different languages". For instance, the maxim of relevance needs to be redefined to reflect differences between English and German, as German discourse is "non-linear and favours digressions" (*ibid.*; Clyne 1987). Focusing on the maxim of quality, Mateo (2005) compares items on soccer taken from two British and Spanish newspapers. The style of Spanish

columnists is shown to be rich in warlike metaphors and to prioritize success or defeat, whereas its English counterpart is more down to earth and informative. Players' names are most often cited in English while in Spanish they are usually replaced by the team's name or town. Klungervik Greenall (2011) further demonstrates through analysis of the Norwegian translation of the Irish novel *The Commitment*, by Roddy Doyle, that the same maxim may operate in the source and target cultures, but with different normative strengths, leading to shifts in terms of potential attention-getting effect.

In terms of speech acts, several scholars have commented on different practices across lingua-cultures and their implications for translation. Katan (2002) illustrates the risks of foreignizing translations by quoting a text by Calvino in which a woman enters a bar for the first time and orders a coffee by saying "Un ristretto, doppio, caldissimo" (A concentrated, double, very hot). The absence of any reference to coffee and the fact that she utters a blunt directive, although unpretentiously, could be taken as impolite behaviour in a different target context. Katan suggests that in this and similar cases it would be better to embed the speech act in a request frame, thus leaving readers the opportunity to fill in the necessary politeness requirements according to their expectations, at the same time as being aware of the Italian tendency to favour explicit directness. Thomas (1995:43) discusses an incident in Pakistan in which a soap actor, Usman Pirzada, divorced his fictional wife by pronouncing the formula *Talaq* three times – a performative that effects a legal commitment to divorce in Muslim countries. The problem was that his fictional partner was also his wife in real life, and by pronouncing the formula he actually divorced her. Setyaji (2014) compares what happens in the translation of speech acts from English into Indonesian in some dialogues from the film *Titanic*. He distinguishes between translating the locution, which often results in a literal rendition, or the illocution, which most typically correlates with an idiomatic translation.

Relevance theory

Gutt (1991) proposed the first application of relevance theory to translation studies, offering

an account of translation as interpretive language use. According to Sperber and Wilson, an utterance is either used descriptively, when it represents some state of affairs, or interpretively, when it represents some other representation that has a propositional form, such as a thought or another utterance. Gutt argues that translation constitutes an interpretive use of language and that translations can be accounted for in terms of interpretive resemblance. Because translation represents what someone else said or thought, it is an instance of "interlingual interpretive use" (1991:136). The cognitive-pragmatic model developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986) claims that the relation between a translation and its source text is grounded in interpretive resemblance rather than in equivalence. Gutt starts from this premise and argues that the translator's task is to seek optimal relevance by using different strategies to reproduce the cognitive effects intended by the source-text author, at the same time as keeping the target addressees' processing effort as low as possible. In order to overcome discrepancy across languages, communicative clues can be resorted to: for example, marked structures such as cleft sentences or fronting can be transferred through other means, such as intonation and prosody. Gutt establishes an equation between interlingual interpretative translation and indirect translation, because this kind of translation is mainly concerned with what is said and not so much with how it is said, similarly to indirect quotations. In interlingual direct translation, by contrast, although it is not possible to reproduce the same wording and structures as those in the original, Gutt contends that it is essential to focus on and retain the source text's communicative clues. After examining many examples of communicative clues – including phonetic properties, onomatopoeia, syntactic properties and formulaic expressions – he drastically curtails the role of stylistics in translation (ibid.:164).

Other applications of relevance theory in translation and interpreting studies include Albl-Mikasa (2017b), who draws on relevance theory to analyze the balance between explicit and implicit information in note-taking. Alves et al. (2016) compared postediting tasks performed by sixteen professional translators using interactive and non-interactive machine

translation interfaces and found that interactive postediting requires less cognitive effort, as shown by eye-tracking software that measures average and median fixation duration. Braun (2016) combines relevance theory with mental model theory to question common perceptions of audiovisual translation as a constrained and partial translation. The most ambitious application of relevance theory to simultaneous conference interpreting remains Setton (1999), who demonstrates the power of the theory in guiding the construction of appropriate contexts and the speaker's underlying intentionalities. Setton (2005) further draws on relevance theory to assess quality and difficulty in interpreting.

Criticisms levelled against Gutt's application of relevance theory to translation mainly concern the problematic and subjective evaluation of what is relevant in translation. Tirkkonen-Condit (1992), for instance, questions its usefulness and criticizes it for being too vague. Malmkjaer (1992) admits that relevance theory may be useful for translators, but also contends that more specific instructions are required to explain what the application of relevance means, in relation to the different types of intended audience, the different types of target texts and their different purposes. Almazán García (2001) finds the theory and its application by Gutt insightful but underdeveloped.

Politeness and face

Brown and Levinson's (1987) seminal work on politeness develops a maxim mentioned in passing by Grice, 'be polite', into a full theory that attempts to explain how and why "polite ways of talking show up as deviations [from Grice's cooperative principle], requiring rational explanation on the part of the recipient, who finds in considerations of politeness reasons for the speaker's apparent irrationality or inefficiency" (ibid.:4). The core concept in this theory is face, defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" in the course of interacting with others (ibid.:61). Negative face concerns "the basic claim to . . . freedom of action and freedom from imposition", while positive face is the positive self-image or personality claimed by an interactant and "the desire that this self-image be appreciated and

approved of" (ibid.:61). Like Grice, Brown and Levinson assume that face is a universal feature, although it might be elaborated in different ways in different societies. And indeed research in interactional pragmatics has shown that politeness is instantiated in different ways across lingua-cultures. Eelen (2001) offers an extended critique of politeness theory, including its claims of universality.

Other scholars have since built on Brown and Levinson's work to elaborate a politeness component within pragmatic competence that accounts for specific features of speech across lingua-cultural domains (Blum-Kulka and House 1989; House 1989, Hickey and Stewart 2005). Equal attention is moreover now granted to impoliteness, which is not always and not necessarily to be conceived as the absence of politeness (Kasper 1990; Beebe 1995; Kienpointner 1997). Impoliteness has been shown to be employed strategically in interaction, and is pervasive in some discourse settings such as TV shows and parliamentary debates (Culpeper et al. 2003; Locher and Bousfield 2008).

Despite the popularity of politeness theory in many areas of linguistic research (Leech 1983; House 1998; Eelen 2001; Hickey 2001), the rather limited exploration of intercultural (im)politeness may have had repercussions on the "relative lack of research in (im)politeness in Translation Studies" (Valdeón 2017:380). However, notwithstanding the paucity of studies, after a seminal study by Hatim and Mason (1997), (im)politeness issues have received some consideration in audiovisual translation, where the visual channel of the film normally undergoes no change and only the verbal texture is altered. Hatim and Mason were the first to point out the importance of interpersonal pragmatics among fictional characters and to warn against possible losses in subtitling, on account of the severe spatial and temporal constraints of this translating mode. Through careful analysis of film extracts, they show how features such as "lexical choice, sentence form (imperative, interrogative), unfinished utterance, intonation, ambiguity of reference" in the source text encode "the interpersonal dynamics and the progress of the conflictual verbal relationship" (ibid.:437), and how this relationship might acquire "a more conciliatory stance" in the subtitles (ibid.:438). Although facial expression and gestures might

provide the key to the interpretation, the authors draw attention to the fact that the discrepancy between the visual information and the verbal texture of the target text is likely to require more processing time from viewers than they have at their disposal.

Audiovisual dialogue is loosely modelled on spoken interaction, as screenwriters purposely select a set of cues to create an impression of spontaneity, a sort of “selective mimesis” (Pavesi et al. 2014:12) that is most often reproduced in dubbing (Pavesi 2009c). Face work, a constitutive element of spontaneous conversation, becomes even more central in audiovisual dialogue because, together with other elements, it fulfils functions such as moving the plot forward, building characters and engaging the audience (Pavesi 2012; Pavesi et al. 2014:13). This is why sometimes conversational routines such as greetings and leave-takings (Guillot 2012, 2016a), which may be considered phatic speech acts aimed at smoothing out interaction but are almost devoid of information, are used to convey important story details (Bonsignori and Bruti 2014). Conversely, conflictual language that threatens the addressee’s face, including aggressive speech acts (Bruti 2009b) or insulting vocatives (Formentelli 2014), is pervasive in audiovisual dialogues because it generates a rapid narrative rhythm, involves the viewing public and stimulates their sympathetic involvement. Shifts in politeness strategies are not ascribable to difficulties and restrictions of the medium alone, but also to incongruities between the pair of languages involved in translation.

In this regard, Pinto (2010) has shown that, despite the priority given to negative politeness in English-speaking cultures, little attempt is made in subtitling films from peninsular Spanish to English to tone down directive speech acts or adapt them to the Anglo-Saxon preference for indirectness. This means that the audience are unable to evaluate when instances of impoliteness in the translated subtitles are intended by the film director and thus reflect the character’s behaviour, or are a by-product of the subtitling process. Gartzonika and Şerban (2009) examined how interactions between soldiers in a Greek film were rendered in the English subtitles and came to comparable conclusions: the language used by the soldiers was generally tempered in

the subtitles by eliminating non-standard and obscene expressions. In some instances, however, potentially threatening exchanges were made even more aggressive in the English subtitles, suggesting lack of a homogenous strategy in addressing issues of politeness.

In terms of face-enhancing acts, Bruti analyzed the subtitling and dubbing of compliments from English into Italian (2009a, 2009b). In subtitling she observed a tendency to reduce expressions of praise and to rely on the non-verbal code to communicate them, especially when characters smile or use other warm gestures. This inclination partly depends on genre constraints and on the level of adherence to the source text, but it does depart from typical behaviour in Italian culture, where the display of positive politeness is generally preferred, for example by means of hyperbolic manifestations of verbal approval. In some cases characters are complimented on their qualities and not on their performance in the Italian dub, as they are in the original English dialogue (2009a:238). In the case of implicit compliments, the expression of praise seems to be upgraded in dubbing (2009b:153), because otherwise the compliment would not be understood as such in the target culture. These shifts in dubbed dialogue and subtitles, it is argued, are sometimes made possible by information encoded in the visual code, but they may affect register and style, often altering the configuration of role and characterization.

A number of studies have also drawn on politeness theory to examine different settings of interpreting, including judicial proceedings (Hale 2001; Mason and Stewart 2001), police interpreting (Berk-Seligson 1999; Krouglov 1999), medical transactions (Tebble 1999) and debates in the European Parliament (Bartłomiejczyk 2016). Merlini (2013) examines face-saving strategies in healthcare, social services and educational settings and argues that since the interpreter is a social agent with a stake in the interaction, his or her own face must be taken into account. Baker and Pérez-González (2011:42) argue that “even interpreters bound by the strictest codes of ethics often fail to provide the sort of straightforward, unedited rendition which their organizational cointeractants expect”. This is confirmed by the findings of Mason and Stewart (2001), who focus on a section of the televised O.J. Simpson trial – the

cross-examination of an important witness of Hispanic origin. Since the aim was to prove the witness unreliable, her positive face was often attacked. Although occupying a subordinate position, she not only tried to protect her face but also retorted when questioned. Her responses, however, were often downgraded in the interpreter's rendition, either by changing the modal verbs used (from willingness to possibility) or tempering the force of her statements. Even allowing for the fact that the interpreter's performance was strongly constrained by the nature of the courtroom setting, her output contributed to disempowering the witness. Bartłomiejczyk (2016) describes how simultaneous interpreters deal with the face-threatening acts and impoliteness moves in European Parliament plenary debates. The findings of her quantitative and qualitative analysis reveal that Polish interpreters often mitigate the intentionally threatening moves of British Eurosceptics, although there is "no discernible pattern that would let us predict which FTAs will be attenuated (and in what way)" (ibid.:279).

Although theoretical insights from pragmatics have increasingly informed research on all modalities of translation, there is a need for more descriptive studies that engage with a wider range of theoretical frameworks, address a broader range of topics, different types of data and settings, and a greater variety of languages.

See also:

DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; NOTE-TAKING; SOCIOLINGUISTICS; SEMIOTICS

Further reading

Guillot, M.-N. (2016) 'Cross-cultural Pragmatics and Audiovisual Translation', in Y. Gambier and S. Ramos Pinto (eds) *Audiovisual Translation. Theoretical and Methodological Challenges*, Special issue of *Target* 28(2): 288–301.

Approaches audiovisual translation from a cross-cultural pragmatic perspective, focusing in particular on issues of linguistic and cultural representation.

Hatim, B. and I. Mason (1997/2000) 'Politeness in Screen Translating', in L. Venuti (ed.) *The Translation Studies Reader*, London & New York: Routledge, 430–445.

One of the first works to demonstrate the strategic use of politeness in film and discuss

the impact of shifts in subtitling on characterization and plot.

Setton, R. (1999) *Simultaneous Interpretation: A cognitive-pragmatic analysis*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Offers an account of simultaneous interpreting that is grounded in cognitive semantics and pragmatics. The thorough analysis of data from corpora of Chinese-English and German-English interpreting draws extensively on relevance theory.

Tipton, R. and L. Desilla (eds) (2019) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Pragmatics*, London & New York: Routledge.

Offers a comprehensive overview of the main concepts and theoretical frameworks in pragmatics, with a view to accounting for the intersection between pragmatics and translation studies. The volume covers both methodological issues and applications, with reference to a vast array of translating and interpreting activities.

SILVIA BRUTI

Process research

Since the 1980s, the study of translation increasingly turned to investigating translation processes from cognitive, psychological and behavioural perspectives, with this strand of research now constituting a branch of translation studies that has come to be known as Translation Process Research (TPR). The focus in TPR is on the production rather than reception processes involved in translation and interpreting.

TPR has developed from its early, primarily theoretical and experimental phases into a multi-methodological branch of translation studies. It incorporates both theoretical and empirical research and examines translation and interpreting as cognitive processes. In line with corresponding developments in cognitive science and its human intelligence modelling paradigms, the main explanatory concepts in TPR have shifted from an initial focus on internal representations, symbol manipulation and information processing to growing engagement with situated and embodied views on cogni-

tion and translation (Muñoz Martín 2016b). Although its focus has so far been on description and explanation, rather than the development of guidelines or tools, the findings have already contributed significantly to improving our understanding of the complexity of the cognitive processes involved and the myriad skills, competences and knowledges needed for high-quality translation and interpreting (O'Brien 2011b).

The reorientation of translation studies towards functionalist and descriptive approaches in the late 1970s (Snell-Hornby 1986; Toury 1995/2012) prepared the ground for the birth of TPR. In contrast to the linguistic, equivalence-oriented approaches to translation that placed comparative studies on linguistic structures at the centre of translation research, functionalist and descriptive approaches treated translation as a situation- and culture-specific act undertaken by individual translators working within historically located networks of clients, sponsors, writers and readers. This shift in perspective was important for process research because it placed translators and their actions at the centre of the research agenda: translators were no longer depicted as (ideally) masters of objective linguistic knowledge, but as creative decision makers who strive to find solutions and produce adequate texts for the situation at hand, ultimately producing a translation that is likely to look different if it were written by another translator, for another client, at another time and/or in a different place. These functionalist and descriptive approaches to translation thus generated interest in researching what happens during translation rather than simply focusing on the final product.

Holmes's well-known map of translation studies (1988a) places research on translation processes under the descriptive branch of the discipline, alongside corresponding research on the products and functions of translation. In line with this conceptualization, TPR's main concern since the 1980s has been to empirically observe and systematically document translation processes as they are carried out by laypeople, students and professional translators and interpreters – in the laboratory, in classrooms and, increasingly, in the field. All behavioural phenomena such as keystrokes, corrections, chats, web searches, switches in attention, adop-

tions of translation memory matches, breaks and bursts of writing can provide valuable information on and be part of the cognitive process documented by this strand of research (Schwiter and Ferreira 2017).

TPR initially focused extensively on developing methods and carrying out innovative experimental laboratory research, with the implications of the insights gained for theory development and model building often taking second place. But with time, process researchers began not only to reflect on their methodological decisions and report their observations but also to relate their research designs and results to specific theories, develop concepts and models that show sufficient ecological validity, and harmonize their use of terms to provide common frames of reference. Various scholars have increasingly called for TPR to engage with insights from cognitive scientific research, for instance in relation to the situatedness of cognition (Risku 2010). Some have suggested that it should reject two-phase models of the translation process that consist of a source-text analysis and a target-text synthesis phase, as well as three-phase models that add transfer as a phase between analysis and synthesis, because neither model reflects the processes involved in translation practice (Nord 2005:34–35) and because these models assume that the source text incorporates the instructions needed for its translation (Nisbeth Jensen 2009:20; Muñoz Martín 2010). Others have proposed that TPR should revisit existing operationalizations of the definitions of 'expert' and 'professional' (Jääskeläinen 2010) given that, to be meaningful, the findings of the relevant research require clarity about these concepts and the basis on which subjects are categorized under each category.

TPR is an interdisciplinary endeavour that has borrowed concepts and methods from areas such as cognitive science, cognitive psychology and anthropology, cognitive linguistics, neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, bilingualism research, reading and writing research, and second language acquisition research (Malmkjær 2000:165; O'Brien 2015; Ehrensberger-Dow et al. 2015). All these fields share an interest in mental and developmental aspects of cognition.

Research themes and methodologies

Pioneering work on the translation process was undertaken by Krings (1986), Gerloff (1987), Wilss (1988), Séguinot (1989) and Lörscher (1991), followed by Danks et al. (1997), Risku (1998a) and Tirkkonen-Condit and Jääskeläinen (2000), among others. These studies set the scene by defining the basic concepts deployed in the field, categorizing different operations or strategies involved in translation, describing the skills and competences needed in translation and interpreting, and developing methods of data acquisition. In addition to the many empirical studies of non-literary translation, some process research has also been conducted on simultaneous interpreting (Tiselius and Buen Jensen 2011), postediting (O'Brien et al. 2014; Carl et al. 2016b), translation project management (Risku et al. 2013a; Risku 2016b), community interpreting (Hild 2017) and literary translation (Kolb 2017).

A prototypical TPR study attempts to model the translation process by observing behavioural patterns such as the number and distribution of phases, pauses, immediate corrections and final revisions of the target text, and the segmentation of reception and production units – that is the chunking of text into translation units. Several studies have combined this basic research design with the independent variable of translation experience to compare the behaviour of translators with different levels of competence or expertise (Dragsted 2005; Englund Dimitrova 2005; Jensen and Jakobsen 2000; Jääskeläinen 1999). The findings of such studies show, for example, that experienced translators use global, recursive strategies rather than local, linear strategies and that they tend to write longer segments of text at a time (Fraser 2000:111f.; Kußmaul 2009:317).

Some studies have focused on research that has didactic implications. A psychological model developed by Ericsson (2010) has been applied to the acquisition of translation and interpreting expertise (Ericsson 2010). According to Ericsson, “consistently superior performance” (ibid.:253) can be learned – not simply by accumulating experience or knowledge, but through a very specific type of structured learning known as “deliberate practice” (ibid.:237), understood

as the regular practice of a well-defined task at an appropriate level of difficulty for the learner, with informative feedback and the opportunity to repeat the task and correct mistakes in a pleasant learning environment. Based on insights from research on reading, Ericsson assumes that the development of metacognition – that is, the awareness of one's own abilities – plays a particularly important role in the learning of translation activities (Shreve 2006; Angelone 2010). To support learning and metacognition, scholars such as Angelone (2015) advocate the use of methods informed by process research to enable students to observe and analyze their own translation processes. Some didactically oriented process research approaches translation competence as an emergent phenomenon (Király 2013). Other studies focus on situated learning in translator and interpreter training (González-Davies and Enríquez-Raído 2016).

A number of TPR studies have examined psychological factors such as uncertainty (Tirkkonen-Condit 2000; Angelone 2010), creativity (Bayer-Hohenwarter 2009) and motivation (Laukkanen 1997) in (written) translation. In process studies of simultaneous interpreting, cognitive load has been a major topic (Seeber 2015; Chen 2017). Further psychologically oriented studies of the (written) translation process offer insights into the influence of environmental and task-related factors such as time pressure (Jensen 2000), the use of a specific translation technology (O'Brien 2012) and the direction of translation (Pavlovic and Jensen 2009). Studies involving comparisons between translating and similar activities such as writing (Immonen 2006; Schrijver et al. 2014; Risku et al. 2016a) have revealed many common process characteristics, but have also shown substantial differences, for example in terms of the greater amount of effort involved in planning the global text and content structure in writing than in translation.

As noted above, TPR traditionally focused on using experimental methods to study the influence of various psychological factors on the process of translation in the lab or the classroom. This tradition has been increasingly complemented by studies that are carried out at the workplaces of translators. For example, some research has observed translators in their offices

at a translation agency (Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb 2016), translation department (Risku et al. 2017) or, in the case of freelancers, at their home office (Kolb 2017; Risku 2014). These studies focus especially on the role of the environment. Two strands of workplace research have particularly emphasized the importance of interaction with the environment: studies of translators' wellbeing that draw on theoretical frameworks from ergonomics and apply them to the cognitive, physical and social ergonomics of translation (Ehrensberger-Dow and O'Brien 2015; Lavault-Olléon 2016), and studies of translation as an interactive process that draw on the theoretical framework of situated, embodied and embedded cognition (Risku and Windhager 2015). Both strands of study have introduced innovative methods of observational field research to TPR.

What distinguishes TPR from other strands of translation research is its preference for empirical data and hard evidence. Rather than employing traditional humanities research methods such as historical and textual analysis, TPR focuses on translation processes and carries out empirical research that involves observing translators while they are actually translating. To this end it draws on a range of methods that include think-aloud protocols, keystroke logging, screen recording, eye tracking, neurological measurements (EEG, fMRI, MRT) and participant and ethnographic observation. These are often combined with interviews, either retrospective interviews undertaken directly after observation of the translation process or stand-alone, qualitative, semi-structured interviews. Despite the consensus among TPR scholars that product analysis cannot reveal the underlying process, textual material such as final translations and drafts of translations often also serve as additional sources of data, as do artefacts such as elements of translation technology and other tools. Depending on the study design, quantitative statistical analysis and/or qualitative content analysis methods may be applied in order to process and interpret the research data.

Developing appropriate methodologies to be adopted in TPR studies has required novel study designs, and this has inevitably raised new problems. One of the "known unknowns" in TPR (Jakobsen 2014:76), for example, is the extent to which the findings obtained through laboratory

research reflect actual translation processes in non-experimental, real life and work situations. In addition to this ecological validity challenge, the external validity or generalizability of many quantitative TPR experiments that produce statistical inferences based on few participants warrants a critical glance. At best, such studies might be accorded the status of pilot research, this being a necessary strand of scholarship given the young age of this research tradition. The validity of the results is further challenged by the fact that verbal data – for example from interviews or think-aloud protocols – are, strictly speaking, selective, retroactive rationalizations of only partly conscious and scarcely verbalizable processes (Englund Dimitrova and Tiselius 2014). Likewise, since there is no objective way of knowing what the translators were actually thinking during pauses and eye fixations, the data remain ambiguous and research ultimately involves a speculative leap from data to results. It is also possible that thinking aloud and being observed and recorded influences the process being studied; Jakobsen (2003) discusses the negative effect of thinking aloud due to additional cognitive load. Whether in controlled laboratory experiments or ethnographic field studies, there is no direct access to the meaning of the data acquired. The results will be shaped not only by the research object, but also by the instruments used to investigate it.

TPR is typically a collective enterprise. The dominance of empirical research requires a team effort given the associated interdisciplinary input involved in theory development, methodological innovation, ample data collection and close analysis in every project. TPR is therefore frequently carried out by research groups, many of which are active in the international Translation, Research, Empiricism, Cognition (TREC) network established by the PACTE research group in Barcelona (Giozza et al. 2015).

Future directions

A great deal of translation process research has already been carried out, but there remain a number of areas that require further attention. Importantly, most studies have so far largely focused on written translation, and investigating the interpreting process in different fields

and modes is therefore a research priority. Similarly, empirical studies of the processes involved in audiovisual translation, game localization, the translation of advertising material, audio description and speech-to-text interpreting can shed light on the kind of multiauthor and multimedia production processes that have become increasingly pervasive. Many of these translation jobs are requested, assigned and negotiated via specific online platforms such as ProZ.com and Translators' Café, and many professional and non-professional and volunteer translation activities are carried out in online collaborative environments or otherwise further mediated by a technologized environment. New perspectives on the concept of the translation process itself, and indeed the concept of 'the' translator, can emerge if the distributed supply and production chains of translation or fragments of them are included as part of the research object. In addition, longitudinal studies are needed to capture the dynamics and development of translation processes over time and to understand their consequences from the emic/participant and etic/observer perspectives.

Future research might attempt to refine the theoretical constructs underpinning TPR and to make them compatible with theoretical developments in cognitive science as well as the empirical findings of existing studies. This would assist in developing comprehensive models of the translation process. It might seem unrealistic to focus research efforts on modelling the whole translation process when even a single study of a specific aspect of the process often requires large-scale, multi-method research projects. However, being able to approximate to and sketch a comprehensive model of the translation process is a prerequisite to avoiding reductionist or simplistic views of the cognitive processes involved in translation and interpreting, and hence to understanding and communicating the complexity of the process.

See also:

COGNITION; COMPETENCE, TRANSLATION; CORPORA; GENETIC CRITICISM; NOTE-TAKING; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Ehrensberger-Dow, M., S. Göpferich and S. O'Brien (eds) (2015) *Interdisciplinarity in*

translation and interpreting process research, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Explores how a broad range of concepts and methods developed in disciplines such as cognitive science, linguistics, journalism and literary studies are applied in translation process research.

Muñoz Martín, R. (ed.) (2016) *Reembedding Translation Process Research*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A collection of mainly empirical research papers that situate the way we understand the process of translating and interpreting within the conceptual frameworks that model the interactive relationships between brain, body and environment. Topics range from neuroscientific, emotional, audiovisual, ergonomic and quality aspects of the translation process to community interpreting, translation as text production and the impact of translation technology.

O'Brien, S. (ed.) (2011) *Cognitive Explorations of Translation*, London: Bloomsbury.

A range of studies that engage with issues such as translation competence and the use of various research instruments, including eye tracking and keyboard logging.

Schwieter, J.W. and A. Ferreira (eds) (2017) *The Handbook of Translation and Cognition*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Covers state-of-the-art theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches to translation process research, including machine translation, creativity, ergonomic perspectives, cognitive effort, competence, training, multimodal processing, neurocognitive optimization, process-oriented pedagogies and conceptual change.

HANNA RISKU

Pseudotranslation

Pseudotranslations are original works which display the polyphonic nature and linguistic features associated with translations by referring to sources that they themselves create through modelling after or mixing together several actual texts. Pseudotranslation is thus a textual practice aimed at highlighting the direct descendancy

of a text from a class of other texts belonging to a different language and culture, where a specific source text does not exist. The polysemy of its Greek prefix (*pseudés* = false) led many scholars to adopt this term to refer to different types of translation, including unlimited free ones (Savory 1968:152); poetical rewritings and travesties (Radò 1979:192–193); “the raw result of the process performed by fully-automatic MT” (Torrens 1994:387); any translation “taken to be an original work” (Robinson 1998:183); texts translated into the pseudolanguage of translatese (Salmon 2005); plagiarisms of other translations (Santamaria 2007); the scripts of multilingual films, which are usually translated into their putative originals at a later stage; as well as dummy translations which mimic the target language in localizations. The definition which proved most productive, however, was that suggested by Popović (1976:20): a pseudo-translation is an “original work” published “as a fictitious translation” with the explicit aim “to win a wide public, thus making use of the reader’s expectation”.

History of the term

The first attestation of the term pseudotranslation seems to date back to 1823, when the anonymous reviewer of Scott’s *St Ronan’s Well* used it as a synonym of free translation in *The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belle-Lettres, Arts, Sciences*. It was not until 1858 that the term was used again to indicate a fictitious translation in a review of *The Book of the Hieroglyphic Figures* by Flamel, published in the *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church*. The term then started to gain currency with the new meaning; it can be found, for instance, in 1861 in *The Chronicle of Ethelfled* and in 1872 in Minto’s *Manual of English Prose Literature*. But it continued to be used interchangeably with other terms such as imitation or pretended translation up to the last quarter of the twentieth century, when Popović proposed to reserve it for fictitious translations. Toury complemented this basic definition by applying the term to all target-language texts that are “regarded in the target culture as translations though no genuine STs exist for them” (1980:31) and by attributing pseudotranslations, thus defined, a particularly relevant role in the

identification of the translational norms of literary systems (Toury 1984b). In the same year, Santoyo (1984) foregrounded the nature of their narrative technique, directing attention to how pseudotranslations act at least on two levels by developing two different narratives: a first fiction which novelizes the history of the original, and a second one, a metafiction, constituted by the pretended translation itself, thus shifting the focus from the interference between two cultural polysystems to the relation between narration and the act of narrating.

More than a decade later, Venuti argued that “since it involves a concealment of authorship”, pseudotranslation “inevitably provokes a reconsideration of how an author is defined in any period” (1998a:34). The questioning of concepts of originality and authorship continued with the work of Apter, who suggested that “all translations qualify as a form of linguistic forgery” to some extent (2005:167), thus making pseudotranslation paradoxically the example par excellence of translation, because the latter does not refer to an original but to “the clone of a code” (ibid.:170).

In Western European culture, as Bassnett (1998c:38) noted, “the concept of the original is a product of the Enlightenment thinking”, while in a country like Turkey, “the borders between translation and original writing remained blurred well into twentieth century” (Tahir Gürçağlar 2010:174). In other words, the concepts of translation and originality necessarily evolve over the centuries, and the definition of pseudotranslation has to evolve accordingly.

Motivations

“Introducing novelties into a culture”, Toury stated, is “the most significant aspect of the production and distribution” of pseudotranslations (1995/2012:41). Such has been the force of Toury’s argument that Bassnett hesitated to define Burton’s *Kasidah of Hajî Abdû El-Yezdî* as a pseudotranslation because its “objective does not appear to have been to introduce innovation into the target system” (Bassnett 1998c:32). However, pseudotranslations usually satisfy more than one purpose, making a more articulate classification even of their motivations necessary.

In focusing on the metafictional rather than fictional level of the target text, pseudotranslations mainly aim to introduce novelties in four different areas: themes, as in the case of the *Voyages of Captain Robert Lade* (1744) through which Abbé Prévost intended to realize “a cultural translation of geographical imaginations” (Italiano 2016:83); styles, as in the volume of sketches *Papa Hamlet* (1889), pseudotranslated by Holz and Schlaf in order to free themselves “from the narrow confines of French naturalism” (Toury 1995/2012:50); genres, as exemplified by the grafting of the detective novel on the Turkish folk literary tradition in the early twentieth century; and, finally, ideologies, as in the case of Cervantes’s *Don Quixote* “which savagely satirized the convention of the romance of chivalry, not to mention chivalry itself” (Lefevre 2000:1122).

But pseudotranslations can also resort to opposing means in order to achieve the same result or can even come to meet contradictory goals. For example, early French romances of the twelfth century, such as *Cligès* and *Le roman de Perceval* by Chrétien de Troyes, sought legitimization through the acknowledged superiority of the culture of their supposed Latin source text, whereas, some decades before, Geoffrey of Monmouth had tried to provide his English national culture with the same legitimization by pseudo-translating into Latin his *Historia regum Britanniae* (1136) from “quondam Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum” (a very ancient book in the British tongue). On the other hand, thinkers like Marana in *L’esploratore turco* (1684) and Montesquieu in *Lettres Persanes* (1721) resorted to the stratagem of the foreign observer in order to bypass censorship and criticize French cultural and political norms, whereas the Stalinist regime went as far as to invent a Kazakh old folk singer, named Dzambul Dzabayev, behind whom there was “an entire brigade of Russian poetasters” (Toury 1995/2012:14), in order to silence dissent by ascribing the praise of the Soviet Revolution to the people themselves who had been subjected to it. Again pseudotranslations can allow personalities that are well known within a certain field, like the Whig member of Parliament Horace Walpole or the renowned semiotic Umberto Eco, to challenge themselves with new literary genres, as Walpole did when he wrote the gothic novel *The Castle of*

Otranto (1764) and Eco when he wrote the historical mystery *Il nome della rosa* (The Name of the Rose, 1980). Finally, pseudotranslations can be used to facilitate the ability of new genres to secure a better position on the market, as has happened with science fiction in Hungary at the end of the twentieth century, since Hungarian authors engaged in this genre were considered “less marketable than their foreign colleagues” (Sohar 1999:816).

In terms of the fictional rather than metafictional level of the history of the supposed source text, “pseudotranslational practices extend beyond literary innovation” by offering “writers a way of adopting an alternative writing voice” (O’Sullivan 2011a:123). Pseudotranslations can therefore be employed to reconfigure the status of authors, by simply providing the opportunity to adopt pseudonyms capable of winning the scepticism of the publishers. One example is the case of the Turkish writer Nihal Yeğınobalı, who managed to conceal herself behind the figure of the American novelist Vincent Ewing. It can also be used to import the social status authors benefit from in the source culture polysystem, as suggested by Fassadoni in *La Magia Bianca* (1785), by taking as a model the supposed original English author of Cazotte’s *Lord Impromptu*. Pseudotranslations can therefore go as far as to establish a new multiple or hyper concept of authorship, one that is bound to blur the distinction “between translation, authorship and scholarship” (Venuti 1998a:35), as in the cases of *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829) by Washington Irving, who presented himself not only as the translator of the original manuscript but also as the scholar who had found and reassembled its surviving fragments. Another example is *Le Chanson de Bilitis* (1895) by Pierre Louÿs, who did not limit himself to creating the character of the ancient Greek poetess Bilitis, but also the one of the discoverer of her tomb, the German archaeologist G. Heim. Still at the fictional level, pseudotranslations have been employed again to turn the process of writing itself into a literary subject, as in the case of *Tanzai and Néadarné* (1733) by Crébillon fils, whose voice “addressing itself directly to the reader, gradually unveils a story of the text’s origins” (Vanacker and Toremans 2016:28), or by means of self-parody, as with the trilogy *The Chaos of Night*, *The Night for the Chaos* and *Jumble* by the

Hungarian writer István Nemes, also known as John Caldwell.

As a critical tool, pseudotranslations have been exploited by, for example, Luigi Capuana in *Un poeta danese* (1882), in order to censure the literary trend of the moment, rather than the social or political system, which confirms that pseudotranslations are not always intended to introduce novelties into a cultural polysystem but can also be parodically used to preserve such a polysystem from the spreading of foreign models. Fiction-focused pseudotranslations have further given voice to those who have lost it or have never had one: to dead authors, by assuring “an afterlife cloned from the (lost) life” of their originals (Apter 2005:171), as in the case of *Sostiene Pereira* (1994) by Antonio Tabucchi, or to the subalterns, as does the protagonist of Indra Sinha’s *Animal’s Voice*, a young Indian reduced to physical and mental infirmity whose supposed recordings are transcribed into English.

A special form of cultural change enhanced by pseudotranslations, finally, is emancipation from the power of a dominant culture. This is the case of the already mentioned vernacular literatures in Europe in the Middle Ages, but it is even more the case of postcolonial cultural polysystems. Some Swahili poems, such as *Utendi wa Tambuka* and *Utendi wa Ayubu*, for example, presented themselves as translations from Arabic in order to credit the developing Swahili societies with the prestige deriving from “the myth of foreign origin as from Persia, Syria, Hymiar or Yemen” (Talento 2013:93). Or again, moving to early twentieth-century Europe, we find the example of Irish authors, such as Yeats (*On Baile’s Strand*, 1903) and Gregory (*The Rising of the Moon*, 1903), who rewrote Irish myths in English in order to guarantee Irish language and culture “a privileged position in the cultural system” (Tymoczko 1999:137).

Further developments

Toury (2008:405) observes that fictitious translations are a phenomenon “much less marginal than we thought – both in terms of numbers of cases and in terms of their contribution to historical processes”. While this may be true, the most fruitful contribution of

the literature on pseudotranslation to the field of translation theory has been, arguably, the blurring of boundaries between originals and translations, authorship and editorship. Johnson, pseudotranslator of the presumed Japanese poet Araki Yasusada, observed that “the demand for definite authorship unnecessarily limits the spectrum of possibilities available to poetic presentation and appreciation” (Johnson 2010:126). Pseudotranslations offer the possibility of widening such spectrum, while at the same time questioning assumptions about original writing, as does Leah Goldberg, for whom writing in modern Hebrew constitutes “a translational practice” in its own right, one capable of making her straddle “not only the line between translation and imitation, but also the borderline between original and translation” (Jacobs 2014:483). In this sense, pseudotranslations have the potential “to destabilise the basis on which translation theory is built” (O’Sullivan 2011a:124).

See also:

AUTHORSHIP; MOCK-TRANSLATION

Further reading

Bassnett, S. (1998) ‘When Is a Translation Not a Translation?’, in S. Bassnett and A. Lefevere (eds) *Constructing Cultures: Essays on literary translation*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 25–40.

Distinguishes five types of pseudotranslations (those with inauthentic sources, self-translations, pretended translations, travel writings and fictitious translations), calling into question the idea of a clear line between translations and originals.

Popovič, A. (1976) *Dictionary for the Analysis of Literary Translation*, Edmonton: University of Alberta.

Reviews the most important concepts and terms developed by Popovič in his earlier essays, including the pivotal definitions of pseudotranslation as a “fictitious translation” and, from the standpoint of text theory, as a “quasi-metatext”.

Toury, G. (1995/2012) *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Contains a specific excursus on pseudotranslations as facts of a target culture, providing

not only a description of the phenomenon but also an examination of some examples.

PAOLO RAMBELL

Publishing landscapes

While the landscapes of translation publishing can and should be described, their contours are not fixed. The concept of *scapes* developed by Appadurai (1996) in the context of the analysis of culture and globalization offers a productive way of conceptualizing the complexity and instability of the cultural fields into which publishers launch translated texts (Kershaw 2014). The topographical metaphor of the landscapes of translation draws on Appadurai's idea of dynamically interconnected ethno-, techno-, finance-, media- and ideo-scapes which interact in the production of globalized cultures (Kershaw and Saldanha 2013). Landscapes, though durable, are not permanent (McLoughlin 2010:xii): landscapes remain recognizable, but they shift as new features, and therefore new meanings, overwrite or coexist with existing ones. The landscapes of translation publishing are not static entities with stable boundaries (Kershaw and Saldanha 2013:135), but shifting environments characterized by complex interactions between a multiplicity of agents with different priorities and values (Jansen and Wegener 2013b:4). The outcomes of translation publishing as a form of cultural mobility and exchange are radically unpredictable (Buzelin 2007b:45; Venuti 2013a3; 125, 159; Wishenbart et al. 2018:20). The most significant feature of the landscapes of translation publishing is therefore perhaps their dynamism (Kershaw 2014:47).

The interface between publishing studies, book history and translation studies is a complex one, and it is an area where more research is needed. Olohan has pointed out that “[t]he history of publishing and of the book . . . offer considerable potential for enriching the history of translation, though this has been little exploited as yet” (2014a:18), and though numerous small-scale studies have been carried out, no systematic analysis of the question has been attempted.

While there is an obvious link between literary translation and book publishing, this is not the only focus of existing research, and various genres are represented in the relevant scholarship. For example, Olohan discusses scientific writing, Buzelin (2014) considers academic textbooks, Sapiro and Popa explore the social sciences (2008) and Lathey (2016) discusses publishing and the translation of children's literature. The translation initiative launched by the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP) and led by Susan Pickford, on the other hand, focuses on the translation of scholarship on book history rather than on stimulating research into the publishing history of translation (SHARP n.d.).

Global and national perspectives

Approaching the subject of translation and publishing from a global point of view opens up a vast perspective, and the practical challenges posed by research in this area are considerable. It is desirable to avoid parochialism and maintain a comparative, transnational perspective, but it is also crucial to examine specific cases so that conclusions can be drawn on the basis of meaningful empirical data. Buzelin's (2006, 2007a) work on French Canadian publishing houses examines the attitudes of independent publishers to translations. Her aim in focusing on publishers is to shift the focus away from reception and towards the production of translations. Sapiro has also applied an approach developed in a national context more broadly. Like Buzelin's work, Sapiro's study of translation publishing in France (Sapiro 2008) has a strong theoretical and methodological underpinning derived from sociology. Her theoretical mainstay is the work of Bourdieu, while Folaron and Buzelin's is that of Latour (Folaron and Buzelin 2007). The first part of Sapiro's (2008) edited volume considers the role of translation in stimulating international cultural exchange and poses methodological questions to do with data collection and the position of a particular language – in this case, French – within a global hierarchy of languages. The second part focuses on literary translation, with contributions examining translations from Spanish, Italian and Eastern Europe. The third part looks at the role of translation in cultural

exchanges between France and specific regions: the Netherlands, Finland, Arabic-speaking countries and Israel. In a subsequent book, Sapiro (2009a) pursues the question of translation publishing at a global level. While it is widely recognized in the literature on culture and globalization that the latter has resulted in “an intensification of the transnational circulation of books” (Sapiro 2009a:7), the academic study of the globalization of publishing does not always accord detailed attention to either the fact or the process of translation. Sapiro’s work is pioneering insofar as she is acutely aware of interlingual translation as an economic cost and a cultural barrier (ibid.:10), as well as a stimulus to cultural exchange and an expression of the power relations which structure it (ibid.:20).

Theoretical approaches

The influence of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu on the study of translation publishing has been far reaching. Bourdieu’s discussions of the production, consecration and circulation of cultural artefacts in essays such as ‘The Market of Symbolic Goods’ (1985) and ‘A Conservative Revolution in Publishing’ (2008) and in his book *The Rules of Art* (1996) have had a strong influence on translation scholars’ attempts to account for the material and structural contexts which ensure the very existence of translation. Research on translation flows approaches literary exchanges from the point of view of a hierarchized world system in which concepts such as capital and consecration, derived from Bourdieu, are deployed to describe the unequal nature of translation exchanges. Casanova’s *The World Republic of Letters* (1999/2007) raises awareness of issues around the hegemony of Anglo-American publishing and the use of publishing in translation as a form of soft power by dominated nations attempting to affirm their identity or by dominating nations seeking to transform their global reputation. Publishers are a vital part of the world republic of letters, in which they play a constituting role but are also themselves subject to its particular dynamics at a given moment in history. More recent research in the sociology of literature draws on Casanova but rejects her perceived tendency to focus only on big publishers occupying a central position in

the world republic of letters in metropolises such as Paris and New York (Franssen and Kuipers 2015a, 2015b). These approaches draw on the centre-periphery model articulated in the pioneering work of Even-Zohar (1990a/1990b) but also attempt to address some of the criticisms levelled against it, notably by Hermans (1999b). A 2002 edition of *Actes de le recherche en sciences sociales* on literary translation explores how Even-Zohar and Toury might be deployed productively to link translation studies and the sociology of literature as practised by Bourdieu (Heilbron and Sapiro 2002:4). Bourdieu’s attention to agents and agency offers a possible corrective to what Hermans considers to be the text-bound nature of polysystems theory.

The work of Buzelin and Sapiro illustrates the existence of two distinct but related strands in the literature on translation and publishing, namely research based on network theory and research based on systems theory. Folaron and Buzelin lay out the basis for an application of network theory to translation studies. Network approaches, they argue, can extend descriptive translation studies by “recording and analysing the relationship between translators and their work environment, in as much as these relations do not fall ‘outside’ the process but instead contribute to its very shaping” (2007b:623). International publishing is part of that work environment and as such is an important aspect of the network economy with which translators interact and which therefore has an impact on the translated text (Folaron and Buzelin 2007b:635–37). Within this theoretical framework, publishers can be seen as examples of the “connecting devices” which link the elements or participants in the network (ibid.:606). Since a network normally implies a number of agents that is more than two (ibid.:608, 620), this approach extends the conventional focus on the author-translator binary, opening up research into the multiplicity of agents involved in the translation process. Complementing this focus on translatorial agency as multiple, Pym (1998) underlines the value of mapping networks for translation history; Robinson (2001) explores the implications of the fragmentation of economic processes, such as translation publishing, between human and social agents; and Jansen and Wegener (2013b) propose the concept of multiple translatorship. The systems approach,

which underpins Sapiro's research, views translations as "a function of the social relations between language groups and their transformations over time" (Heilbron 1999, 430). Heilbron posits the idea of "book translations as a cultural world system" and foregrounds the hierarchical and dynamic nature of the "international translation system" (ibid.:433) within which publishers produce translations. The core-periphery model remains crucial to systems approaches, as does the notion that the market for cultural products does not necessarily obey the same logic as that of other world systems. In such approaches, publishers are seen as institutions which can be analyzed sociologically.

A sociological focus on agents and agencies underpins other translation studies research that addresses the role of the publisher, such as Milton and Bandia's *Agents of Translation* (2009) and Jansen and Wegener's edited two-volume *Authorial and Editorial Voices in Translation* (2013a), the second of which contains four essays focusing explicitly on publishing. These studies give prominence to publishers in the context of a broader discussion of the range of agents or voices that are involved in the creation of a translation and whose presence is perceptible in the end result. Questions of power and ideology are often relevant here, since the priorities and motivations of the various agents are unlikely to be identical, and therefore translatorial collaboration can be both conflictual and cooperative. This research has the considerable merit of exploding the "translatorial fallacy" according to which the translator is understood as a surrogate author still conceived according to the Romantic notion of the individual genius as the sole origin of the text (Robinson 2001:3–4). It is however important to avoid replacing an exclusive focus on the translator's agency with one on the publisher's agency since, as we have seen above, this is no more unitary or self-sufficient than that of the translator or author (Kershaw 2014:40).

The question of the interface between book history and translation studies has also been raised in relation to calls for attention to be paid to the materiality of translation (Hou and Luo 2017:87; Littau 2016a:88–90). While the primary foci of such attention would be media, technologies and objects, the call for a "material history of translation" (Littau 2016a:90) suggests

the importance of the role played by those agents and processes which make the creation of a translation as a material object possible. The materiality of translation obviously exceeds the domain of publishing since translation is about very much more than books. Understanding the diverse landscapes of translation publishing implies analyzing the full range of human agents involved in the translation process, going beyond the author-translator binary, as well as paying attention to material cultures of book production and circulation and considering the economic and political contexts of book manufacture, sales and distribution.

Contemporary literary fiction

Although research on translation and publishing is not limited to literary translation, the publication and circulation of contemporary fiction offers considerable scope for the study of translation publishing. Recent years have seen the emergence of the international best-seller in the domain of popular fiction – one obvious example being the explosion of Scandinavian crime fiction – and a diversification of the range of languages between which publishers are willing to translate (Sapiro 2009a:12). Some large-scale empirical research has been published which provides data on which the analysis of publishing trends can be based, but these studies, though useful, are by no means comprehensive. The Diversity Report of 2010, following on from previous reports published for 2009 and 2008, is a survey of 187 primarily European authors of contemporary fiction and their translations across 14 European book markets (Kovak et al. 2010). This study finds that while the globalization of publishing and the existence of massive international conglomerates function as accelerators for the spread of translated literature, small publishers remain crucial to the international success of many best-selling translated authors (Kovak et al., 2010:4). A 2016 report (Wischnenbart and Kovač 2016) uses broadly the same methodologies as the 2010 iteration, but considers a larger corpus of 250 authors and includes analysis of the impact of European Union grants and the European Union Prize for Literature on the publication and dissemination of trans-

lated literature. It points to the prevalence of a small number of best-selling authors and books in translation in the European book market and to the continued dominance of a small number of languages but also notes that bestsellers in other languages are now functioning in the market for translated literature in a similar way to English-language originals, which continue to dominate (*ibid.*). While the focus of the Diversity Reports is Europe, and their remit is limited to the study of fiction, the Next Page Foundation, based in Bulgaria and covering the Arabic-speaking world, Roma communities across the world, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, has a wider remit and a different geographical reach. It has published research reports on a variety of topics relating to books, reading and translations (Next Page n.d.); these include, for example, research on translations from Arabic, on reading habits in Arab countries and on Kurdish language book publishing in Syria and Turkey.

This research is largely commercial rather than strictly academic. A further academic research perspective that can inform a deep understanding of the production and circulation of literary fiction in a globalized market involves the analysis of literary value and prestige, notably the phenomenon of the literary prize. The work of James English, though not specifically focused on translation, is particularly helpful in this respect (English 2002; 2005). English draws on, but reworks, Bourdieu to describe a contemporary literary field no longer governed by a binary opposition between commercially motivated and commercially disinterested culture, but characterized rather by “capital intraconversion”, since commercial value is constantly being interchanged with aesthetic value (English 2005:10). Both literary prizes and translation prizes have been a focus of attention for scholars such as Wolf (2010), working on the sociology of translation. Insofar as the literary prize is a clear example of institutional consecration, research on contemporary prize culture resonates with Casanova’s approach to the world republic of letters. The award of a domestic or international prize is a key stimulus to the trade in translation rights between publishers. For example, in his study of the French Goncourt prize, Boura points out that the award always leads to the work being translated into many

languages and therefore virtually guarantees an international reputation for its author (2003:53). However, the accrual of literary value is less predictable than this suggests. As Squires points out, it is impossible to predict whether a work will become a bestseller, and market unpredictability is a well-recognized feature of the publishing industry (2007:57; 67–68). Furthermore, publishers’ decisions tend to be strongly instinctual, and their access to foreign texts is rarely systematic but more often the result of informal connections and networks (Kershaw 2014:38–40).

Future directions

At present, research on translation and publishing is somewhat fragmented. A good number of discrete case studies have been published focusing on specific geographical locations and language pairs, or indeed sometimes on individual authors. The most valuable studies are those such as Buzelin’s and Sapiro’s, which propose a more generally applicable theoretical framework and outline relevant methodological considerations. While further specific case studies will certainly enrich the literature, comparative projects undertaken collaboratively could significantly advance knowledge in this area. Crucially, dialogue between the publishing industry and translation studies researchers needs to be maintained and expanded to ensure both that academics base their research on a sound knowledge of the real-life contexts in which translations are published, and that translation studies research can usefully inform contemporary publishing practices.

See also:

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; FICTION; FIELD THEORY; GENDER; GLOBALIZATION; LITERARY TRANSLATION; WORLD LITERATURE

Further reading

Folaron, D. and H. Buzelin (eds) (2007) *La Traduction et les études de réseaux/Translation and Network Studies*, Special issue of *Meta* 52(4).

Focuses on the history and development of network studies and their relevance to translation studies research, with two essays drawing on actor-network theory to analyze trans-

lation publishing: Buzelin's contribution on the practice of copublishing in Québec; and Tahir Gürçağlar's case study of popular translated literature in Turkey in the 1960s and the 2000s, which examines the large Turkish publisher Altın Kitapla (Golden Books).

Franssen, T. and G. Kuipers (eds) (2015) *Sociology of Literature in the Early 21st Century: Away from the Centre Cultural Sociology*. Special issue of *Cultural Sociology* 9(3).

Employing the core-periphery model and engaging critically with Bourdieu's cultural sociology, the focus is on the functioning of publishers located away from the main centres of the cultural world system, including India, Holland and Japan, pointing to the importance of studying regional and genre subfields as well as national cultural fields.

Jansen, H. and A. Wegener (2013) 'Introduction: Multiple Translationship', in H. Jansen and A. Wegener (eds) *Authorial and Editorial Voices in Translation 1: Collaborative relationships between authors, translators, and performers*, Montreal: Editions québécoises de l'œuvre, 1–38.

Discusses publishing as one aspect of multiple translationship, a term coined by the authors to account for the ways in which translatorial agency interacts with that of other agents involved in the translation process, the creation of the translation product, and the authority and authorship of the text.

Sapiro, G. (2008) 'Translation and the Field of Publishing', *Translation Studies* 1(2): 154–166.

Outlines three research perspectives which can productively be developed from Bourdieu's analysis of publishing: a focus on the structure of the global, rather than national, market for translated literature; consideration of the role and function of translations in the list of a given publisher; a sociological approach to the reception of literary translations.

ANGELA KERSHAW[†]

Pure language

The concept of pure language originates in Walter Benjamin's essay *Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers*, best known in English in Harry Zohn's translation as 'The Task of the Translator'. The essay was first published as a preface to Benjamin's

translation of Charles Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens* (1923); its translation first appeared in *Illuminations* (1968) – a posthumous collection of essays edited by Hannah Arendt. Reflecting different aspects of Benjamin's many-faceted production, *Illuminations* succeeded in establishing his reputation in the English-speaking world. However, even as *Illuminations* and other anthologies canonize Benjamin, they also sever his thought from its original contexts, which in turn contributes to making his writings seem even more abstruse than they admittedly are. Indeed, it is unusual for a text to become as canonical as 'The Task of the Translator' while remaining so little understood.

Pure language in the context of Romantic poetics

'The Task of the Translator' was written in 1921, two years after Benjamin completed his doctoral thesis, a study of the poetical theories of Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis entitled *Der Begriff der Kunstskritik in der deutschen Romantik* (The Concept of Criticism in Early German Romanticism). One of his key arguments is that the "Romantic theory of the artwork is the theory of its form" (Benjamin 1980/1996:155); an echo of this argument can be heard in 'The Task of the Translator', where Benjamin repeatedly asserts that "translation is a form" (1968/1996:254, 258). His own thought on translation, accordingly, is a theory of its form. In 'The Task of the Translator', Benjamin acknowledges the many "great" translations produced during the Romantic era, but remarks that "the Romantics virtually ignored translation in their theoretical writings" (ibid.:258). His essay on translation compensates for this neglect and further develops some of the Romantic ideas that Benjamin discussed in his doctoral thesis.

Benjamin's major innovation is to place translation on a par with the artistic forms discussed by the Romantics. Since he is concerned with translation as a form of art, ideas about intercultural communication occupy a subordinate position in his thought. Already at the outset of the essay, Benjamin makes clear that the purpose of a translation is not to say the "same thing" in a new language (ibid.:253–254). In other words, he rejects the notion of equivalence that historically occupied a central position in

debates on translation. Instead of equivalence, Benjamin begins with an allusion to the other arts: “No poem is intended for the reader, no picture for the beholder, no symphony for the audience”, he writes in the opening paragraph (ibid.:253). If translation is to be seen as a form of art, its main purpose cannot be limited to communicating the contents of a text to a reader who cannot decipher its language.

To define the purpose of translation, Benjamin borrows a metaphor from the Romantic conception of poetry – that of the seed coming to fruition. For the Romantics, a poem contains the seeds of its own critique, which germinate through reading. Benjamin coins the term *Kritisierbarkeit*, meaning ‘criticizability’, to capture this thought (1980/1996:160). Importantly, criticizability is a quality that is latent in the work, even though it only unfolds and becomes perceptible when the work is being criticized. “The entire art-philosophical project of the early German Romantics can therefore be summarized by saying that they sought to demonstrate in principle the criticizability of the work of art”, Benjamin writes in the concluding section of “The Concept of Criticism in German Romanticism” (Benjamin 1980/1996:179). The idea of criticizability is adapted in “The Task of the Translator’s discussion of *Übersetzbarkeit* (translatability). Translatability is embedded in the work like a seed is embedded in the earth and will only come to fruition through translation. In speaking of translatability, Benjamin does not, like most translation theorists, think of the empirical fact of whether a certain work can be translated. Rather, he claims that “a specific significance inherent in the original manifests itself in its translatability” regardless of whether the work has been translated or not (Benjamin 1968/1996:254; Weber 2008).

‘The Task of the Translator’ can therefore be read as a poetics of translation that both draws on and challenges Romantic critiques of poetry. The German word *Kritik*, especially as used by writers of the Romantic generation, resonates with Immanuel Kant’s three *Critiques*, the impact of which on German philosophy was still felt during Benjamin’s student days in the 1910s. Kant was in fact the subject of Benjamin’s original idea for doctoral research, and the ‘pure’ of ‘pure language’ (*reine Sprache*) arguably contains an echo of Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* (*Kritik*

der reinen Vernunft), as does Benjamin’s allusion to ‘a critique of cognition’ (*Erkenntniskritik*), a notion that Kant first developed in the *Critique of Pure Reason* (Benjamin 1968/1996:256). Salzani (2010) offers an extended discussion of Benjamin’s engagement with Kantian ‘purity’.

Pure language in its theological context

If the German tradition of philosophical poetics is one component in the concept of pure language, another important component is Benjamin’s interest in theological perspectives on language. The best known expression of this interest is the 1916 essay ‘On Language as Such and on the Language of Man’ (Benjamin 1978/1996), in which Benjamin examines the Judaeo-Christian idea that God created the world with his Word. Benjamin argues that the divine, creative Word is a Name: each thing was created as it was named in the language of God. This is the language that Adam voices when he names the animals (Genesis 2:19–20; Benjamin 1978/1996:64–70). The Fall of Man, according to Benjamin, is a Fall from the language first spoken by Adam, a fall in which this God-given language – language as such – is shattered. As a result we have the various languages of man. ‘The Task of the Translator’ cites the biblical phrase “In the beginning was the Word” directly (John 1:1; Benjamin 1968/1996:60), and the essay is saturated with messianic allusions. For this reason, many of Benjamin’s readers have considered the ‘pure language’ discussed in ‘The Task of the Translator’ to be identical with the ‘language as such’ discussed in ‘On Language as Such and on the Language of Man’.

Following this line of interpretation, Wohlfarth (2001:105) suggests that the task of the Benjaminian translator consists in reversing the shattering of language manifested in the Fall. Wohlfarth’s work on Benjamin highlights the many continuities and connections within his oeuvre: Benjamin’s theory of translation is closely related to his thought on history, aura and technological reproduction, politics, as well as his famous essays on Marcel Proust and Franz Kafka. Such connections are often obscured when ‘The Task of the Translator’ is anthologized. One motif that runs as a red thread

throughout Benjamin's entire writing life is that of fragmentation. In "The Task of the Translator," he represents the idea of a God-given language that was shattered in the Fall through the image of a broken vessel. "Fragments of a vessel that are to be glued together must match one another in the smallest details," he explains, going on to argue that

[i]n the same way a translation, instead of imitating the sense of the original, must lovingly and in detail incorporate the original's way of meaning, thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel.

(1968/1996:260)

Like the prelapsarian language of Adam, this vessel has been shattered, and just as someone who would repair a broken vessel must piece together its shards, so the translator must piece together fragments of the broken, Adamic language.

Carol Jacobs's attentive reading of Benjamin's vessel simile has, however, shown that in "the joining together of translation and original, language remains a *Bruchstück*," a broken fragment (Jacobs 1975:762). Even though translation may aim towards a restituted language, it cannot ultimately make whole the language that was shattered in the Fall – this would be a task for the Messiah and not the human translator. It is thus important to note that Benjamin never claims that translation actually achieves a messianic restoration of language. Rather, translation highlights the discrepancies between fallen languages, discrepancies that indicate their distance from the God-given language spoken by Adam (Benjamin 1968/1996:257). It would barely be an exaggeration to say that, for Benjamin, the history of language and linguistic change is a continuous Fall away from the creative language of God. This suggests that 'pure language' is not quite identical to the 'language as such' of 'On Language as Such and on the Language of Man'. If 'language as such' is captured in the image of a vessel, pure language is a vessel that has been shattered and glued together – it is a language assembled from the broken fragments of the various languages of man.

Although Benjamin is clearly influenced by the idea that all languages share an origin in the language of God, he also asserts in much more secular terms that "all suprahistorical kinship between languages consists in this: in every one of them as a whole, one and the same thing is meant" (Benjamin 1968/1996:257). This allows us to view the relationship between languages not as theological but as functional – languages are related in that all of them express the things that we speak about. But, he goes on, "this one thing [that is meant in all languages] is achievable not by any single language but only by the totality of their intentions supplementing one another: the pure language" (ibid.). Pure language emerges when different languages supplement one another with regards to the same thing that they mean. To explain his concept of linguistic supplementation, Benjamin offers the example of 'bread' in German and French. *Brot* and *pain* both mean 'bread', but they mean it differently – for instance, in German *Brot* rhymes with *rot*, the colour red, whereas the French *pain* shares a spelling with the English word *pain*. Additionally, on the level of meaning, *Brot* may connote a loaf of rye bread, whereas *pain* is more likely to bring a baguette or even *pain au chocolat* to mind; in addition to these general definitions, de Man (1985:40) offers an extended discussion of the personal associations of *Brot* and *pain*. Thus, all three words – *bread*, *Brot*, *pain* – mean the same thing but they have different ways of meaning it. In translation, it is the different ways of meaning that come to supplement one another with regards to "what is meant" (Benjamin 1968/1996:257). Consequently, pure language is not one language that can be learned, but the aggregate of all the various ways in which the languages of the world mean.

The afterlife of Benjamin's pure language

Benjamin's focus on linguistic difference and supplementation in "The Task of the Translator" has attracted many deconstructive critics to his theory of translation. De Man, who alongside Derrida is regarded as one of the inventors of deconstruction, states that "in the profession you are nobody unless you have said something

about this text" (de Man 1985:26). His own reading of Benjamin foregrounds the impossibility of translation: the translator's task, *Aufgabe*, is to fail – evoking the meaning of the German verb *aufgeben*, to give up (de Man 1985:33). But in the same gesture as outlining the translator's defeat, de Man argues that this failure realizes a poetics of translation (ibid.). The impossibility of translation has a positive quality in that it shows the limits of language in a way that poetry sometimes does. An example of this positive failure of translation is seen in the untranslatable title of Derrida's essay on Benjamin: *Des Tours de Babel*. The title signifies a text about the tower of Babel, another biblical symbol for the Fall of human language, but it is also a detour around Babel and an argument that language after Babel is characterized by detour and deferral of meaning – what Derrida elsewhere captures in his concept of *différance*. The instability of meaning makes it impossible to translate any given thing, but since meaning is continually shifting, this untranslatable something is always already being translated into something new. "The pure untranslatable and the pure transferable here pass one into the other", Derrida writes, pinpointing this as the "truth" of translation (Derrida 1985:190).

A correlate of deconstructive readings of Benjamin is the realization that any translation incorporates something untranslated; pure language can therefore be conceived as this untranslatability itself. It is that elusive element that the translator necessarily fails to translate. Postcolonial critics have turned Benjaminian untranslatability into an ethical imperative. Rejecting the assumption that formerly colonized cultures can be fully translated into, and thus wholesale comprehended within, the colonizer's language, they point to an irreducible otherness that resists translation. Bhabha, for instance, defines Benjamin's "untranslatable" as "the foreign element in the midst of the performance of cultural translation" (Bhabha 1994a/2004:325). Homing in on Benjamin's discussion of the "foreignness of languages" (Benjamin 1968/1996:257), Bhabha suggests that successful cultural translation performs the foreign and thus subverts the familiar.

Apter has likewise taken inspiration from Benjamin to argue against the discipline of World Literature on the grounds that its universalizing project neglects the untranslatable – both that which does not get translated on the

global marketplace and that which is lost when a text does get translated and circulates globally (Apter 2013). Apter's promotion of the untranslatable is therefore not an injunction against translation; rather, it is a reminder that we must not confuse translatability with commensurability – even when a text has been translated into our language, this does not mean that it has been mastered by it, and our task is to pay attention to the pressure-points that resist assimilation into the target language and culture. A similar thought informs Cassin's *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies: Dictionnaire des intraduisibles/Dictionary of Untranslatables* (2004/2014), an encyclopedia of philosophical terms that resist translation. But since the dictionary contextualizes and explains these terms, it can be said to translate them in their very untranslatability.

Whereas Benjamin's thought on translation has had a productive afterlife in translation and literary theory, few translators have followed the sole practical advice that his essay contains. Benjamin suggests that translation should indicate the different ways of meaning in the world's different languages. For it to do so, he advocates literal translation – especially with regards to syntax. To reveal how the other language means, the translator should closely follow the sentence structure of the original, even when this produces ungrammatical and sometimes non-sensical sentences in the target language. Benjamin is well aware that "a literal rendering of the syntax casts the reproduction of meaning entirely to the winds and threatens to lead directly to incomprehensibility" (1968/1996:260). The translator should not only face, but in fact welcome and submit to this threat. It is only by destroying the grammatical structures of her own language that she may be able to reveal the form of the other language within her own. The focus is so exclusively placed on *how* the other language means that *what* the specific foreign text being translated means is virtually forgotten. The German Romantic poet Friedrich Hölderlin's translations of Sophocles embody Benjamin's ideal of translation, not because they bring classical plays to a contemporary audience, but because Hölderlin stays so monstrously close to Sophocles' text that the ancient Greek becomes perceptible through his German (ibid.).

The literalism that Benjamin admires in Hölderlin's Sophocles, however unexpectedly,

anticipates the kind of translations produced by online translation tools. Dibbell (2000) has playfully stressed the similarities between Benjamin's theory of translation and the products of Babelfish, an early online translation engine. Notorious for their senseless literalism, online translation tools, like the Benjaminian translator, follow the original so closely as to verge on incomprehensibility in the target language. Nonetheless, they often leave a poetic kind of beauty in their wake – as Dibbell shows by letting Babelfish translate a poem by William Butler Yeats. Dibbell not only provides a mock commentary on the linguistic insight offered by the translation engine, he also compares it favourably to the poetry of avant-garde poets such as Mallarmé, the Dadaists and the Surrealists – all of whom Benjamin himself read with pleasure.

Another creative adaptation of Benjamin's theory of translation is found in Battles's (2009b/2012) fictional report on the discovery of Benjamin's very own *Übersetzungsmaschine*, or translation machine. This machine, allegedly found in the suitcase that Benjamin carried during his final journey into the Pyrenees, translates literally between languages to produce poetically sounding nonsense. Although both Dibbell and Battles write with their tongues in cheek, they do highlight an interesting similarity between avant-garde poetry and machine translations, and thereby challenge us to define the difference between highbrow poetry and random algorithmic translation. Their texts also evoke Benjamin's interest in the mechanical reproduction of art, as treated in his most famous essay, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility' (Benjamin 1980/2003). It is tempting to think that, had Benjamin lived today, he would have ventured to theorize technological translatability. Innovations in computing technology have revolutionized the study of language and translation by enabling scholars to assemble very large corpora of text and identify features beyond the span of an individual's memory or reading ability. Such innovations may also have influenced Benjamin's idea of pure language. Benjamin's definition of pure language as the totality of the world's languages supplementing one another in their intentions (Benjamin 1968/1996:257) is utopian. This totality is in practice unattain-

able – no one can hope to learn all the world's languages. Computers, on the other hand, even though they do not use language in the way that humans do, have the capacity to store samples of a virtually unlimited number of languages. Benjamin says that pure language emerges "from the harmony of all the various ways of meaning" found in the world's different languages (*ibid.*). In a variation on this thought, we can imagine pure language as a database that harmoniously interconnects all the world's languages in all their various ways of meaning.

See also:

DECONSTRUCTION; HERMENEUTICS; MEMORY; PHILOSOPHY; TRANSLATABILITY

Further reading

Battles, M. (2009/2012) 'I after the Cloudy Doubly Beautifully', *Hilobrow*. Available at <http://hilobrow.com/2009/06/02/i-after-the-cloudy-doubly-beautifully/>. Reprinted in M. Battles, *The Sovereignities of Invention*, New York: Red Lemonade.

Originally published as a blog post and later reprinted in a collection of the author's writings, this is not strictly speaking a critical interpretation of Benjamin, but it offers an imaginative example of how 'The Task of the Translator' can be translated into creative practice.

Derrida, J. (1985) 'Des Tours de Babel', in J.F. Graham (ed.) *Difference in Translation*, Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 165–207.

Brings out the deconstructive potential of Benjamin's thought on translation and sets the tone for much subsequent deconstructive translation theory.

Johnson, B. (2003/2014) 'The Task of the Translator', in *Mother Tongues: Sexuality, trials, motherhood, translation*, Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press, 40–64; reprinted in M. Feuerstein, B. Johnson González, L. Porten and K. Valens (eds) *The Barbara Johnson Reader*, Durham & London: Duke University Press, 377–400.

Examines Benjamin's relation to Baudelaire and explores his discussions of the supplementary relations between languages and the biblical account of the origin of language.

MATHELINDA NABUGODI



Quality, interpreting

Quality is a key concept in interpreting studies, but there is as yet no consensus on what it is, what criteria should be used to define it and how these criteria might be objectively evaluated. It is therefore acknowledged that no comprehensive definition of the concept can be offered in the field of interpreting (Shlesinger 1997:122). Perhaps the most challenging factor for those wishing to develop such a definition is the wide range of actors involved – interpreters, clients, users, speakers, trainers – each of whom may have quite a different vision and perception of quality, and all typically pursuing different goals and motivations that are shaped by the communicative context and what role they expect the interpreter to play. As Gile (1995a) argues, the definition of role may thus determine quality criteria and assessment to a great extent. Interpreting quality is ultimately a multifaceted and complex concept that acquires different meanings in different communicative situations, settings and modalities, including conference, community, court, business and sign language interpreting.

Despite these difficulties, interest in quality as an area of research has persisted, from the early intuitive work of practitioners in the 1950s to the current interdisciplinary and nuanced investigations of the concept by scholars of interpreting. Practitioners initially resorted to their own experience, mostly of consecutive interpreting, to address practical aspects of quality (Herbert 1952b). An important shift took place in the 1960s and 1970s, when psychologists conducted empirical studies of interpreting and tried to measure quality solely in terms of the transfer of linguistic information and lexical substitution. These studies examined the effect of factors such as information density (Treisman 1965), speed of delivery (Gerver 1969/2002) and

availability of background material (L. Anderson 1979/1994). Barik (1971, 1972, 1973) studied interpreting quality in terms of three types of error – omissions, additions and substitutions; he adopted a quantitative approach to probe into the cognitive processes involved in simultaneous interpreting and conduct a comparative analysis of linguistic features. The validity of these studies was challenged in terms of the limitations of their design, including the fact that fundamental aspects of authentic interpreting conditions were not considered. These studies also measured quality only in terms of what they considered to be deficiencies, which could not always be confirmed as such. Another shift occurred in the 1980s, when scholars of interpreting began to examine user expectations and develop criteria for assessing quality. Bühler's (1986) seminal study broke the concept down into more concrete components and proposed a set of parameters to be used in measuring subjects' expectations; it also proposed a range of factors that might influence the quality of the interpretation. Subsequent studies followed Bühler's initiative by examining subjects' expectations and assessing interpreting quality on the basis of clear criteria.

Since Bühler's seminal study, two types of research on interpreting quality have been undertaken. The first analyzes the relationship between the characteristics of interpreting and different subjects' perceptions of it; the second examines the relationship between the original speech, the interpreted version and the circumstances under which the interpreting is performed.

Perceptions and expectations

The first strand of research focuses on surveying the expectations of different groups of subjects and their assessment of the interpreting

performance, by means of both observational and experimental studies. Three fundamental issues have been raised: whether all subjects share the same expectations; the weight of different quality criteria in the overall assessment of an interpretation; and who should evaluate the quality of an interpreting performance.

Bühler's (1986) empirical study on quality expectations in conference interpreting attempted to examine the construct of quality in operational terms, by breaking it down into specific components. These components underpinned a survey conducted among members of AIIC, who were asked to rate the criteria according to their relative importance in assessing fellow professionals' performance. Distinguishing between linguistic or semantic and extralinguistic or pragmatic factors, Bühler's questionnaire listed the following criteria: native accent, pleasant voice, fluency of delivery, logical cohesion of utterance, sense consistency with the original message, completeness of interpretation, correct grammatical usage, use of correct terminology, use of appropriate style, thorough preparation of conference documents, endurance, poise, pleasant appearance, reliability, ability to work in a team and positive feedback from delegates.

Much of the research on user expectations in conference interpreting has since been based on Bühler's proposed criteria (Kurz 1993a; Kopczyński 1994; Moser 1996; Collados Aís et al. 2007), with some items such as intonation eliminated or added and some combined into broader categories. Other dimensions of quality assessment were introduced in subsequent studies. For example, Kurz (1989, 1993a), and later Kopczyński (1994), Kurz and Pöchhacker (1995) and Moser (1996), engaged with the issue of whether different types of subjects may have different expectations. This encouraged studies that polled the opinions of different users of interpreting services and examined differences among subject types. It also opened the way for expanding the scope of research to include additional scenarios such as relay interpreting (Waliczek 2003) and film interpreting (Russo 2005).

Studies on quality expectations have been carried out in relation to a range of settings and modes, to survey the opinions of different stakeholders with respect to factors such as knowledge of both languages and the role of the interpreter (Hearn 1981, cited in Pöchhacker

2001). Perceptions of the interpreter's role have proved particularly important in community interpreting, given the face-to-face setting and more extensive levels of mediation involved in these interactions. Studies of user expectations in this context have been undertaken in various settings such as healthcare (Mesa 1997; Pöchhacker 2000a) and court interpreting (Kadric 2000).

The findings of research on the relative weight given to quality criteria by different subjects reflects differences in relation to factors such as setting (Kurz and Pöchhacker 1995; Russo 2005), users' professional background (Kurz 1993; Kopczyński 1994), gender (Ng 1992), age and experience with interpreting (Mack and Cattaruzza 1995; Moser 1996), type and size of event (Moser 1996), user attitudes towards simultaneous interpreting (Vuorikoski 1993) as well as different understandings of the role of the interpreter (Marrone 1993; Kopczyński 1994). Nevertheless, the findings suggest an overall pattern of preferences, with more importance given to content-related criteria such as sense consistency and completeness than to delivery-related features such as voice and intonation.

Technological developments have impacted methods of research in this area by allowing researchers to administer questionnaires via the web, thus leading to broader population coverage. Chiaro and Nocella (2004) pioneered the use of web questionnaires to survey expectations among interpreters located in different parts of the world. Six years later, Zwischenberger and Pöchhacker (2010) surveyed the expectations and opinions of 704 AIIC members in relation to two interrelated issues: output-related quality criteria and role perceptions. In terms of output-related criteria such as fluency of delivery, logical cohesion and native accent, the study attempted to establish whether assessment of such criteria varied depending on the type of meeting or assignment. In terms of role perceptions, the survey sought to establish "how interpreters' sociodemographic and professional background data related to their perception of four behavioral constructs", these constructs being "'Intervention in the original', 'Loyalty to the speaker/original', 'Reaction to working conditions' and 'Interpreter's detachment'" (ibid.). García Becerra (2012) shifted the focus towards investigating the effect of the method of administration on response rate; her findings revealed

that subjects tended to participate more when the questionnaire on quality expectations was administered in person, face to face, rather than via an invitation to take part in an online questionnaire or by including the questionnaire within the text of an email (García Becerra 2015a).

Gile (1990) was the first to conduct an empirical study on quality assessment in conference interpreting among delegates, who were asked to rate different aspects of the interpretation, including overall quality, linguistic output and use of terminology. Results revealed that subjects' assessment of the overall quality of the performance and other criteria was quite consistent, with the exception of voice-related aspects. In a later classroom-based study of consecutive interpreting held at ISIT (Institut Supérieur d'Interprétation et de Traduction) in Paris, Gile (1995b) argued that a group of interpreting students working between French and English could not be considered good judges of fidelity to the original meaning, even though they can be considered "intelligent and mature", "the more so since about half were over thirty years old and had previous professional experience" (*ibid.*:154). Gile (1999b) continued this line of research, now involving different groups of subjects (professional interpreters, students and other assessors); his findings suggest that fidelity assessment is unreliable when performed by single assessors or very small groups. Later research on interpreting assessment has confirmed the high diversity of subjects' opinions regarding quality criteria, which appear to be dependent not only on their professional background, but also on other aspects such as their nationality, gender, culture or specific language combination (Garber and Mauffette-Leenders 1997; García Becerra 2012; Iglesias Fernández 2013).

Collados Aís's (1998) study focused on a single criterion of quality, namely intonation. It demonstrated that the importance given by users to non-verbal criteria in articulating their expectations was inconsistent with the actual impact of these elements on their assessment of a specific interpretation. The study also confirmed the limited capacity to evaluate quality not only on the part of users, but also interpreters themselves. Both groups seemed to be sensitive to non-verbal aspects of the interpretation, even though users were less demanding and rated all the items proposed in the questionnaire more highly. Discrepancies between expectation

patterns and the actual impact of certain criteria on assessment were ratified in later studies on other quality criteria such as fluency and accent (A. Cheung 2003; Garzone 2003; Pradas Macías 2003; Collados Aís et al. 2007; Holub 2010; Rennert 2010).

Further dimensions of quality assessment examined in the literature include the impact of the social dimension, for instance in relation to first impressions of the interpreters (García Becerra 2012) and the role of stereotypes (A. Cheung 2013), the influence of English as *lingua franca* on the effectiveness of the interpretation (Reithofer 2013) and the effect of the order in which interpretations are heard (Rožić 2004; Collados Aís 2008; García Becerra 2015b).

Since the turn of the century, research on subjects' perceptions of interpreting quality has been extended to new contexts, such as the media (Pignataro and Velardi 2013), with some focusing on certain aspects such as cohesion and coherence in dialogue interpreting (Straniero Sergio 2012; Dal Fovo 2013b), and transfer in consecutive interpreting (Guo 2013). Studies on quality assessment have also been conducted among interpreters and clients in community interpreting, using criteria such as comprehensibility, accuracy and impartiality (Garber and Mauffette-Leenders 1997), as well as the degree to which expectations are met (Mesa 1997). Some of the same criteria have been proposed for the evaluation of quality in sign language interpreting. In Strong and Fritsch-Rudser (1992), two groups of subjects (hearing and deaf) evaluated aspects such as the interpreters' language proficiency, the overall quality of the performance and its comprehensibility. Results showed high rater agreement and highlighted the importance of subjects' perceptual standards for the study of interpreting quality assessment. In the area of court interpreting, research has built on Berk-Seligson's (1988) study, which examined the impact of the interpreter's style on the perception of credibility. J. Lee (2009a) surveyed users and interpreters in Australia to explore their opinions on the role of the court interpreter and the quality of the service, revealing a gap between the two groups' perceptions.

On the whole, current research on interpreting quality assessment and subjects' perceptions acknowledges the changing nature of the evaluation of an interpreter's rendition by differ-

ent stakeholders, with increased interest in the influence of non-verbal elements and situational factors on recipients' perceptions of interpreter performance (Pradas Macías 2015; García Berra 2016).

The output of interpreting

While recipients' perceptions may provide a good indicator of user satisfaction, a comprehensive approach to quality also requires close examination of the source speech and the interpretation, as well as of the situation under which both are produced. Studies that focus on the output of interpreting have either scrutinized the interpretation as a speech in its own right or compared it with the source speech, in terms of both semantic equivalence and communicative effect.

Early research examined the impact on interpreter renditions of variables such as speech rate (Gerver 1969/2002), the visibility of the speaker and the availability of documentation (L. Anderson 1979/1994), but these studies suffered from methodological shortcomings and their validity has hence been challenged. One criticism has been that quality cannot be considered solely in terms of errors, substitutions, omissions and additions in the interpretation. Later research addressed this criticism by refining its methods to include pragmatic and contextual factors.

Later studies drew on the concept of problem triggers (Gile 1995a) to examine elements of the source speech and the interpreting context that can impact interpreting quality. As in earlier research, factors such as the speaker's speech rate and the length of interpreting turns were analyzed (Moser-Mercer et al. 1998), the latter showing that long turns in simultaneous interpreting may have a negative effect on interpreting quality. Lamberger-Felber (1998) examined the effect of the interpreter's preparation on the quality of interpreting. However, the high variability among interpreter performances (Lamberger-Felber 2001) further highlighted the complexity of the concept and the difficulties faced by researchers in this field.

In terms of cognition, Gile (1988:15ff.) argued that achieving an optimal balance between the different efforts involved in the interpreting process (listening, memory and production)

is a prerequisite to a quality performance, and that quality tends to deteriorate when the interpreter's cognitive capacity is overloaded, leading to information loss, language deficiencies and possibly lack of clarity or coherence in the interpretation. Gile's (2011) examination of French, German and Japanese simultaneous interpretations of a speech by Barack Obama confirmed that mistranslations and omissions result from cognitive saturation rather than lack of comprehension of the source speech or insufficient linguistic or extralinguistic knowledge.

Advances in technology and the growing need for interpreters in multilingual settings have promoted the use of remote interpreting, giving rise to a number of studies that examine quality in this context (Roziner and Shlesinger 2010; Braun 2014). The study by Roziner and Shlesinger (2010), which involved a large-scale experiment to assess factors such as stress in remote interpreting in the European Parliament and similar organizations, found that this mode of interpreting hardly has any effect on quality. By contrast, Braun (2014) compared interpreting quality in police interviews involving remote interpreting with quality in face-to-face interpreted interviews and concluded that remote interpreting is more challenging and that working conditions involving this mode should be improved in order to ensure optimum quality.

A number of studies have drawn on corpora of authentic source speeches and their interpretations to examine problem triggers and align them with instances of success and failure in the target speech, later also relating them to variables such as setting, language combination, directionality, speaking style and speech rate (Monti et al. 2005; Russo et al. 2006; Barranco-Droege 2015). The aim of such studies is to identify patterns in interpreter performances and recommend strategies for optimizing the quality of the output in different situations.

Future directions

Research on interpreting quality started out as intuitive work by practitioners but has now developed into a much more sophisticated field of enquiry, thanks to diverse contributions from different disciplines and the incorporation of a variety of research techniques. No compre-

hensive definition of the concept has yet been offered, nevertheless, and it may not be possible to offer a watertight definition in the future (Shlesinger 1997:122). Quality remains an elusive concept, one that is defined differently in different contexts given that expectations and perceptions of what constitutes quality performance vary depending on the goals and motivations of the actors involved. This suggests that future research on quality in interpreting must expand to cover diverse interpreting settings and modes, as well as language combinations, in order to better reflect the complexity of the concept.

Bühler's criteria are still being used to survey expectations and assessment of quality, but his proposals now need to be revisited in order to facilitate an in-depth analysis and application of the concept and to reflect the increasing attention given to the social dimension of quality assessment. The new set of criteria should allow researchers to account for the complex relations between expectations and actual judgement.

In terms of the output of interpreting, the use of corpora of authentic source speeches and their interpretations holds immense potential for refining research findings and applications in this area in the future, not only in terms of the ability to investigate different aspects of the relationship between the source text, the target text and the context, but also as a tool to improve training.

See also:

COMPETENCE, INTERPRETING; DIRECTIONALITY; NORMS; QUALITY, TRANSLATION; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, INTERPRETING

Further reading

Collados Aís, A. and O. García Becerra (2015) 'Quality', in H. Mikkelsen and R. Jourdenais (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting*, London & New York: Routledge, 368–383.

Offers a review of the state of the art in the field of quality in interpreting.

Hale, S., Ozolins, U. and Stern, L. (eds) (2009) *Critical Link 5: Quality in Interpreting: A shared responsibility*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A selection of papers on quality in interpreting being a common responsibility of all the participants in diverse settings such as legal,

medical and community interpreting in different countries.

Zwischenberger, C. and M. Behr (eds) (2015) *Interpreting Quality: A look around and ahead*, Berlin: Frank & Timme.

A selection of papers that offers an overview of the state of the art in research on interpreting quality from different perspectives.

OLALLA GARCÍA BECERRA AND
ÁNGELA COLLADOS AÍS

Quality, translation

Despite much interest and numerous studies, translation quality remains a controversial topic, as discussed in publications such as Hague et al. (2011), Colina (2015) and House (2015), among others. The lack of consensus on how quality may be evaluated stems to a large extent from disagreements over the concept of translation and from the controversial and relative nature of quality, which is ultimately assessed on the basis of social, historical and culturally based values and priorities.

Evaluators' approaches to quality generally reflect their own views on translation and explicitly or implicitly presuppose a theory of translation, which means that "different views of translation lead to different concepts of translational quality, and hence different ways of assessing quality" (House 1997:1). Theories of translation are quite diverse, ranging from the linguistic to the politically and socially committed, and they address a variety of complex topics such as the role of the translator, the purpose of the translation and equivalence. The situation is made more difficult by the fact that some evaluation proposals do not rely on an explicit theory but rather reflect unarticulated views passed on through training and professional socialization. Some proposals are based on a wealth of practical experience but lack an (explicit) theoretical or research framework that allows generalizability to other contexts beyond the original purpose or industry for which they were developed; examples include the SAE J2450 Translation Quality Metric for the automotive industry and the LISA Quality Assurance tool for localization (Orlando 2011). Others attempt to cover

multiple objects of evaluation but are informed by unstated priorities that respond to different evaluative purposes and are characterized by a lack of conceptual clarity. While reaching consensus in this area may be an unattainable goal, defining and delimiting the issues can go a long way towards achieving systematic progress in translation evaluation, especially since lack of conceptual clarity and definitional problems are part of the root cause of the problem.

For the purposes of developing a robust approach to translation quality, a translated or target text is defined here as a text that fulfils and/or attempts to fulfil a certain function in a target culture, in accordance with a set of explicit or implicit instructions and purposes, and that bears a translation relationship to another text in another language – that is, to a source text. The specifics of what constitutes a translation relationship – as opposed to versioning or adaptation – can vary from one culture to another but the relationship will often rest on a high degree of equivalence. Ultimately, a translated text comes about as a result of the interaction of social participants – minimally, the writer, the target language audience and the translator – and the presence of a stated or unstated purpose, which is often but not always the same as that of the source text. The purpose of the translation is also guided by social, political and economic considerations.

The focus of this entry is the assessment of translation products and translation-specific quality for summative purposes, that is, for the purpose of offering a summary recommendation, rather than to provide feedback for learners or as a diagnostic tool, as in the case of entrance exams. While assessment and evaluation often refer to different concepts in the educational literature, they are used here interchangeably.

Equivalence-based approaches

Much of the criticism levelled against various approaches to quality assessment and evaluation concerns their dependence on the concept of equivalence, which is as difficult to define as translation itself (Hönig 1997). Furthermore, equivalence-based models tend to be prescriptive in that they implicitly or explicitly presuppose equivalence as the ultimate goal of a good

translation. But translations are often commissioned for a different purpose or audience from that of the original; consequently, taking equivalence as an *a priori* measure of quality is descriptively inadequate. Moreover, while equivalence is a definitional component of translation, the type (linguistic, textual, functional) and degree of equivalence required of a translation generally vary depending on the conditions under which a translation is undertaken, including but not limited to the translation specifications. Some translation scholars see equivalence as a continuum consisting of acceptable ranges or degrees that are determined according to the translation specifications and to the notion of translation adopted (Colina 2015). *A priori* reliance on equivalence as a measure of quality is thus conceptually problematic and limiting in descriptive as well as explanatory value (Hönig 1997).

The best-known equivalence-based evaluation models are those that are based on back-translation, attempt to measure reader response or adopt a textual or pragmatic approach. Back-translation, a method of evaluation that relies on translating a translated text back into the source language and then assessing the degree of match with the source text, is rarely (if ever) mentioned in overviews of quality evaluation in translation studies. This may be because since it was first proposed in the 1970s (Brislin 1970, 1986) it has been shown to have very limited applicability due to its restriction to referential aspects of language and one-to-one word correspondences. However, despite its limited relevance in translation studies, back-translation is considered “by far the most popular quality assessment tool . . . in international and cross-cultural social research” (Tyupa 2011:36), as well as in the field of healthcare, specifically quality-of-life research (Colina et al. 2017). Colina et al. (*ibid.*) argue that the popularity of back-translation as a quality control method in cross-cultural research is related to its ease of application and the lack of a more up-to-date, easy-to-use alternative.

Reader-response approaches evaluate quality by determining whether readers respond to the translation in the same way as readers of the source text respond to the original (Nida 1964; Carroll 1966; Nida and Taber 1969). For instance, the quality of a translation of the assembly

instructions for a piece of furniture would be measured by comparing how the readers of the translation and those of the source text assemble the furniture and determining whether they follow the same procedures and arrive at the same result. Measuring reader response is problematic however. It is not possible to establish whether two responses are entirely equivalent, given that even monolingual texts can trigger different reactions from different groups of readers. In most cases, the readership of a translated text will be different from that envisioned by the writer of the original, and therefore equating quality with equivalence of response seems to pose more questions than answers. For example, if the users of the translated assembly instructions in the example just cited were less familiar with the product line than those of the source text, perhaps because it has just been introduced in their country, they might take longer to assemble the product, but this does not necessarily mean that the quality of the translation is poor. Measuring reader response also has limited applications as a method of quality assessment because it is not relevant for all types of translation, in particular those that are not reader oriented, as is the case with legal texts. This method also addresses only one aspect of a translated text, namely equivalence of effect on the reader, while ignoring others such as the purpose of the translation, which may justify or even require a different response from the readers. Finally, as with other theoretical approaches, reader-response testing is time-consuming and difficult to apply.

The best known textually and pragmatically oriented equivalence-based approaches are those developed by Reiß and House. Reiß (1971) argues that equivalence should be sought at the level of the text type and function of the source text, rather than at the level of the word or sentence. She proposes three text types – informative, expressive and operative – and argues that quality should be assessed on the basis of how well the target text reproduces the predominant text type and function of the source text. House's (1977, 1997, 2001, 2015) functional-pragmatic model proceeds by analyzing the linguistic-situational features of the source and target texts, comparing the results of the analyses, and then articulating an assessment of their degree of match. The basic measure of quality is that the

textual profile and function of the translation must match those of the original, the goal being functional equivalence between the original and the translation. House (2015) offers a revised version of the 1997 model, with modifications to reflect current research in contrastive pragmatics and rhetoric, studies of cognitive processes and globalization, and the findings of corpus studies. The revised model attempts to enrich the comparison of the source and target texts through greater engagement with their situational and cultural contexts. A crucial element of House's revised approach is her acknowledgement of the difference between descriptive, linguistically based analysis, and social evaluation, and her attempt to apply a two-step evaluation process consisting of linguistic analysis and social/ethical value judgement, arguing that "in translation we need both" (2015:142–143). Her approach, she explains, provides the first step, namely "the descriptive foundation for any argued assessment of whether and to what degree a given translation may be seen to be adequate or not" (ibid.:143). Nevertheless, one criticism that can be levelled at House's model is precisely that it lacks the evaluative component sought by many evaluators. Her proposal offers a detailed and necessary framework for comparative analysis on which to base and justify evaluative statements, but the second step is not provided. One way to overcome this weakness would be to complement other evaluative frameworks with the comparative analysis proposed by House, or vice versa, though care must be exercised to avoid generating a level of detail and technical complexity that may exceed the purposes of many case studies and possibly discourage some researchers. Case studies demonstrating the application of House's model are included in her volume (2015:127–141) and can also be found in other publications, such as Munday (2016:161–163).

Other equivalence-based models of evaluation include Williams (2001), Gerzymisch-Arbogast (2001b), Neubert (1985) and den Broeck (1985). Williams's (2001, 2004) argumentation-centred approach posits that "a translation must reproduce the argument structure of ST to meet minimum criteria of adequacy" (Williams 2001:336). This argument structure is to be found not only in argumentative texts, but also in narratives, dialogue and descriptive texts. What distinguishes

this method is its macrotextual approach to quality evaluation, with a lack of correspondence in argumentation schema, for example, being considered a major error. Nevertheless, the method is not generalizable to all texts and is hence limited in applicability.

Despite their reliance on equivalence and the difficulties associated with their application, textual and pragmatic approaches to translation quality have made a significant contribution to the field of translation evaluation by shifting the focus from counting errors at the word or sentence level to evaluating texts and textual structure, giving the reader and the social and cultural context of the translation a much more prominent role in the process. Reader-response methods must also be credited with highlighting the role of the reader of the translation during a period when translation research mostly focused on the text and its linguistic form.

Beyond equivalence

Bowker's corpus-based model (2000, 2001) uses "a comparatively large and carefully selected collection of naturally occurring texts that are stored in machine-readable form" (2001:346) as a benchmark against which to compare and evaluate specialized student translations, without relying on textual equivalence. Rabadán et al. (2009) also adopts a corpus-based approach to identify features of translated text vs original ones and therefore potentially improve the quality of translations by approximating to the patterns of non-translated language. While not presenting a specific model, Rabadán et al. contend that "corpus-based research can offer evaluators objective data on which to build reliable and usable evaluation methods", acknowledging that "the ensuing empirically-based tools are necessarily linguistic and textual" (2009:304). Functionalist approaches such as *skopos* theory (Reiß and Vermeer 1984; Nord 1997) posit the text type and function of the translation as the criteria by which translation decisions should be guided, and hence the basis for evaluation. In this model, the specifications for the translation play an important role in determining the quality of the translation.

Criticism has been levelled at both corpus-based and functionalist models of evaluation, whether or not they are equivalence based, in terms of the difficulty involved in applying them in professional contexts (Lauscher 2000; Colina 2008). Corpus-based evaluation can be very time consuming, as it requires the compilation of special evaluation corpora. Some functionalist approaches to evaluation also remain vague in terms of how evaluation should proceed. Hönig, for instance, presents strong arguments for a functionalist approach to evaluation but does not offer any concrete instantiation of the model. He ultimately concludes that "the speculative element will remain – at least as long as there are no hard and fast empirical data which serve to prove what a 'typical' reader's responses are like" (1997:32). Functionalist approaches have additionally been criticized for not being sufficiently analytical or linguistically grounded (House 2015).

Colina (2008, 2009, 2015) proposes a functional-componential approach that raters reported as easy to learn and use. In this approach, translation products are evaluated relative to the specifications provided for the translation. The model is also componential in that it examines components of quality separately. Colina (2008) argues that, without explicit criteria on which to base their evaluations, evaluators often rely on their own priorities, which may or may not coincide with the requester's. In an attempt to introduce flexibility with regard to different conditions influencing quality and to state explicit priorities, the functional-componential approach incorporates a user-defined notion of quality in which the user or requester decides which aspects of quality are more important for their purposes. This is done either by adjusting customer-defined weights for each component in a rubric or simply by assigning higher priorities to some components. Additional components of quality can be introduced depending on the needs and priorities for the translation. In order to demonstrate the applicability of the model in practical settings, and to develop testable hypotheses and research questions, Colina and her collaborators designed a tool based on this approach and tested it for inter-rater reliability (Colina 2008, 2009). Raters who had not used the tool before were able to apply it after a short online training session, and

inter-rater reliability for health education materials was good for two out of three languages tested. Exemplification and case studies of the model can be found in Colina (2015).

Lauscher (2000) outlines a similar view of quality, both comprehensive and customer defined, made up of different components and priorities that vary according to the situation. Lauscher (*ibid.*:149) argues that “the translation process is guided by case-specific values” which are specified by stakeholders during the translation process; assessment of quality must rest on these values being “made accessible to the evaluator and operationalized as evaluation parameters” given that “the application of evaluation parameters depends on situational and individual factors”, and hence that “translation quality is ultimately a matter of agreement and consensus” (*ibid.*). Hague et al. (2011) similarly propose a specifications-based approach that aligns assessment with expectations. Their review of existing research on evaluation (Colina 2008, 2009; Angelelli 2009) concludes that current evaluation proposals are converging in the direction of a customizable specification model, and that “[b]uilding on the notion of a brief and functionalist/componential rubrics, . . . stakeholders should adopt explicit specifications based on a standard set of parameters” (*ibid.*:260).

Applications

Perhaps the most common application of summative evaluation is assessing the usability of a translation or the competence of a translator, normally for a potential employer. Another area where translation quality assessment has obvious applications is translation teaching, in particular in relation to the assessment of students’ competence (Martínez Melis and Hurtado Albir 2001).

It is important to note that the quality of a translation product is only one indicator of competence and that it must be complemented with other types of evidence. While a quality product usually suggests a competent translator, product evaluation cannot be automatically translated into student competence evaluation, in particular in an educational formative context where educators and students will need to know how the errors and deficiencies fit into their developmental profile. Moreover, an error in one subcomponent of quality does not always

translate into deficiencies in the corresponding subcomponent of translation competence. One example is the well-known case of transfer without ignorance, where novices with educated native proficiency have been shown to produce linguistically inadequate translations (Colina 1999). A model that connects indicators of quality to the various subcomponents of translation competence is a necessary first step in this area.

Proposals for the assessment of translator competence have been outlined by Colina (2003, 2015) and Angelelli (2009); both are componential approaches that evaluate subcomponents of competence as proposed in existing models of translation competence. Colina (2015:255ff.) offers an adaptation of the functional componential rubric for the evaluation of student translation products. Evaluation samples of student translations are included in Colina (2003).

Other proposals for the evaluation of student translations focus on methodology rather than outlining a theoretical approach as such. For instance, Eyckmans et al. (2009) and Waddington (2001) compare methods of assessment – holistic, error analysis, item-calibration – and the extent to which they render consistent results when undertaken by different assessors. Different approaches to quality evaluation are also applied in assessing Machine Translation (MT) and Computer-Aided Translation (CAT) tools. In addition to evaluating the texts produced with the help of MT and CAT and comparing them to those that are translated manually, research has also engaged with the difference between automated quality judgements and human judgement, user acceptance and the need for postediting (White 2003; Bowker and Ehgoetz 2007; Fiederer and O’Brien 2009; O’Brien 2012a).

See also:

COMPETENCE, TRANSLATION; CROWDSOURCED TRANSLATION; DIRECTIONALITY; MUSIC; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; QUALITY, INTERPRETING

Further reading

Angelelli, C.V. and H.E. Jacobson (2009) (eds) *Testing and Assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies: A call for dialogue between research and practice*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Features contributions on assessment and measurement of quality in translation and interpreting within various contexts, includ-

ing the research context, classrooms, the private sector and professional organizations, with examples involving different languages. Colina, S. (2015) *Fundamentals of Translation*, Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Contains a chapter on evaluation, with examples and explanations of how to apply the model outlined in Colina (2008, 2009); offers students and teachers guidelines and suggestions for reviewing translations and using feedback to improve performance in a systematic, principled way, and offers practising translators methods of self-evaluation and monitoring.

Colina, S., N. Marrone, M. Ingram and D. Sánchez (2017) 'Translation Quality Assessment in Health Research: An alternative to back translation', *Evaluation and the Health Professions* 40(3): 267–293.

Presents a summary of how translation quality assessment is practised in health fields and includes a case study and a proposal to incorporate current knowledge in translation studies in the evaluation of translations used in these fields.

O'Brien, S. (2012) 'Towards a Dynamic Quality Evaluation Model for Translation', *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 17: 55–77. Available at www.jostrans.org/issue17/art_obrien.pdf.

Reviews industry-based translation quality evaluation methods as practised in the professional world, independently of theoretical or academic frameworks, and proposes a dynamic approach that is better aligned with customer opinion.

SONIA COLINA

Qur'an (Koran) translation

The Qur'an, the Holy Book of Islam, is regarded by Muslims as a direct divine transmission to the Prophet Muhammad in the Arabic language. As the Qur'an itself affirms in Verse 2 of Sura 12, "Truly We sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an that haply you may understand" (Nasr 2015:591). As a result, (Qur'anic) Arabic instantly acquired the special status of a 'chosen' sacred medium.

Reciting the Qur'an in Arabic itself came to be regarded as an act of piety and, because it is the exact word of Allah, the text and style of the Qur'an have been deemed incomparable and therefore beyond human capacity for replication in any language.

In spite of the Muslim reverence for the revelation in its original Arabic form, however, the Qur'an today exists in translation into numerous languages spoken on virtually every continent. It is estimated that there are nearly 3,000 translations of the Qur'an in over 65 different languages of the world (Eith 2015:185). Ironically, although Islam is still primarily an Afro-Asian religion, there are more translations into European languages, especially English, than in most languages of Muslim-majority nations. The number of English translations of the Qur'an undertaken by Muslims alone, as opposed to non-Muslims, is estimated to be over 60 (Wild 2015:164), affirming the status of English as the most widely used transnational language in much of the Muslim world. Competing with English have been translations into Persian, the language of a Persian empire that fell to Muslim rule in the seventh century, and Turkish, a major language of an otherwise multilingual Ottoman Empire that once governed the Muslim world. There are also numerous translations into Urdu, an important linguistic symbol that helps define Pakistan's Muslim identity. These numbers alone reveal how questions of power and identity have been central in influencing who uses which language in the context of translating the Qur'an.

Translations by non-Muslims

Some of the earliest complete translations of the Qur'an were undertaken into European languages by non-Muslim translators. The first among these was the Latin translation *Lex Mahumet pseudoprophete* (Law of Muhammad the Pseudo-prophet) by Robert of Ketton, produced under the patronage of Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of Cluny, in 1143. Released in the heat of the Crusades, Ketton's translation, with its numerous anti-Islamic renderings and commentaries, and its subsequent editions, was essentially intended to give Christendom a window through which to view and understand the "evil" that Islam was regarded to be in order to better refute its claims, ultimately with

“the desire to convert Muslims into Christians” (Lawrence 2006:98–99).

It was not until the seventeenth century that we began to see in European translations of the Qur'an “a dramatic turn for the better with the publication of Andre Du Ryer's. . . *Alcoran de Mahomet* [Mohamed's Koran] in 1647” in the French language; the French text was later translated into English (Elmarsafy 2009:8–9). The seemingly more favourable depictions of Islam in the English version led the Commonwealth authorities to seek, often unsuccessfully, to ban its publication and circulation in the name of protecting the Christian public. But far from discouraging the audience from reading it, the translation “went on to become one of the most popular books of seventeenth-century England” (Elmarsafy 2009:9).

The growth of Arabic studies and Arabic library collections during this period laid the foundation for new translations that were better supported in terms of documentary evidence. Particularly noteworthy were the contrasting 1698 Latin translation of Louis Maracci, *Alcorani Textus Universus Arabicè et Latinè*, and the 1734 English translation by George Sale, *The Koran: Commonly Called Alcoran of Mohammed*. These translations exposed the tensions within the European Christian world itself, especially the conflict between the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church. Central to this contestation was the representation of the Prophet Muhammad – as an imposter, in Maracci's Catholic-guided position, or a legislator, in Sale's Lutheran-guided view. Perhaps reacting to the history of Catholic persecution of Lutherans, Sale's translation presented Islam as a religion worthy of serious study in spite of its false claims and fundamental differences with Christianity. It was reedited and retranslated numerous times over the years, with versions of it appearing in German, Russian and Hungarian (Elmarsafy 2009:37–63). Sale's translation was followed by other translations, sometimes in reaction to it, by scholars of Christian background such as J.M Rodwell (1861), E.H. Palmer (1880), Richard Bell (1937) and A.J. Arberry (1955).

Christians were the first not only to translate the Qur'an into their own European languages for their own European audiences; sometimes they were the first to translate the Qur'an into languages of the Other, especially in contexts

in which Christianity was seen to be in competition with Islam in terms of gaining converts. This was particularly true during the early phase of European colonial rule in Africa and Asia. The first translation of the Qur'an into Malay, for example, was attempted by the British scholar and missionary William Shellabear (Hunt 2002:29). In West Africa, Reverend Michael Samuel Cole was the first to produce a translation of the Qur'an into Yoruba, in 1906 (Solihu 2015:11; Mazrui 2016:30), probably making this the first translation of the Qur'an in any African language. In East Africa, the first translation of the Qur'an into Swahili, published in 1923, was done by Canon Godfrey Dale of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (Lacunza-Balda 1997:96–102; Mazrui 2016:30).

The Malaya states, East Africa and West Africa were all conquered territories where Islam was expanding, but which were still home to sizeable populations of native people who were not followers of Islam and who were regarded as candidates for potential conversion to Christianity. Here, the objective of translating the Qur'an into some of the local languages was supposedly to refute Muslim claims of the divine origin of their Holy Book and present their religion in such a way as to make it unappealing to potential converts. These translations, in other words, were seen as part of a Christian-Muslim competition for the African and Asian souls.

But even in some of the non-European nations that experienced more indirect forms of imperial coercion and control, some of the first translations of the Qur'an were again undertaken by non-Muslims. The first two Chinese translations, both appearing in the late 1920s and early 1930s, for example, were the work of translators of Christian and Jewish faith (Henning 2014). Both were based on existing English translations of the Qur'an. Chinese Muslim intellectuals, “spurred on by the fact that non-Muslims produced two Chinese translations while Muslims had remained silent”, consequently “intensified their own efforts, this time directly from Arabic” (Henning 2014:637).

It is noteworthy that there has been a marked increase in translations of the Qur'an by Muslims from the twentieth century onwards. The most dramatic increase has been in translations into English. Mohamed (2005:58) notes “a blossoming in recent years of English trans-

lations” of the Qur'an, especially by members “of the growing Muslim communities in English-speaking countries”, but other languages have also seen a boom in the number of translations during this period. In East Africa, all eight complete translations and several partial translations of the Qur'an in Swahili appeared in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Mazrui 2016:34–37). A similar trend in terms of the temporal distribution of translations of the Qur'an can be seen in Sindhi (Schimmel 1963), Bosnian (Karić 1997) and several other languages of the Muslim world. Part of the reason for this surge may be that Muslims all over the world felt they had to confront the challenge of European civilization and its conception of modernity (Campanini 2008:1–2). Ideas of secularism, rationalism and democracy that have been integral to the ‘western’ package of modernity have greatly unsettled the underlying ideology of an Islamic worldview. In a sense, producing numerous translations of the Qur'an has been one way of responding to the challenge of what is seen as a radically different worldview, of inscribing an alternative modernity rooted in Islam. In the introduction to his *Tafsir Al-Kashif*, Sheikh Hassan Ali Mwalupa explicitly justifies his translation in terms of the need to counter the “negative” effects of a western modernity (2003:xv). This political dynamic may also explain why *The Message of the Qur'an*, the rationalist interpretation by Muhammad Asad (1980), has become “one of the most influential of the interpretations of the Qur'an in English” (Allawi 2009:79).

Translating the Qur'an: legitimacy and motivations across sectarian divisions

The availability of the Qur'an in translation in multiple languages today masks the fact that the practice was not always accepted by all Muslims at all times. Still the most widely read book in its original language of revelation, there continues to be an unresolved debate about the legitimacy and feasibility of translating it. The question of the Qur'an's translatability is partly rooted in the doctrine, accepted by Muslims generally, of its inimitability, of the impossibility of producing a likeness of it in form and/or sub-

stance (Gould 2013), because of its sublime and transcendental nature. Hence the widely held Muslim belief that translations of the Qur'an cannot be considered equivalent to the Holy Book itself. At best, a translation is viewed as a form of commentary on the sacred text for the limited purpose of enabling those who do not understand Arabic to access it. Many Muslims further believe that if the Qur'an is to be translated at all, it ought to be by a Muslim, because the translator must not only understand the divine revelation, but “must actually feel its essence in all its dimensions in his/her very heart. The faith of the translator in the message of the Qur'an must flow in his/her very flesh and blood” (Mwalupa 2003:xvi).

The injunction against translating the Qur'an, however, is relatively recent. It was not shared by Imam Abu Hanifa in the eighth century, for example, even though he too held that the Qur'an is untranslatable. Abu Hanifa was of the opinion that translating the Qur'an was permissible as long as the Arabic text appears side by side with the text of the translation. This Hanafi view led to a long tradition among many Muslim translators of including the Arabic original alongside the translation. Indeed, as late as 2016, the Al-Qur'an Printing, Control and Licensing Board of the Home Ministry of Malaysia issued a decree against publishing a translation of the Qur'an without the Arabic text appearing beside it (Middleton 2016). As with the Hanafi School, there seems to have been no noticeable opposition to translating the Qur'an in Shi'ite Islam, with some Shi'a scholars of Ithna Ashari and Zaydi denominations even endorsing the use of translations for liturgical purposes “for those who do not have mastery over Arabic” (Zadeh 2012:131). The Hanafi and Shi'ite position partly explains why there are numerous translations of the Qur'an in languages such as Urdu and Turkish, the languages of nations (Pakistan and Turkey) where the majority of citizens follow the Hanafi school of thought, and in languages like Persian in Iran, a country whose population is predominantly Shi'a. Many Persians, moreover, were Hanafi Sunni before the Safavid dynasty began to make Shi'ism the official creed of the country from around the fifteenth century, and a significant section of the Sunni Muslim minority in Iran today still follow the Hanafi School.

Some of the earliest translations of the Qur'an by Muslims were in Persian, signalling the importance of translation in the context of early conversion to Islam. There exist a number of anonymous Persian translations of the Qur'an with interlinear word-for-word glosses and commentaries; these appeared in the eighth and ninth centuries, around the time when the number of Persian speakers converting to Islam began to rise significantly. The large volume of surviving manuscripts and historical records also indicate that there was "an active tradition of translating the Qur'an into Persian during the middle of the . . . tenth century" (Zadeh 2012:266–267). The Persian experience demonstrates that while translations of the Qur'an were not regarded as substitutes for the Sacred Book of Islam, they were very much part of the early history of the spread of Islam as Muslims sought to both comprehend and propagate the message of Islam.

Among Sunnis, the ascent of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and its commitment to a project that would give Turkey an identity distinct from that of the broader Muslim *ummah* had a major impact on wider Sunni attitudes towards Qur'an translation. By making the state-sponsored translation of the Qur'an a cornerstone of its nationalist-inspired Islamic reform movement, the new Turkish regime precipitated a major debate that pitted those who saw Qur'an translation as necessary for the modernization of Islam against those who believed that the shift away from an exclusively Arabic Qur'an would only exacerbate Muslim divisions. In the context of increasing Christian missionary activity in Muslim lands – including translation of the Qur'an into English, and both the Bible and the Qur'an into local tongues – a consensus developed, primarily between Turkey, Egypt and some South Asian religious authorities, in favour of promoting the translation of the Qur'an, especially in English (Wilson 2014:185–186).

For Egypt, the shift towards approving Qur'an translation in 1936 was particularly interesting as it was a reversal of its once staunch opposition to the 1917 English translation, *The Holy Qur'an*, by Muhammad Ali, a member of the Lahore Ahmadiyya sect. The reason for the opposition was partly sectarian, but it is also true that at that stage the Egyptian clergy had not fully come to terms with the idea

of translating the Qur'an. Even as Rashid Rida, arguably the most influential and controversial reformist scholar of his time, condemned Muhammad Ali's rendition, the translation became an influential reference among Muslims in Britain and the USA, and a basis for translations into Malay, Javanese and Indonesian languages (Wilson 2014:194–195).

In Indonesia, the 1934 Dutch translation of the Qur'an based on the Ahmadiyya version of Muhammad Ali became particularly popular with the Muslim intelligentsia, despite the fact that they were of Sunni denomination and theologically opposed to the Ahmadiyya creed. One of the reasons for this ready acceptance of the Ahmadiyya-based translation was the fact that it attempted to resolve the tension between the rational and the spiritual, and between the scientific and the supernatural. As Burhani explains, the translation makes every attempt to demonstrate that Islam is not in contradiction with modern science, and "gives allegorical interpretation for verses on miracles that make it acceptable for rationalists" (2015:275).

In addition to the Turkish and Muhammad Ali's translations, two other early English translations of the Qur'an contributed to stimulating greater tolerance of Qur'an translation among sections of the Sunni Muslim population. These were *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an* by Marmaduke Pickthall, first published in 1930, and *The Holy Qur'an* by Abdalla Yusuf Ali (1934). The efforts of an Ahmadi translator (Muhammad Ali), a Sunni translator (Marmaduke Pickthall) and a Shi'a translator (Abdalla Yusuf Ali), all using an imperial language of the time, thus combined to effect a major shift in Muslim attitudes towards the translation of their Holy Book.

The Ahmadis were not only among the first Muslims to translate the Qur'an into English, they were often also the first Muslims to translate the Qur'an into other languages of the Muslim world. Perhaps partly because they have been regarded as unorthodox by many Muslims throughout the world, the Ahmadiyya have been especially devoted to producing translations of the Qur'an in different languages that tend to reinforce their own convictions (Kidwai 1987:15). And like the Christian translations of the Qur'an, the Ahmadiyya translations sometimes galvanized Sunni Muslim scholars to begin working on their own translations in

response. To date, the Ahmadiyya have produced translations of the Qur'an in over 70 languages of the world. The majority of these are by the Qadiani-oriented Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, which has some theological differences and has been in competition with the smaller community of Lahore Ahmadiyya.

Translations of the Qur'an naturally betray the sectarian leanings of their translators to some degree or another. This is one of the reasons for the hostility towards Ahmadiyya translations among many in mainstream Islam. Some countries, Saudi Arabia and Egypt in particular, have responded by establishing institutions that finance the publication of their own translations of the Qur'an. The King Fahd Qur'an Printing Complex for Translating the Noble Qur'an in Saudi Arabia and the Azhar University in Egypt exercise sectarian control over the process, and both require that the Arabic original accompany the translation of *the meaning* of the Qur'an, a wording that signals rejection of the idea that a translation can be in any way equivalent to the Holy Book. The King Fahd Complex is particularly sensitive to how closely the translations it considers for publication conform to its Wahhabist views. In the meantime, new Shi'a-based translations have begun to appear in regions such as East and West Africa, where Shi'ism has gained new converts since the last decade of the twentieth century.

Nationalist and theological ideologies

Less pronounced than sectarian ideology in Qur'an translation is political ideology. Just as the spirit of nationalism inspired the Turkish Qur'an, Turkish as a language acquired additional prestige simply by carrying a rendering of the Holy Book. In Morocco, Amazigh ethno-nationalism also attempted to gain additional capital and legitimacy through translations of the Qur'an into Tamazight. The Tamazight translation that Johadi Lhoucine was working on in the 1990s was predicted to be revolutionary in its political implications, carrying the risk of "undermining the authority . . . of King Hassan, the Commander of the Faithful" (*The Economist* 1999). The translation finally appeared in 2003, however, during the reign of Muhammad VI

who, unlike his father, chose co-optation rather than conflict with the Amazigh population, and hence avoided any display of hostility towards the translation.

The political agenda served by Qur'an translation may at times be transnational rather than national in orientation. One of the Chinese translations of the Qur'an by a Muslim, for example, was produced by Yang Zhongming in 1947. Yang employed an archaic version of Chinese that "seemed in its style and diction like a linguistic fossil" (Henning 2015:640), but this version was favoured by Ma Chunyi, a Muslim activist who befriended Yang and defended his translation, and who also translated the Qur'an. Chinese Muslim translators such as Yang and Ma sought to create a language that was free from the influence of Buddhist and Christian translations of other holy books. Translating the Qur'an in this context also constituted an attempt to link China with the Muslim world globally, to subsume China "in an, albeit very loose, universal community, a perspective from which the nation appeared provincial and ancillary" (Henning 2015:651). In the process, translations of the Qur'an came to frame new relations not only between China's non-Muslim majority and its Muslims, but also between the transnational Muslim *ummah* and the Chinese state.

Transnationalism also inspired translations of the Qur'an into Japanese. The postwar mood in Japan was strongly in favour of a cultural paradigm that could serve as an alternative to that of 'the West' within a broader pan-Asian context. While the translators "approached the act of translating the Qur'an with great care, some form of synthesis with Japanese religious traditions was aimed at" (Kramer 2014:621). Confucianism, Shintoism and Bhuddism all became sources of Japanese translations of the Qur'an in the project of domesticating Islam to give it a distinctively Asian identity, so that it may better serve the pan-Asian quest for an alternative model to Euro-American capitalism, secularism and materialism (ibid.:634).

Perhaps more fundamental than sectarian and political factors in the history of Qur'an translation have been differences of a theological nature. Translations of the Qur'an are typically predicated on the *tafsir* – interpretations/commentaries by earlier scholars, such

as *Tafsir-al-Tabari* by Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari and *Tafsir-ibn-Kathir* by Ismail ibn Kathir. The commentators themselves belonged to different interpretive schools, which were sometimes divided over the weight of reason versus the weight of revelation in the interpretive process. Some, like the Mu'tazilites, were rationalists; some, best represented by Hanbali commentators, were literalists; and some were mystical in their approach, seeking to uncover the deeper esoteric layers of Qur'anic meaning as Sufi commentators tried to do (Keeler 2006).

Contemporary thinkers have also grappled with the delicate balance between the timeless nature of the Qur'an and the universality of its message on the one hand, and its historical and cultural relativism on the other. Tying Qur'anic verses to their *asbabu al-nuzul* (conditions of revelation), historicists like Fatima Mernissi see the message of the Qur'an as one that continues to unfold in historical time, in a way that impacts how different aspects of the text are interpreted (Stowasser 1995:7). Some, like Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, see the Qur'an "essentially as a product of a (particular) culture (*muntaj thaqafi*)" (Kermani 2006:177) and hence regard it as legitimate to go beyond the text and invoke human reason and social will to support principles of human rights and social justice. The effects of such modernist and humanist thinking are clearly evident in the 2007 *Qur'an: A Reformist Translation*, by Edip Yuksel, Layth Saleh al-Shaiban and Martha Schulte-Nafeh (Yuksel et al. 2007).

Other reformist interventions include some Qur'an translations, mostly into English, by women who approach translation as an act of rereading the sacred text. Some have translated the Qur'an in collaboration with male translators, while others have done so individually. Equally significant perhaps is that "two-thirds of women translators of the Quran are Western converts to Islam" (Hassen 2012b:67). Among these, there are those who have essentially drawn from the interpretations of earlier male authorities, often validating preexisting, largely patriarchal readings of the Qur'an. Others have been transgressive, avoiding overreliance on male commentaries compiled centuries ago, and focusing on the spiritual and humanistic messages of the Qur'an. The latter category includes *The Light of Dawn: Daily Readings from the*

Holy Qur'an by Camille Adams Helmiski and *The Sublime Qur'an* by Laleh Bakhtiar (Hassen 2012b:237–238).

An important development in the history of Qur'an translation was the 2015 release of *The Study Qur'an*, a project led by a team of five scholars under the leadership of Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Nasr 2015). This English translation is unique in seeking to be ecumenical by going beyond sectarian and theological divisions while claiming neutrality in political ideology. It seeks to provide both Sunni and Shi'a perspectives in its commentaries and to find an interpretive balance between the various theological positions. Though not likely to receive the blessings of many conservative Muslims of Wahhabi-Salafi persuasion, the translation adopts an inclusive approach that may prove useful for its intended scholarly and academic audience.

In the meantime, post-Cold War globalization triggered a proliferation of new Qur'an translations in various parts of the Muslim world. Some of these were stimulated by the perception that Muslim societies were succumbing to westernization just as Islam was being increasingly demonized by the 'West'. Just as Muslims engaged in translation in response to colonial translations of the Qur'an, these later translations seem to be a reaction to the new imperial order in general. In the introduction to his Swahili translation of the Qur'an, for example, Sheikh Hassan Ali Mwalupa states that he was inspired by the need to assist the new generation of Africans as they confront the alienating effects of invasive "foreign ideologies" like capitalism, socialism and democracy, which are being transmitted daily through English books, magazines, television and radio (Mazrui 2016:36).

Going hand in hand with and in response to globalization has been the increasing use of the Internet to promote access to translations of the Qur'an in numerous languages. Some of these are available in print while others exist in audio format. The Qur'an Translation project provides audio-translations of the Qur'an in over 40 languages. There are also sites featuring multiple translations of the Qur'an in a single language. Some Turkish sites, for example, provide access to more than 20 different translations, all in Turkish (Eith 2015:184). The Muslim unity some feared would be weakened by the

availability of translations in other languages is now being promoted, in translation, through the instrumentality of the Internet. Complementing the binding force of Qur'anic recitation in Arabic, Muslims from around the world, in their different languages, are brought together in translation under a common Muslim cyberspace, upholding a kind of unity in diversity, with English as an overarching and bridging language.

See also:

BIBLE, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST TEXTS; NATIONS AND NATION-BUILDING; SACRED TEXTS; TRANSLATABILITY

Further reading

Elmasrafy, Z. (2009) *The Enlightenment Qur'an: The politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, Oxford: OneWorld.

Challenges the widely accepted wisdom that the European Enlightenment was an age of reason in which religion had limited impact, and follows the history of translations of the Qur'an by Europeans in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to demonstrate how the Muslim holy book inspired

prominent Enlightenment figures, including Goethe, Napoleon, Rousseau and Voltaire.

Henning, S. (2014) 'God's Translator: Qur'an translation and the struggle over a written national language in 1930s China', *Modern China* 41(6): 631–655.

Uses the frames of national/international, self/otherness and religious/secular to situate the first Chinese translation of the Qur'an, and highlights the risks, challenges and promises in translating the Qur'an in China.

Wild, S. (2015) 'Muslim Translators and Translations of the Qur'an into English', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 17(3): 158–182.

Explores the more prominent English translations of the Qur'an by Muslims, tracing the rising importance of English among Muslims globally, and examines the roles of Al-Azhar University in Egypt and the King Fahd Qur'an Printing Complex in Saudi Arabia in sponsoring English translations of the Qur'an; also looks at some of challenges that have confronted translation from Qur'anic Arabic into English and the possibility of reading the Qur'an as a postcolonial text.

ALAMIN MAZRUI

R

Relay

Relay translation is the translation of a translated text (either spoken or written) into a third language – for example, from Chinese to English, then from English to French. It is sometimes considered a subset of retranslation (Idema 2003), although Gambier (1994) more usefully distinguishes the two by defining retranslation as a translation of an already translated message into the same language – for example, Chinese to English and then again into English. Dollerup (2000a) proposes to further differentiate relay translation from both indirect translation, where the intermediary translation is not intended for publication but only as a stepping stone to the second translation, and support translation, where translators consult earlier translations while preparing their own new one; the latter would seem to fall on the borders of retranslation. Z. Yu (2017) argues that there may be cases of relay translation that are intralingual, where the second translation is made on the basis of the first translation, without reference to the original text.

A case has been made for the term indirect translation to be adopted to refer to any translation mediated by another translation (Assis Rosa et al. 2017b). After surveying the range of terms currently in use – including double translation, pivot translation, relayed translation, retranslation, secondhand translation and secondary translation – Assis Rosa et al. advance an argument for indirect translation to include relay translation, back translation and even retranslation when the earlier translation serves as a point of reference for the new one; any translated text that is not a “direct translation” – which they cite as an antonym (ibid.:115–116) – would seem to fall under this rubric, with the exception of pseudotrans-

lation. There is certainly merit in adopting the term indirect translation to draw attention to a wide variety of practices that have hitherto been neglected in translation studies. However, such a broad term may restrict the ability of researchers to make analytic distinctions without recourse to rather clumsy compound terms such as “compilative mixed indirect translation” (ibid.:121). Even while adopting the term indirect translation, W. Lee (2017:186) notes that it is such a complex and multifarious phenomenon that it would be hard to establish any universals or even norms across the entire range of practices. Therefore, while applauding the attempt to raise awareness within translation studies of these disparate phenomena, this entry only addresses relay in the more restricted sense outlined above. At the same time, it should be noted that terminology in this area is by no means standardized; Dollerup (2014), for example, continues to use indirect translation to refer to instances where the pivot language translation is created expressly for the purpose of informing the final product in a third language and is discarded after use.

Approaches to relay translation

Relay translation traditionally received very little attention from critics, theoreticians and historians of translation. This should come as no surprise, given the privileging of original texts over translation in most times and places. If translation is considered a poor copy, it makes no sense to discuss poor copies of poor copies. Informal discussions – for example, among practitioners and trainers – tend to stress that mistakes made in the original translation are passed on to the relay translation, and more mistakes and distortions are added as one moves further away from the original. Relay translation is thus seen,

at best, as a necessary evil, and the assumption is that it is always preferable to translate from the original, just as it is always preferable to read the original rather than a translation. It follows that studying relay translation will add nothing to the total sum of human knowledge.

However, just as translation has always been an important human activity despite the fact that it is seen as derivative, relay has also been a widely used strategy in both oral and written translation. The first insight that relay translation affords us, then, is the extent to which the devaluation of translation has been internalized within the translation community itself, where the disdain and mistrust of translation has been replicated in a disdain and mistrust of relay translation. This attitude continues to surface in the literature (Chen 2015; Pas 2017). Even when this point of view is not endorsed, there seems to be a need to justify indirect translation on the grounds of a rather conventional faithfulness to the original (Hekkanen 2014; W. Li 2017). Such an approach effectively affirms the ‘copy of a copy’ as involving potential loss of information, but argues that the amount of degradation is within tolerable limits. This contrasts with the argument in Shlesinger (2010), who cites research showing that since interpreters are trained to produce clear, unambiguous, well-structured language, relay interpreting poses little problem in terms of distortion. In this case, oral interpretation is theorized as an improvement upon the speaker’s output.

Since relay is theorized as a copy of a copy, there is widespread belief that it arises at a time of initial contact between cultures, when insufficient trained translators exist, only to be replaced gradually over time. Alvstad (2017) challenges this widespread teleological assumption, citing studies that show relay translation on the rise for different language combinations.

Research themes

Since the publication of the first version of this entry (St. André 2009b), which bemoaned the scarcity of research on relay, there has been a surge in interest in the phenomenon. A special issue of *Across Languages and Cultures* (Tahir Gürçağlar and Pokorn 2013) relating to translation between (semi)peripheral cultures featured

two articles that dealt with relay translation (Pokorn 2013; Tahir Gürçağlar 2013b), and a special issue of *Translation Studies* (Assis Rosa et al. 2017a) on indirect translation featured several. Two conferences focusing on the phenomenon were also held at the University of Lisbon – ‘Voice in Indirect Translation’ (July 2013) and ‘Decentering Translation Studies in Portugal – Translating East Asia: Practices and Dialogues of Indirect Translation’ (November 2017). The research group Indirectrans was founded in 2016 and has members in half a dozen countries with a strong Lusophone core. Finally, Pięta (2017) provides a critical annotated bibliography of one hundred titles on indirect translation, the majority of which discuss relay translation.

As noted in St. André (2009b), relay translation was traditionally one of the few areas of translation studies in which interpreting enjoyed more visibility than translation. Indeed, an entry on ‘Relay Interpreting’ featured in the first volume of the *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Shlesinger 2010), while ‘Relay Translation’ did not appear until volume three (Ringmar 2012). However, since 2011 this trend has reversed itself and studies of relay translation now outnumber studies of relay interpreting.

One area of research where insights from relay interpreting have led the way concerns the impact of economic and technical limitations on the act of interpreting. There is much anecdotal material shared amongst interpreters and trainers of interpreters in this area, and Pihkala (1998) delves into some detail concerning this phenomenon. Conversely, the influence of economic factors on relay translation was not raised until the publication of Álvarez (2005), who noted economic factors driving Japanese companies to prefer to use English pivot translations for relay into other languages because Japanese translators are more highly paid. Alvstad (2017) mentions economic reasons as one possible explanation for the rise of indirect translation in certain language combinations; this would seem to be a potentially fruitful avenue for further research into the economics of translation and the role of the commissioner.

Most detailed discussions of relay translation tend to feature in research into the history of translation. For example, an article tracing the translation and influence of one or more works of literature (or science) might list

or even discuss relay translations to indicate the extent of the work's influence (Pym 1998). Relay translation is also discussed in relation to the diffusion of culture and knowledge. The role of Arabic as a mediating language of Greek works – which were translated into Latin and other European languages in the tenth to thirteenth centuries – in instigating the European Renaissance, for instance, is the subject of much research (Foz 1998; Lyons 2010). Relay translation has also been discussed as an instance of cultural mediation, as in Pajares (2001) and Toledano Buendía (2001), who examine translations of literary works from English into Spanish via French.

A closer look at the history of translation reveals that relay plays an important role in many different times and places. One of the largest areas that merits more research is the role that relay translation has played in developing contacts between European and non-European cultures from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. Idema (2003) discusses relay translations from Chinese into Dutch through Latin, English, French and German. St. André (2006) notes the importance of relay translation in shaping British knowledge of East and Southeast Asia, and the fact that, at a time when translations from Chinese were few and far between, any translation into a European language was likely to be quickly relayed into other European languages. During this period, there was often considerable anxiety about the accuracy of translations from non-European into European languages, and the frequent phenomenon of pseudotranslation raised doubts about the status of genuine translations (St. André 2003b). However, there was no such anxiety concerning relay translations of Chinese texts into other European languages. This phenomenon indicates a 'closing of ranks', or sense of community, among European languages. The difficulty of translating from more distant languages, such as Chinese, Arabic or Sanskrit, makes the problems involved in translating from French or German appear trivial. This then allows a 'we Europeans' versus 'you Others' dichotomy, with Europeans sharing information about non-European peoples through relay translation (St. André 2003a).

In the other direction, it was often common in colonized territories for all knowledge of

Europe to be mediated by one language, that of whichever European country happened to have control of the area. Translation into Tagalog, for example, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was almost exclusively from Spanish, including relay translations of works from other European languages (Batnag 2002). The colonizing language (Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, English, German) thus became the 'portal' or mediating language between the colonized country and Europe.

Thus a major theme that emerges from historical research is the role of relay translation in the creation of modernities in different cultures (Cho 2016; St. André and Peng 2012; Fernández Muñiz 2016). In the East Asian sphere, relay translations of texts and even individual neologisms moved back and forth across borders in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as Japan, China and Korea all tried to come to grips with the meaning of modernity. Concepts, terms and texts came into the region through a dizzying variety of paths; it is only as historians turn a finer eye on the process of relay translation that we can begin to trace them. This continues a trend found in research undertaken before 2007. A new theme highlighted by historical research is the importance of studying the history of (relay) translation in and out of (semi)peripheral (aka minority) languages, and the role of central (or majority) languages in serving as pivot languages for texts that pass into the (semi)peripheral ones (Pokorn 2013).

One major development in historical research on relay translation is an expanded range of language combinations. Cho (2016) is a monograph on relay into Korean from Russian via Japanese, while St. André and Peng (2012) contains three articles on the role of Japanese as a relay into Chinese from English, Russian and French. Pokorn (2013) examines relay between Turkish and Slovene via English; Gomez (2016) works on relay into Basque via Spanish, and Pięta (2012) examines relay into Portuguese from Polish through various languages.

Outside historical studies, there is a relative paucity of original work. Gomez (2016) is a rare example of using a trilingual parallel corpus to investigate what happens to 'offensive language' in relay versus direct translations. The study

is of interest not only because of the methodology employed, but also because the findings are a mixture of confirmation of certain laws posited by polysystems theory along with observations concerning the ability of a pivot language to cause interference even in the case of direct translation. Washbourne (2013) and Fernández Muñiz (2016) seek to link research on relay translation to the concept of translation as palimpsest, an interesting metaphor for translation developed from the work of Genette (1997a) that deserves further attention. St. André (2010a) raised the issue of pedagogical implications of findings relating to relay translation for translator training, which does not seem to have been followed up by further studies.

The complicated nature of relay and other types of indirect translation, along with the frequent concealment of the fact that a text is not a direct translation, has resulted in a flurry of research on methodological means to identify, classify and interpret relay translations. Fernández Muñiz (2016) calls the uncovering of these textual filiations an archaeology and borrows techniques from the field of textual criticism to unravel them. Turell (2007) uses forensic linguistic methods, and Pięta (2012) outlines why a thorough bibliographic groundwork is essential. Marin-Lacarta (2017) outlines an array of methodologies that can be combined to track down and identify relay translations. To make sense of relay translations, several of the researchers associated with the Indirectrans group use a polysystems framework. Gomez (2016:486), for example, frames research questions around the law of standardization and the law of interference derived from Toury (1995/2012).

Much research on relay translation is being published in languages other than English. Chen (2015) lists several examples of studies published in Chinese and Japanese. Witt (2017) gives some indication of works in Russian, as well as an important article in German about indirect translation in Russia (Zaborov 2011), which provides further sources. Pięta (2017) lists several items in Portuguese and German, as well as a sprinkling of articles in other languages.

Relay translation is an exciting area of expanding research in translation studies. Although interesting work has already been done, much remains to be explored by future

researchers, whether in terms of historical studies, the development of new methodologies, the construction and testing of theoretical models, or economic studies of the translation industry.

See also:

LINGUA FRANCA, INTERPRETING (ELF)

Further reading

Alvstad, C. (2017) 'Arguing for Indirect Translations in Twenty-first-century Scandinavia', *Translation Studies* 10(2): 150–615.

Considers economic issues relating to relay translation, which are shown to be on the rise in certain language combinations, contradicting widespread assumptions that relay declines over time.

Assis Rosa, A., H. Pięta and R. Maia (eds) (2017) *Indirect Translation: Theoretical, Methodological and Terminological Issues*, Special issue of *Translation Studies* 10(2).

Provides a wider context in which to situate relay translation, as well as interesting reflection on relevant theoretical and methodological issues.

Fernández Muñiz, I. (2016) 'Tracking Sources in Indirect Translation Archaeology: A case study on a 1917 Spanish translation of Ibsen's *Et Dukkehjem* (1879)', in T. Rautaoja, T. Južnič and K. Koskinen (eds) *New Horizons in Translation Research and Education* 4, Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland, 115–132.

Describes a rich, complex case of the translation, retranslation, relay translation and indirect translation of Ibsen's *Et Dukkehjem* (*A Doll's House*), along with some fine detective work tracking down the pivot translation for the early Spanish relay, leading to reflections on methodologies for identifying relay translations.

Gomez, Z. (2016) '(In)direct Offense. A comparison of direct and indirect translations of German offensive language into Basque', *Perspectives* 24(3): 486–497.

Groundbreaking use of a trilingual corpus to compare original, direct translation and relay translation of texts into Basque, drawing on but also partly challenging polysystems theory.

JAMES ST. ANDRÉ

Research methodologies, interpreting

Irrespective of the mode in which it is performed, interpreting may be regarded as a socially situated action and therefore lends itself particularly well to methods borrowed from the social sciences, the discipline from which interpreting studies has adopted most of its methodologies. Growing awareness of methodological issues in interpreting studies has led to the publication of an increasing number of textbooks and volumes that are dedicated to it or that address methodological issues in both translation and interpreting studies (Saldanha and O'Brien 2013; Hale and Napier 2013; Angelelli and Baer 2016; Melinger and Hanson 2017).

The methods discussed in this entry – experiments, surveys, interviews, observation, corpus analysis and scientometric/bibliometric analysis – adopt quantitative, qualitative and mixed-mode approaches. However, a clear-cut distinction along these lines is not always possible or desirable. In her large-scale web-based survey on quality and interpreter roles among conference interpreters worldwide, Zwischenberger (2013) combines quantitative methods with a social-constructionist approach which views quality as highly subjective rather than as an objective given. She describes the presentation of the empirical data and the statistical analyses adopted as socially constructed and shaped by the temporal moment and research culture in which she was embedded.

Some research projects use more than a single research method. The use of multiple research methods in order to address a research question is referred to as triangulation. Triangulation can arguably provide a fuller picture of the social phenomenon under study because it combines several different perspectives (Schutt 2017:10). Recent examples of the use of triangulation in interpreting studies include J. Wang (2016), who used experimental research and follow-up interviews to investigate the relationship between working memory capacity and simultaneous interpreting performance, and A. Cheung (2015), who employed an experiment

and questionnaires to study instances in which listeners use the interpreter as a scapegoat for their own shortcomings in understanding.

Experimental research

An experiment involves the manipulation or treatment of at least one variable to measure its effect on people's behaviour. The experimental approach is associated with quantitative research as it privileges numerical and quantifiable data. It is based on a deductive movement from theory to data and operates with research questions and hypotheses which are either confirmed or refuted with the help of statistics.

The use of experimental research dates back to the very beginnings of empirical research into interpreting. Unlike translation, interpreting – or rather simultaneous interpreting – first attracted the attention of experimental psychologists and psycholinguists, who carried out experiments in the 1960s and 1970s. The first scientific study of simultaneous interpreting based on authentic as well as experimental data was undertaken by the psychologists Oléron and Nanpon (1965/2002) in the early 1960s. The aim of this and other early experiments was to measure the impact of various independent variables such as source text presentation rate, background noise or source material presentation types (spontaneous speech vs fully prepared material) on the interpreter's output (Gerver 1969/2002, 1974; Barik 1971, 1975/2002). The experiments were undertaken by outsiders to the interpreting profession and mainly driven by an interest in cognitive information processing under challenging conditions and simultaneous interpreting as an extreme case of "bilingualism in action" (Adams 2003:29). The experiments involved professional conference interpreters as well as other bilinguals such as student interpreters and amateurs who were proficient in the languages involved (Barik 1975/2002). Moreover, they used inauthentic source speech material such as "extracts from the UNESCO Courier, and Saint Exupéry's *Petit Prince*" (Oléron and Nanpon 1965/2002:44), "French prose" (Gerver 1975:122) or simply "prepared material for the written medium" (Barik 1972:4). As a result, they lacked validity in terms of being representative of the interpreting profession. Nonetheless, these experiments

are valuable in that they laid the foundations for experimental research in interpreting, which has since been applied to study a range of topics such as memory and attention (Christoffels et al. 2006; Wang and Napier 2013), interpreting strategies (Bartłomiejczyk 2006; van Besien 1999) and quality assessment (Holub 2010; Reithofer 2013; Rennert 2010; Collados Aís 1998/2002; Pradas Macías 2006).

There are three prerequisites to ensuring the validity of results in experimental research: the use of at least one experimental group and one control group, the manipulation of at least one variable, and random assignment of subjects to the groups. Not all the experiments cited above fulfil all three prerequisites. As such, they may be considered “quasi-experiments”, (Creswell 2012:309f.; Schutt 2017:81ff.). Bartłomiejczyk (2006), for example, who examined strategies in simultaneous interpreting and directionality, did not apply random assignment of subjects and there was no variable manipulation involved in her research. Her study may thus be considered a “quasi experiment”, or even a “pre-experiment” (M. Liu 2011:103).

Surveys

Surveys are an instrument used to collect information, usually but not necessarily in the form of a questionnaire, about a well-defined population. A survey provides a quantitative or numeric description of attitudes, opinions or trends within a population by surveying a sample of that population (Creswell 2003:153; Czaja and Blair 2005:3). This sample, however, may only be assumed to be representative of the underlying population or target population if probabilistic sampling or a random sample is used. The use of such sampling techniques presupposes the creation of a sampling frame: a list of the members of the target population from which to draw the sample. This, in turn, presupposes good coverage and access to a sufficient number of the target population. Such a sampling frame for surveys in interpreting exists, for example, in the form of membership lists or directories of professional associations, such as the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC; Zwischenberger 2011, 2013), and NAJIT (the National Association

of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators), or accreditation authorities for interpreters and translators such as the Australian NAATI or the Canadian CISAT. The specification of the target population or sampling frame, however, is more difficult for less professionalized domains such as healthcare interpreting.

The first survey of interpreters and interpreting was conducted by Sanz (1931), a Spanish educator who surveyed some 20 professional conference interpreters on interpreter aptitudes and their work in Geneva. Sanz's study is an early exception as the beginnings of systematic survey research in interpreting studies can only be traced back to the late 1970s. Examples include a survey on role in different interpreting situations by B.W. Anderson (1978), another on bilingualism among conference interpreters and AIIC members by Thiéry (1978), a small-scale survey on stress among UN interpreters by Parsons (1978) and a large-scale survey on stress commissioned by AIIC and conducted by Cooper et al. (1982).

Bühler's (1986) seminal survey on quality conducted among over 40 conference interpreters, all members of AIIC, initiated a whole wave of surveys on this topic among users, especially in the 1990s (Kurz 1989, 1993a; Kopczynski 1994; Moser 1996), and only later among professionals again (Chiaro and Nocella 2004; Zwischenberger 2011, 2013). Other topics frequently studied using surveys include interpreter roles (Angelelli 2004a; Al-Zahrán 2007; Zwischenberger 2011, 2013) and status (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2013; Gentile 2013).

Surveys may in principle be conducted in one of four ways: by post, over the telephone, face-to-face and via the Internet. There are hardly any examples of interpreting surveys distributed by post (Angelelli 2004a). Almost all surveys conducted in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s were distributed on-site and were thus face-to-face surveys. A single survey, on telephone interpreting, was also undertaken via the telephone in Australia (J. Lee 2007). The very first web-based survey in translation studies was conducted by Chiaro and Nocella (2004). Thanks to the development of software that does not require any programming skills on the part of the researcher, web-based surveys have become popular (Jiang 2013b; Dam and Korning Zethsen 2013; Zwischenberger 2013).

The use of email to distribute questionnaires has become rare, although at times it serves as a complement to traditional postal surveys or on-site distribution of questionnaires (Bontempo and Napier 2011).

Interviews and observations

Another common research method is interviews, usually associated with qualitative research. There are various types of interviews, based on the degree of structure or standardization of the format of the interview. Fully structured interviews follow predetermined questions with fixed wording and are presented in a pre-set order. Semi-structured interviews also follow predetermined questions but the order of presentation is flexible. The wording of the questions can also be changed and certain questions can be omitted or additional ones included if deemed necessary. Unstructured interviews allow the conversation about a certain topic to develop freely. They can be highly informal, in-depth and more like a lengthy, intimate conversation (Robson 2002:270ff.).

Many studies of interpreting adopt the interview method, especially in the field of community interpreting, with the most common topic investigated using this method being the interpreter's role(s). Hsieh (2006), for example, conducted in-depth interviews with 26 medical interpreters from the midwestern area of the US to examine role-related conflicts, and Green et al. (2005) conducted in-depth interviews on role perceptions with young bilinguals who regularly interpreted for family members in medical encounters. One of the very few interview-based studies on interpreter roles in the domain of conference interpreting was conducted by Torikai (2009), who conducted semi-structured interviews with five veteran diplomatic interpreters and first generation simultaneous interpreters in Japan. Role may also be investigated alongside related issues such as interpreter ethics or norms (Clifford 2004; Lipkin 2008). Clifford's (2004) study stands out for its impressive sample size: a total of 150 in-depth interviews were conducted with various stakeholders such as interpreters, interpreter trainers and physicians in the domain of healthcare interpreting in Canada.

Interviews are time-consuming and require the cooperation and availability of both the interviewer and the interviewee(s). In qualitative research, sample size is not so much of an issue as it is in quantitative research. The principle of saturation requires that in qualitative research "interviewers should continue sampling and identifying cases until their interviewees" cease to tell them "anything that they have not heard before" (Edwards and Holland 2013:65).

Interviews need not be conducted on a one-to-one basis: a focus group interview involves a small group of people engaging in collective discussion of a topic previously selected by the researcher (Edwards and Holland 2013:36). Napier (2011a) employed six focus groups of deaf people, hearing people and sign language interpreters to study role-related perceptions and expectations of sign language interpreters in Australia. Interviews are also frequently employed in combination with observational research. Some of the hallmark studies in interpreting involved observation triangulated with interviews. Observational research proceeds by watching the subjects' behaviour in a natural setting, to record, describe, analyze and interpret what has been observed (Robson 2002:309). One of the best-known studies of this type was conducted by Berk-Seligson (1990), who observed the work of Spanish-English court interpreters in various courthouses in the US over a period of seven months. She triangulated her observational research with interviews with the interpreters and attorneys. Brennan and Brown (1997) conducted a three-year study to assess access by deaf people to the justice system in the UK. Angelelli (2004b) observed a total of 300 medical encounters over a period of over 22 months in one hospital in California. She recorded the interpreted events, took notes and conducted semi-structured interviews with the interpreters and various other stakeholders involved in the medical encounters. Another example of an observational study triangulated with interviews comes from the domain of conference interpreting, where observational methods of research are relatively rare. Dufrou's (2016) observational fieldwork and interview-based study on interpreter competence were conducted among interpreters in the Dutch, English and Polish booths in the European Union institutions.

Observational research can focus on a single case or a series of cases. Roy's (2000) analysis of a single 30-minute interpreted meeting between a deaf student and a professor at a US university is considered one of the foundational studies of "the interpreting as dialogic discourse-based interaction (DI) paradigm" (Pöchhacker 2004/2016:79). Wadensjö (1998), on the other hand, conducted a series of observational studies of Swedish interpreters working in medical and legal contexts.

Corpus-based interpreting studies

Shlesinger's (1998) programmatic article, published in a special issue of *Meta* on corpus-based translation studies (Laviosa 1998c), predicted that corpus linguistics would alleviate some of the methodological problems associated with collecting and selecting data for interpreting research. However, difficulties in obtaining access to authentically produced interpreting data and compiling electronic, machine-readable corpora of interpreted speech meant that the first machine-readable interpreting corpus, EPIC (the European Parliament Interpreting corpus), was only compiled in 2004 by members of the Department of Translation Studies at the University of Bologna (Monti et al. 2005; Sandrelli et al. 2010). EPIC is a trilingual (English, Italian, Spanish) corpus consisting of transcripts of source language speeches from plenary sessions in the European Parliament and their simultaneous interpretations in all the possible combinations and directions of the languages involved. The corpus can be interrogated and used online for free. Two other corpora, DIR-SI-C (Directionality in Simultaneous Interpreting Corpus; Bendazzoli 2012) and FOOTIE (Football in Europe; Sandrelli 2012) were based on the work done for EPIC.

The topics investigated through the use of corpora in interpreting studies have ranged from directionality (Monti et al. 2005; Bendazzoli 2012), comprehensibility and interpreting strategies (House et al. 2012) to 'interpretese' (Shlesinger 2008). In terms of scope of analysis, some researchers have noted Tymoczko's early warning, directed at corpus-based translation studies, against "falling into the fetishistic search

for quantification that plagues many 'scientific studies' and makes them ridiculous, empty studies" (1998:658). Straniero Sergio and Falbo (2012:22) thus stress "the need to go beyond mere linguistic description and look for cognitive, ethical, social, cultural and even ideological explanations outside translated texts".

Bibliometric/scientometric research

Although the two terms are used as synonyms, scientometrics is the study and measurement of scientific and technical research activity, whereas bibliometrics is a branch of scientometrics that focuses on the quantitative analysis of scientific publications specifically (Gauthier 1998:9). Pioneer scientometric research into interpreting was conducted by Pöchhacker (1995a, 1995b) and Gile (2000). Pöchhacker (1995a) analyzed the productivity of single authors in interpreting studies; Pöchhacker (1995b) revealed trends in interpreting research based on languages of publication, types of interpreting and topics. Gile (2000) used his own database, compiled over a period of 16 years and containing approximately 2,000 publications, to survey similar trends in relation to conference interpreting. Bibliographical analysis of the field of sign language interpreting was undertaken by Grbić (2007), while Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008a) examined research on both spoken and signed community interpreting in German-speaking countries, published within a time frame of almost 30 years and starting with the first publication on community interpreting in 1979. Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008b) undertook a comprehensive scientometric analysis of the oeuvre produced by a single, very prolific author in interpreting studies. Both studies by Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008a, 2008b) combined traditional scientometric research with network analysis in order to examine cooperation among authors and used a word or co-word analysis to provide an overview of the thematic landscape of the data. In 2015, a special issue of *Perspectives* (Rovira-Esteva et al. 2015) was devoted to bibliometric approaches in translation and interpreting studies, and included one study of non-professional interpreting (Martínez-Gómez 2015).

Research ethics

Research ethics cover two main areas: honesty and personal integrity of researchers, and their ethical responsibility towards the subjects of research. Honesty is crucial for the results to be credible and requires transparency and the provision of an accurate account of findings, methods used, and the theoretical underpinning of the research. Respect for intellectual ownership and accurate citation of other research are also important in this respect and are part of the responsibility of the researcher towards the research community and the wider public (Walliman 2016:82ff.). The second area concerns accountability to research participants. According to the European Union Code of Ethics for Socio-Economic Research, there are four basic principles of accountability (Dench et al. 2004): voluntary participation; informed consent; respect for anonymity and confidentiality; and the protection of research participants from undue intrusion, harm or distress.

Research ethics is not an issue that features explicitly or prominently in published research on interpreting studies. It is either not mentioned at all or is treated briefly under the rubric of 'method' or in footnotes. Where informed consent from participants has been sought, this usually takes the form of offering participants an explanation of the purpose of the study and assuring them of anonymity and confidentiality. Examples include studies involving survey respondents (Angelelli 2004a:66; Zwischenberger 2013:166) and participants in experiments (Renkert 2010:109; Reithofer 2013:56). In studies involving children or adolescents acting as interpreters in community interpreting settings, the consent sought and obtained (from parents) and the related guarantees of anonymity are usually mentioned explicitly but very briefly (Valdés et al. 2003:202; Ahamer 2013:184; Angelelli 2016:12). Interestingly, some of the young interpreters interviewed by Ahamer (2013:184) explicitly asked the researcher to mention them by name in order to gain more visibility for the work they do.

Future directions

Research on interpreting has been conducted from a variety of perspectives. The various

perspectives do not only draw on different concepts but also on specific methods that tend to be associated with specific domains. While cognitive research has been prominent primarily in the domain of conference interpreting and relies on the use of experiments, the dialogic interactionist strand has gained prominence in community interpreting, with qualitative research mostly taking the form of observational studies and interviews. The latter points to a strong trend towards going social (Pöchhacker 2006) in interpreting studies in general. Growing interest in sociological aspects of interpreting is evident in studies that examine the concept of role, which are no longer restricted to the domain of community interpreting but can now be found in conference interpreting research (Angelelli 2004a; Zwischenberger 2013). This strand of research will continue to adopt qualitative methods (Torikai 2009; Duflo 2016), and where quantitative methods are adopted they are likely to be discussed critically and reflexively (Zwischenberger 2013). Emphasis on sociological concepts and qualitative methods are likely to shape future research on interpreting in decisive ways.

Interest in technological developments is also growing, especially in relation to video-mediated interpreting in legal settings, which is supported by the European Directive 2010/64/EU on the right to interpretation and translation (Braun 2013). Video-mediated interpreting allows both faster and more cost-effective access to interpreters, given that there is little or no travelling involved. Interpreting via video link, however, also impacts the interpreter's performance (Braun 2013, 2018) and wellbeing, hence shaping interpreters' attitudes towards and perceptions of this technology-mediated mode. Interest in technology thus coincides with interest in sociological aspects of interpreting and supports a focus on interpreters and translators as social actors embedded in social contexts. It further supports both the use of quantitative methods such as experiments (Braun 2013) or surveys (Braun 2018) and qualitative research methods such as interviews (Brunson 2018a) and ethnographic observational studies (Fowler 2018). This type of research is also characterized by data triangulation (Braun 2018) as a way of accurately accounting for the social in the technological. Triangulation will increasingly

be employed in future interpreting research to address the complexities and entanglements of this area of study.

See also:

COGNITION; CORPORA; ETHNOGRAPHY; HISTORIOGRAPHY; PROCESS ANALYSIS; QUALITY, INTERPRETING; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Hale, S. and J. Napier (2013) *Research Methods in Interpreting. A practical resource*, London: Bloomsbury.

Offers a comprehensive overview of the various methods used in interpreting studies, accompanied by examples from various branches, including conference and community interpreting.

Liu, M. (2011) 'Methodology in Interpreting Studies: A methodological review of evidence-based research', in B. Nicodemus and L. Swabey (eds) *Advances in Interpreting Research: Inquiry in action*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 85–119.

A thorough discussion of 48 evidence-based studies published in the journal *Interpreting* from 2004 to 2009.

CORNELIA ZWISCHENBERGER

Research methodologies, translation

Methodology refers to the rationale for the application of research methods, the body of methods applied in a discipline and the study of such methods. Methodologies in translation studies are shaped by ontological and epistemological assumptions about research and translation, which means that they reflect the development of the discipline. Linguistic approaches were predominant in the 1980s, whereas methods from literary and cultural studies were more widely used in the 1990s, and sociological and ethnographic methods have become more popular since the turn of the century. Scholars have

also increasingly adopted a broader definition of translation that better captures how the practice has been conceptualized in different cultures and at different times (Tymoczko 2007/2014; Cronin 2006; Hermans 2007a; Sallis 2002; Cheung 2011; Sakai 1997). This, together with increased interdisciplinarity and new forms of data collection and analysis resulting from technological advances, has led to a wider range of methods being applied.

A separate entry is dedicated to research methodologies in interpreting, and various methodological issues are also covered in entries such as corpora, cognition, critical discourse analysis, ethnography and genetic criticism. This entry therefore focuses on methods not explained in detail elsewhere.

Conceptual research

Conceptual research involves discussing concepts, contextualizing them within a broad theoretical framework, and defining and comparing them as a way of defending a hypothesis or argument. Although some studies have focused more on ideas and theories than on empirical data, pure conceptual research is rare and is often presented with examples and data to back up a central argument. As Cheung (2011) notes, reconceptualizing translation is both inevitable and necessary for practical and philosophical reasons. Globalization has resulted in translation being embedded in new practices and contexts – such as global news (Bielsa 2007), crowdsourcing (Jimenez-Crespo 2017a) and localization (Esselink 2003) – that offer new ways of theorizing the phenomenon. Likewise, theories imported from other disciplines have also contributed to conceptual research in translation (Buden et al. 2009:210; Bassnett 2013a), with the impact of the work of sociologists like Bourdieu in particular transforming the discipline. One example is Vorderbermeier's (2014) edited book, which looks at the reception and application of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* in both translation and interpreting studies.

Kim's (2009) proposal of a people-centred theory of translation is a good example of conceptual research. Her aim is to break binary oppositions such as self and other, and original and target, and to propose an understanding

of translation as dialogue. The existing literature, she argues – including the work of Venuti, Spivak, Niranjana, Simon, Godard and Bhabha, among others – focuses unduly on differences. Instead, Kim borrows concepts from Pratt (contact zone), Bhabha (third space) and Hicks (border crosser), and uses Eva Hoffman's story in *Lost in Translation* as an analogy to demonstrate that translation can be conceptualized as dialogic interaction. Hoffman's experience with bilingualism and her struggle to find a new identity are presented as an ideal mode of translation. Kim also discusses Wierzbicka's linguistic universals as a productive concept that can allow the border crosser to feel empathy and reach better understanding of the other. In terms of methodology, Kim proceeds by defining key terms, contextualizing her perspective within the larger theoretical framework she outlines, engaging with alternative theories and comparing interpretations arising from them, and borrowing concepts from other disciplines and scholars to support her argument. Kim's focus on discussing concepts does not preclude her from drawing on evidence from empirical research, including examples from Eva Hoffman's and Leila Aboulela's work.

Methodological advice on carrying out conceptual research is rarely found in the literature. However, Gerzymisch-Arbogast (2001a) discusses principles of conceptual research, with particular attention paid to how to structure the discussion in the form of a scholarly article. She recommends that the introduction should contain information about the object of study, the hypothesis, the objectives and an outline of the structure. The main body of the paper should discuss the state of the art (weighting the pros and cons of existing research), introduce a theoretical solution to rectify the gap that has been identified in the literature and prove the validity of the new theoretical approach by comparing it to other existing approaches. The concluding remarks should briefly describe how the objectives have been achieved and outline the paper's value for future research.

Case studies

A case in translation studies can be defined as "a unit of translation or interpreting-related

activity, product, person, etc. in real life, which can only be studied or understood in the context in which it is embedded" (Susam-Sarajeva 2009:40). This unit can be more or less complex depending on the research topic: it can be a person, a community, a translated text, an institution or a literary system. Case studies are among the most widely used methodologies, particularly in historical studies, and involve a wide variety of methods such as textual analysis, archival research, surveys, interviews, corpus-based methods and participant observation.

The case study method has some features in common with ethnography: the unit is studied in depth; the context is granted importance; research questions are flexible and emerge from data; there is a focus on authentic data and no intention of controlling variables or artificially creating new situations; and the data are presented in a narrative manner (Susam-Sarajeva 2009:39). The main difference is that case studies use eclectic methods, whereas ethnographies involve particular methods characterized by personal involvement, such as participant observation, diaries and non-directive interviews. The case study may or may not involve ethnographic methods of enquiry, which is why in some cases it is possible to refer to "case studies that use an ethnographic approach" (Saldanha and O'Brien 2013:209). Some of the problems associated with the use of case studies in research on translation, as identified by Susam-Sarajeva (2009), include taking the methodology for granted without reflecting on it and filtering out examples to support the researcher's argument.

Depending on the number of units studied, there are single- and multiple-case studies, both of which can be holistic or embedded (Susam-Sarajeva 2009). A single-case study with a holistic approach focuses on the general aspects of one unit of study, as in the case of Alonso Almeida and Sánchez (2016), who examine the first English translation of Jacques Guillemeau's *De l'heureux accouchement des femmes*. An embedded case study is a single case study that includes subunits. For example, Wu and Liu (2016) investigate changes in James Legge's translatorial identity (main unit), focusing on three versions of *The She King* (subunits). Single-case studies are the most common in translation research, but examples of comparative and contrastive case studies do exist.

Leclerc (2014) investigates two texts, *Transfiguration* by Jacques Brault and E.D. Blodgett and *L'homme invisible/The Invisible Man* by Patrice Desbiens, to examine how they use translation to subvert the framework of Canadian official bilingualism in different ways. The contrastive nature of the study allows Leclerc to identify meaningful similarities and differences between the two cases, reflecting the complexity and heterogeneity of critical positions against official bilingualism, the varied ways in which the role of translation can be understood, and the diverse consequences of translation strategies. The comparison also allows Leclerc to avoid easy generalizations drawn from a single case.

Multiple case studies can also be embedded. For example, in Storm's (2016) study, the two main units are the history and reception of Agatha Christie's detective fiction in Germany and the Netherlands, and the subunits are the English original, three German and two Dutch translations of Agatha Christie's *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*. Storm offers a kaleidoscopic perspective on Agatha Christie's work and its changing reception in three different contexts. The multiple and embedded nature of the case helps her to make useful generalizations; for example, that certain translation techniques were more frequently used in Dutch and in German at certain times. It also allows her to test theoretical assumptions; for instance, in relation to the correlation between the status of the author or text and the translation strategies adopted in the target culture.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires are a quantitative method for data collection used to gather information about a target population through a set of questions addressed to a sample of respondents. Together with standardized interviews, questionnaires are among the survey research methods derived from sociology; they have become increasingly common because of the growing interest in researching translation from a sociological perspective. Questionnaires used in translation studies often adopt a simple design, are exploratory, descriptive and largely qualitative; they do not take advantage of the quantitative potential

of this method, and rarely use triangulation (Kuznik et al. 2010). In addition, early research using questionnaires did not discuss issues of validity, reliability, the effect of low response rates, sampling methods or ethics (Saldanha and O'Brien 2013:151; Sun 2015).

Questionnaires have been used in translation studies to research topics as varied as the translation profession (Dam and Korning Zethsen 2012), the use of technologies (Fulford and Granell-Zafra 2004), translation teaching (X. Li 2016), student opinions of translation theories (Shih 2011), subtitling quality (Widler 2004) and the reception of audio description (Chmiel and Mazur 2012). McDonough Dolmaya (2012) conducted an online survey of Wikipedia volunteer translators to examine their profiles and their motivations to participate. This study is characterized by methodological rigour: the author declares the 18 questions included in the questionnaire; describes the sampling of participants and the way they were identified, selected and contacted; informs readers of the response rate; and describes the population in great detail. Although McDonough Dolmaya does not use triangulation to combine questionnaires with other methods, she compares her results to those of three other surveys involving free open-source software developers, fan translators and activist translator groups. In addition to analyzing the results qualitatively, she also takes advantage of the quantitative potential of this method and includes tables and percentages that are carefully examined in her analysis.

Interviews and focus groups

Interviews are "conversations between the researcher and those being researched, variously termed participants, subjects or simply 'interviewees'" (Hammond and Wellington 2013:91). They allow the researcher to investigate the interviewees' account of an event and their opinions, feelings, thoughts and values. Although the use of interviews to study translation has gradually become more common, they are more often used in interpreting studies, perhaps because written documents and archives are available to study translations while it is generally difficult to access documentation relevant to interpreting situations.

Some examples of topics that have been studied using interviews include translation ergonomics (Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb 2016), translator training (Mirlohi et al. 2011), translation and the preservation of minority languages (Muñoz et al. 2015), professionalism in museum translations (Neather 2012), translation in news agencies (Davies 2014), translator recruitment (Chan 2009), poetry translation (F. Jones 2014) and translation revision (Robert 2013). Abdallah (2014) is a longitudinal study that examines the roles and work trajectories of eight Finnish translators through interviews. The longitudinal design of the research allows the author to explore the transformation of the habitus and agency of the eight translators, which could only be investigated through interviews conducted over a long period of time. Abdallah used a “purposeful sampling method” in order to study rich cases in depth (2014:113). She interviewed translators who were at different stages of their career and occupied different positions in production networks. While offering a detailed discussion of the trajectories of two translators, she draws on her interviews with the other six translators to complement the analysis. Abdallah also discusses ethical concerns, such as issues of anonymity, that are important in the design of such studies.

A focus group is an interview with several people, usually at least four, about a specific topic. Focus groups have been widely used in market research and have become more common in translation studies since the turn of the century. Topics that have been researched using focus groups include translators in institutional settings (Koskinen 2008), subtitling reception (Caniato 2014) and professional status and identity (Vigier Moreno 2011).

Diaries

A researcher may ask participants to initiate a diary during the course of a research project as “an additional source of data that can be used to explore informants’ activities and provide records of behaviour” (Hammond and Wellington 2013:49). Often, the researcher is interested in how the participants perceive events and experience reality rather than in obtaining an accurate account; diaries can thus be a rich

complement to data offered by interviews and observation. The use of diaries to collect data is still rare in translation research, although they have been employed for translator training purposes (D. Li 1998; Orlando 2011; Fox 2000).

Mossop (2014) kept a diary for six weeks distributed over a period of six months to record events that motivated and demotivated him as a translator in a government setting. He reflects that diaries are based on events and, as a consequence, do not help record non-occurrences, events that do not happen but still affect the participant (for example, not being congratulated on completing a task) and background conditions that have existed for a long time and to which the participant does not pay attention (for example, the enjoyment of translating will not be recorded unless something unexpected occurs). Other problems highlighted by Salmi (2010) include issues of reliability and validity, such as the limited number of participants, how time might be overestimated in diaries, and the effect of the student-teacher relationship between most participants in her own study.

Action research

Action research involves the cocreation of knowledge, bringing together action and reflection (Bradbury-Huang 2015:1). Action researchers work collaboratively to find ways to effect positive change in the context of their research, with one of the goals often being to produce guidelines for best practice. According to Neves (2016:239), what distinguishes action research from other methodologies is

the achievement of practical and tangible results with an impact on people’s lives and a systematic enquiry experience that can also feed into the knowledge base of the scientific fields involved through the use of established (and challenging) scientific methods.

A broad variety of methods are used in action research, such as observation, interviews, questionnaires, grades and conversations (Nicodemus and Swabey 2016:158).

Various publications focus on the potential of action research in translation studies

(Cravo and Neves 2007; Fraser 2004; Hatim 2013), while studies that apply action research in the field are relatively scarce. Action research has mainly been used in translator training (Hubscher-Davidson 2008; Mitchell-Schuitevoerder 2013; Kiraly 2012; Risku 2016a; Kim 2005), legal translation (Borja Albi 2013), community access to health information (Burns and Kim 2011) and audiovisual translation (Bogucki 2011). Some of the criticisms levelled at this approach include its localism, and hence specificity and limited scope; the tendency to make exaggerated claims about achieving empowerment; the illusion of neutrality of facilitators; misconceptions about research as a dispassionate, rational and disengaged activity; misconceptions about activism as a passionate and intuitive task; and understatement of the role of the collective and how it might be conceptualized (Kemmis and McTaggart 2008:284). Despite these criticisms, action research can prove valuable. Neves's (2016) study, for example, demonstrates how it can give the researcher access to spaces that are often off-boundaries. Her participatory action research project consisted of creating a museum in Portugal that is accessible to all through "multisensory communication strategies" (ibid.:238). She explains the process as a series of steps: identifying a problem, partnering to find a solution, recruiting a researcher to investigate, test solutions and help reflect on the project. Mixed methods were used in this study – including questionnaires, direct observation, interviews, case studies and personal logs – and triangulated. Neves's study shows how action research can expand the frontiers of audiovisual translation by encouraging experimentation and collaboration with parties outside academia.

Bibliometrics

Bibliometrics are the tools used to study and quantify academic production. The terms *bibliometrics* and *scientometrics* have been used interchangeably in translation studies. As a consequence of the institutionalization of the discipline and the requirement to quantify academic publications and their influence to secure academic posts, bibliometric studies have become more popular (Grbić 2013; van Doorslaer 2015). Bibliometrics is a well-known tool of assessing

journals and individual academics' influence using various indices, but in recent years its potential for studying the evolution of the discipline and detecting research trends has been highlighted by various scholars (Grbić 2013; Gile 2015a; van Doorslaer and Gambier 2015; van Doorslaer 2015). The growth of translation studies into a mature discipline requires meta-reflection about its historical development, and bibliometric methods can be helpful in mapping out this history and the evolution of different trends. Rovira-Esteva et al. (2015a:160) draw a distinction between meta-bibliometric and bibliometric studies. Meta-bibliometric studies investigate how we collect, classify, disseminate and quantify academic production, whereas bibliometric studies provide a snapshot of the state of the discipline based on the analysis of bibliographies and production centres.

The objects of study are the resources created to structure knowledge, such as bibliographical databases (John Benjamin's Translation Studies Bibliography; Alicante University's Bibliography of Interpreting and Translation, BITRA; UNESCO's Index Translationum), handbooks, encyclopedias, journals, dictionaries, textbooks and terminologies (van Doorslaer 2015:169–170). The methods used are mainly statistical, with other methods drawn from social studies. They often include citation and publication analysis (affiliations of authors, nationality, number of authors, publication type, languages of publication, keywords), the measuring of term frequencies, social network analysis and content analysis.

Some of the topics researched using bibliometric methods are reflected in a special issue published by *Perspectives* (Rovira-Esteva et al. 2015b). They include shifts in research interests and the effects of bibliographical tools and categorizations on shaping the discipline (Zanettin et al. 2015); the evolution of applying a specific method such as discourse analysis in translation studies (Zhang et al. 2015); the visibility of scholars from a specific region such as China (X. Li 2015); the geographical spread of the field as evident in academic affiliations, languages of publication, keyword frequencies and journals (van Doorslaer and Gambier 2015); and the use of bibliometrics for research training purposes (Gile 2015a).

Gile (2015a) warns that the successful use of bibliometrics to examine different facets of the discipline depends on three features of the

data under analysis: reliability, representativeness and volume. He points out that the volume of indexed publications is small. Although BITRA, the largest database, has more than 72,000 entries, the numbers decline dramatically if we focus on a specific area, which means that the publication of conference proceedings, for example, can change citation patterns. With regard to representativeness, he argues that some languages are poorly covered in these databases, as are unpublished dissertations, which are an important part of knowledge creation in the discipline. Gile therefore recommends caution in interpreting numbers and making generalizations based on bibliometrics.

Future directions

Research methodologies in translation studies have evolved rapidly, moving from prescriptive approaches to descriptive, empirical and conceptual enquiry. Inter- and transdisciplinarity have become central to the discipline, and researchers are applying methods and concepts from fields as varied as the digital humanities (St. André 2018d), science and technology studies (Olohan 2017), development studies (Marais 2014), cognitive science (Halverson 2017) and anthropology (Buzelin 2007a). Quantitative and statistical methods are also gaining ground (Mellinger and Hanson 2017). This increasing diversity of research methods is a logical consequence of the broadening of the definition of translation, which in turn encourages collaboration between translation studies scholars and researchers from other disciplines. The growing institutional emphasis on the impact of research is likely to lead to more widespread adoption of certain methodologies, especially empirical methods that can gauge social impact.

See also:

COGNITION; CORPORA; ETHNOGRAPHY; GENETIC CRITICISM; HISTORIOGRAPHY; PROCESS ANALYSIS; RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES, INTERPRETING

Further reading

Angelelli, C.V. and B.J. Baer (eds) (2015) *Researching Translation and Interpreting*, London & New York: Routledge.

Offers an overview of current research in translation studies, focusing on both translation and interpreting, and linking theories with research methodology.

Mellinger, C.D. and T.A. Hanson (2017) *Quantitative Research Methods in Translation and Interpreting Studies*, Abingdon & New York: Routledge.

Provides guidelines on how to conduct the various stages of quantitative research in translation studies.

Pérez-González, L. (2014) *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, methods and issues*, London & New York: Routledge.

Introduces the field of audiovisual translation, its main theoretical models and research methods. Chapter 5 (pp. 140–178) is devoted to research methods in audiovisual translation.

Saldanha, G. and S. O'Brien (2013) *Research Methodologies in Translation Studies*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Provides guidelines on how to conduct empirical research in translation studies, focusing on the translation product, processes, participants and context.

MAIALEN MARIN-LACARTA

Retranslation

The term retranslation denotes either the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language, or the result of such an act, i.e. the retranslated text itself. Retranslation is occasionally also used to refer to a relay translation (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:76; Gambier 1994:413) or back translation of a translated text into the source language (Gambier 2003b:50). Neither of the latter uses are explored here.

Research on retranslation has traditionally focused on literary material, and indeed the most frequently retranslated works continue to be sacred texts, canonical literary works and dramatic texts (Brownlie 2006:146; Aaltonen 2003). Non-literary retranslations of works such as literary theory (Susam-Sarajeva 2003, 2006a), texts produced in the European Union institutions (Koskinen and Paloposki 2003), scientific

texts (Jianzhong 2003; Brisset 2004) and the social sciences (Schöglér 2018) have received some attention. Retranslation in the field of literature is usually regarded as a positive phenomenon, leading to diversity and a broadening of the available interpretations of the source text. In some fields such as drama, retranslation is not only desirable but also often inevitable: with each staging of a foreign play a new retranslation is normally required (Aaltonen 2003). Retranslation of scientific or technical texts, on the other hand, is generally viewed as redundant, a practice that is best avoided (Koskinen and Paloposki 2003:24) and, with few exceptions, should even be banned (Jianzhong 2003:195).

Traditional views of retranslation aired in the 1990s have been challenged in a number of case studies published since the turn of the century (Koskinen and Paloposki 2003, 2004; Susam-Sarajeva 2003, 2006a; Hanna 2016; Deane-Cox 2014b). These studies have revealed the complexity of the phenomenon and the need to embed it within a broader discussion of historical context, canonization processes, norms, ideology, the translator's agency and intertextuality, emphasizing "mobility, multiplicity, and plurality" (Massardier-Kenney 2015:82). Along with a view of translation as a cluster concept (Tymoczko 2007/2014) rather than a strictly defined universal category, various forms of rewriting, including intralingual and inter-semiotic translations, have started to feature in studies on retranslation.

Perspectives on the retranslation hypothesis

Goethe's three epochs of translation leading towards an ideal identification with the source text may be considered the first theorization of retranslation. Elsewhere, in China, Lu Xun had argued that retranslators could eventually produce a final translation by fusing the merits of previous translations with their personal understanding of source texts (Sankar et al. 2016:22). These progress-based views of retranslation that had the ultimate goal of improvement, of getting as close to the source text as possible, found their expression in the retranslation hypothesis formulated in the 1990s (Chesterman 2000; Koski-

nen and Paloposki 2003; Brownlie 2006), which originated in an article by Antoine Berman in a special issue of the journal *Palimpsestes*. Speaking strictly of literary retranslations, Berman (1990:1) argued that translation is an incomplete act that can only strive for completion through retranslations. The kind of completion Berman had in mind concerns the success of a translation in getting closer to the source text and in representing the encounter between the translator and the language of the original (ibid.:3). Driven by cultural and editorial considerations, first translations are assumed to suppress the alterity of the translated text and to feature cuts and changes that are motivated by a concern for higher levels of readability (Gambier 1994:414). They naturalize foreign works and serve to introduce them into a given target culture (Bensimon 1990:ix). Subsequent translations, by contrast, pay more attention to the letter and style of the source text and maintain a cultural distance between the translation and its source, reflecting the singularity of the latter (ibid.:ix–x). Gambier (1994:414) suggests that this logocentric view is based on the illusion of an "immanent meaning" contained in the source text. This teleological view of retranslation as a unidirectional move towards better target texts has been critiqued as adopting a "history-as-progress model" (Susam-Sarajeva 2003:2) and oversimplifying a complex phenomenon (Milton and Torres 2003:2). Brisset (2004) argues that an approach which foregrounds novelty as opposed to linear progress can better explain the phenomenon of retranslation. A number of case studies have challenged the earlier hypothesis by demonstrating that first translations are not always domesticating, and neither are all subsequent ones progressively more foreignizing (Koskinen and Paloposki 2003:22; O'Driscoll 2011; Deane-Cox 2014b; Hanna 2016).

A second aspect of the retranslation hypothesis pertains to the issue of ageing. Berman suggests that while originals remain forever young, translations will age with the passage of time, thus giving rise to a need for new translations (1990:1–2). However, not all translations are equally affected by the passage of time, and not all translations will necessarily age. Those that stand the test of time and match the endurance of the original may be thought of as "great translations" (ibid.:2). The ageing of translations and

the ensuing need for retranslation have traditionally been associated with language change and the changing linguistic and aesthetic expectations of readers (Hanna 2016:129). However, the phenomenon of ageing is not limited to changes in linguistic norms; translational and cultural norms may also “age” (van Poucke 2017:92). In his survey of 70 case studies on retranslation, Van Poucke notes that ageing is not limited to lexical, syntactic or stylistic evolution; there are genre-related, cultural and ideological factors defining the way translations age. Despite it being mentioned as one of the main drivers of retranslation, no straightforward link can be assumed to exist between the passage of time and the need for retranslation. This is proven by the fact that the same source texts are often retranslated within a short span of time (Susam-Sarajeva 2003; Pym 1998, 2005; Jenn 2006; Hanna 2016; Tian 2014; Şahin et al. 2019). The decision to retranslate or to publish a retranslation, then, cannot be reduced to a single factor such as the linguistic ageing of the initial translation.

The question of why certain texts are repeatedly translated while others are translated only once has been posed by various scholars (Rodriguez 1990:64; Gambier 1994:414; Susam-Sarajeva 2003:5; Paloposki and Koskinen 2004:29). The answer may have more to do with the target context that generates the retranslations than any inherent characteristic of the source text that makes it “either worthy or in need of retranslation” (Paloposki and Koskinen 2004:29). Indeed, a survey on retranslations of classical literature into Spanish has not found a correlation between the importance of authors in their source culture and the number of retranslations of their work in Spanish, revealing that some works by “established authors from the canon of world literature” have not been retranslated at all (Cadera and Walsh 2016:1).

Studies on various forms of rewriting have further demonstrated that the category of retranslation needs to be expanded in order to accommodate different textual traditions. Tahir Gürçağlar (2011a) explores the twentieth-century reincarnations of the Turkish folk story *Kerem ile Aslı* from this perspective. Desmidt (2009) examines the intramedial and interlingual (re-) rewritings of the Swedish children’s classic *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige* in Dutch and German to question the retranslation

hypothesis. Toska (2015) critically discusses one among many terms associated with translation in late Ottoman culture, *tecdid* (renewal), as a form of retranslation. The study of intralingual (re)translation similarly offers insight into the dynamics of cultural linguistic policies and ideological hegemony over language and literature (Berk Albachten 2014). These studies demonstrate that like translation, our understanding of retranslation shifts across time and space.

Beyond the retranslation hypothesis

Changing social contexts and the evolution of translation norms are often cited as major factors influencing the choice to retranslate specific texts (Brownlie 2006:150). In a study of children’s books into Hebrew, Du-Nour examined retranslations in order to trace the “linguistic and translational norms” prevailing at different periods (1995:327). Her study demonstrates close correspondence between the evolution of linguistic and stylistic norms and the publication of new retranslations: readability is shown to be a major concern in later retranslations, while earlier translations were marked by a less readable, bible-like style which reflected the prevailing norm for translation in the 1920s (ibid.:331). Kujamäki’s study of German translations of the Finnish novel *Seitsemän veljestä* by Aleksis Kivi focuses on the historical dynamics of literary translation, and concludes that retranslations are largely governed by “the context of time-bound normative conditions” (2001:65), in particular by shifts in the ideological context of reception and Finland’s changing image in Germany. Such ideological and political factors have often motivated new retranslations of canonical literary texts in particular. Examples include competing retranslations of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* by Communist and pro-American publishers in postwar France (Jenn 2006:247–252); retranslations by the Brazilian author, translator and publisher Monteiro Lobato, who inserted his own political views in his retranslations of children’s classics (Milton 2001); retranslations and reeditions of many adult and children’s classics by Islamist publishers in Turkey in the 2000s (Birkan 2015); and retranslations of children’s classics in

Yugoslavia in the socialist and post-socialist period (Pokorn 2012). Retranslations may also be published in order to reaffirm the authority of certain social institutions, including academic or religious establishments (Venuti 2013c:97). Offering new feminist interpretations of canonical texts through retranslation also appears to be a strong motive for retranslation, as in the case of female western converts to Islam who “adopted innovative techniques and Islamic feminist interpretations in order to challenge Orientalist assumptions about Muslim women” in their translations of the Quran (Hassen 2017:18).

There are other reasons for retranslations, some of which are taken up by Monti (2011). Some retranslators may simply not be aware of the presence of an earlier translation; similarly, lack of coordination and communication among publishers may result in the simultaneous publication of two different translations, in which case each translation can be considered ‘initial’ and ‘retranslation’ at the same time. The publication of a revised or expanded source text; the discovery of mistakes or misinterpretations in the first translation; replacing an indirect translation with a direct one; the expiry of copyright thus placing a source text in the public domain, hence eliminating a publisher’s monopoly in the market and reducing the cost of translation – all serve as justifications for retranslation. A retranslation may also be carried out with the aim of introducing a new interpretation of the source text, sometimes addressing a different readership or creating a new readership altogether. Typical examples of such attempts at reinterpretation and reorientation of previously translated works include issuing children’s versions of adult classics and vice versa (Gambier 1994; Jenn 2006). In such cases, retranslations stand in a special intertextual relationship with each other, as well as with their source texts (Brownlie 2006:153; Tahir Gürçağlar 2011b:57), and are characterized by mutability and border-crossing (Jenn 2006:236). Koskinen and Paloposki refer to the supplementary nature of retranslation, which enables translators to target different audiences or recategorize source texts (2003:22). Retranslations may be supplementary not only in terms of complementing or reorienting their source texts, but also in terms of introducing novel material and ideas

to the target culture. Toury (1999) suggests that retranslations set out to overcome a deficiency or fill a gap in the target system and to bring in something that was not there before. He argues that retranslation, like translation, should be considered an act of planning because it always involves an element of change, however slight, on behalf of the receiving culture.

By contrast with the linear progression model that informs the retranslation hypothesis, later research on retranslation portrays it as a field marked by a constant struggle between individuals and institutions for the control and production of new interpretations. Retranslations undertaken with the awareness of a preexisting translation “justify themselves by establishing their difference from one or more previous versions” (Venuti 2013c:96). This difference can be traced in the retranslation strategies that inscribe competing interpretations formed on the assumption that previous versions are no longer acceptable (ibid.:26), an assumption usually based on social or ideological premises, rather than an evident linguistic or literary lack in the previous translations. The difference in question can also be conveyed through paratextual interventions, as in the case of Lorca’s *Poeta en Nueva York*, whose English retranslators signal their difference through the introductions to their translations and via their choice of different terms to refer to racist and sexually loaded words in the Spanish original (Walsh 2016).

Pym draws a distinction between passive retranslations, which are separated by geographical distance or time and do not have a bearing on one another (1998:82), and active retranslations, which share the same cultural and temporal location and are indicative of “disagreements over translation strategies” challenging the validity of previous translations (ibid.:82–83). Deane-Cox finds this distinction untenable, as retranslations can pose a challenge to previous translations even when they are separated by centuries, and argues that “rivalry can be discerned on a diachronic plane, as much as on a synchronic one” (2014b:17). Furthermore, an active translation does not always have to disagree with a previous translation. Brownlie (2006:165) proposes the phenomenon of ‘haunting’ through which the style of previous translations may resurface in a later one, while

Koskinen and Paloposki discuss the influence of a first translator on the choices of subsequent translators and argue that the anxiety of influence is never absent in retranslation, meaning that the retranslator has to assume “*some stance towards the first translator*” (2015:28; original emphasis). Schögler (2018) demonstrates the influence of the first translator over subsequent ones through the three translations of Weber’s *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* into English. His study suggests that haunting is particularly common in the social sciences, where the first translation may end up being quoted very often, resulting in the canonization of the terminological choices of the first translator. These complex intertextual links among retranslations reveal that they are all positioned in a shared network, regardless of the stance they take. Even a retranslation which appears to stand alone without any display of reverence, tension or competition vis-à-vis other translations of the same work exists in a symbiotic relationship with them. It enjoys and cashes in on the status of the source text, especially in the case of classical literature. This takes place within a network of previous and future translations that help establish and reinforce this status (Tahir Gürçağlar 2011b:58).

Some translations are more polemical than others (Koskinen and Paloposki 2015:27) and stand as evidence of the resistance and tension that mark some retranslations. In her study of the Turkish translations of works by Roland Barthes, Susam-Sarajeva (2003) argues that retranslations carried out between 1975 and 1990 were initiated by translators who were trying to create an indigenous Turkish discourse on literary criticism. She maintains that “retranslations may also emerge as a result of a synchronous struggle in the receiving system to create the target discourse into which these translations will be incorporated” (ibid.:5). Susam-Sarajeva also draws attention to an area of retranslation that has been largely ignored, namely the “non-existence” of retranslations (ibid.). Like non-translations, texts that are only translated once can reveal the conditions of inclusion and exclusion of foreign works in a given culture.

Drawing on Bourdieu’s sociology, Hanna argues that retranslators of Shakespeare’s tragedies into Arabic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made use of various forms

of distinction to set their translations apart from earlier ones, claiming, for example, that they had better access to the source text, the source culture or the author (2016:208). Others tried to discredit previous translations by pointing out various deficiencies in them (ibid.:151). Others still sought distinction by claiming that their translations served a function in the target text that had not been served by earlier translations (ibid.:153–154). In drawing attention to the active struggle in which retranslators often engage as they attempt to legitimize and distinguish their translations from earlier ones, both Hanna’s and Susam-Sarajeva’s studies foreground the retranslator’s agency, an element that is not given much attention in studies informed by norm theory. Deane-Cox (2014b) adopts a unique methodology based on genetic criticism and drawing on narrative theory, field theory, Halliday’s systemic functional approach and paratextual research. Through her case studies of eight English translations of *Madame Bovary* by Gustave Flaubert and seven English translations of *La Mare au diable* by George Sand, she demonstrates the strength of her multilayered method which enables the researcher to explore the place of each retranslation within the literary field of the target culture, while also presenting a comparative textual analysis. Deane-Cox specifically focuses on the translator’s paratexts, thus bringing the translator “out of the shadows” (Deane-Cox 2012:84).

Brisset draws attention to the importance of studying retranslations not only from a diachronic but also a synchronic perspective, suggesting that this would reveal those factors that distinguish the work of different “translating subjects” and highlight the cognitive and creative aspects of translation (2004:64). Venuti similarly foregrounds the role of the individual retranslator and argues that “retranslations typically highlight the translator’s intentionality because they are designed to make an appreciable difference” (2013:c100). He draws attention to the fact that some retranslations may originate purely from a translator’s personal appreciation of a text (ibid.:100). Retranslators may also set out to displace the prevailing translation norms in a given culture (ibid.:100). In the nineteenth century, some sinologists tried to define the norms of translation from Chinese by openly criticizing earlier translations (St. André

2003a:68); St. André offers the example of Sir John Francis Davis, whose desire to establish himself as an authority on Chinese culture motivated his retranslation of *Hao qui zhuan* in 1829 (ibid.:64).

Future directions

The field of retranslation is in constant evolution, with new case studies and approaches helping to develop current perspectives and methodologies further. There is increased attention to audiovisual retranslation (Dore 2018), and the number of bibliographic studies is also on the rise. Scholars at Boğazici University, for instance, have compiled a vast electronic bibliography of retranslations in the modern Turkish and Ottoman societies; this has triggered a number of studies that shed light on the particularly rich retranslation history in Turkey (Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar 2019). Although always hindered by issues of definition and classification, bibliographies that focus exclusively on retranslations can support further research in the field by facilitating access to retranslated titles, specifically eliminating the methodological problem of having to identify retranslations in sources that do not provide relevant search options (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010:36). Nevertheless, the cultural and historical mutability of (re)translation will continue to make relevant texts difficult to identify, even when direct textual analysis is carried out. This is not only a historical constraint. As Paloposki and Koskinen show, the lines between translation and retranslation remain unclear even today, a situation that has some undesirable consequences. Termed pirated or plagiarized translations, some retranslations are copies of previous translations, presented as a new retranslation. The phenomenon is widespread in Turkey (Şahin et al. 2019), China (Tian 2014; Yu 2015) and Brazil (Rónai 2005). Some researchers have investigated plagiarism in translation using various methodologies (Turell 2004; Washbourne 2013; Şahin et al. 2019). Turell (2004) used the software tool *CopyCatch* to detect plagiarized translations, primarily for forensic purposes. The software has since been developed further and used by a group of researchers in combination with qualitative methods, including paratextual

analysis, in order to find evidence of plagiarized retranslations (Şahin et al. 2019), for use in legal settings.

In the meantime, the use of corpus tools to study retranslations is also gaining ground (Massardier-Kenney 2015:81; Cheesman et al. 2017; Laviosa et al. 2017). These new methodologies are set to open up new avenues for retranslation research.

See also:

FEMINIST TRANSLATION STRATEGIES; MEMORY; POSITIONING; REWRITING

Further reading

Alvstad, C. and A. Assis Rosa (2015) 'Voice in Retranslation: An overview and some trends', *Target* 27(1): 3–24.

Offers an up-to-date overview of the field and stresses that retranslations provide rich material for exploring textual and contextual voices in translation.

Brownlie, S. (2006) 'Narrative Theory and Retranslation Theory', *Across Languages and Cultures* 7(2): 145–170.

Places retranslation on a rhizomatic plane and builds an interdisciplinary perspective, bringing insights from narrative theory. An important contribution in terms of drawing attention to the complexities of retranslation.

Deane-Cox, S. (2014) *Retranslation. Translation, Literature and Reinterpretation*, London: Bloomsbury.

Offers a flexible methodology based on systemic functional grammar, narratology, narrative theory and genetic criticism for studying retranslation series through case studies on the English translations of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and Sand's *La Mare au diable*.

Dore, M. (ed.) (2018) *Exploring Audiovisual Retranslation*, Special issue of *StatusQuaestionis* 15. Available at <https://statusquaestionis.uniroma1.it/index.php/statusquaestionis/issue/view/1239/showToc>.

Pioneering collection on retranslation in media. Contributors address issues such as the impact of new technologies, changes in translation modes, language variety and economic reasons underlying retranslated audiovisual texts.

Reviewing and criticism

Reviewing and criticism are prominent topics in translation studies partly because of their role in translation quality assessment, but the area extends beyond that particular application. This entry examines those aspects of reviewing and criticism that are not specifically concerned with translation quality assessment, focusing primarily but not exclusively on literary translation as a site for analysis that can be revealing in historical, ideological and interpretative terms.

The boundaries and definitions of translation reviewing and criticism have been the subject of some debate. Maier's distinction between the two activities relies on the intent of the work, the newness of the book and whether the intended reader is presumed to be already familiar with the text, as evident in the statement that

the reviewer alerts a reader to new books, describing them and passing judgement as to whether they are worth reading and buying; the critic addresses books that may or may not be new, considering them in detail and usually assuming a reader's familiarity with them.

(Maier 1998/2009:236)

Paloposki, on the other hand, draws on Holmes (1972/1988:78) to distinguish between "criticism as a journalistic practice" and "criticism as an academic activity" (2012:184), which correspond in part to Maier's reviewing and criticism, respectively. Paloposki further suggests that within criticism as an academic activity, one can distinguish between practices of criticism as a hermeneutic tool (drawing in particular on Hewson 2011 and Berman 1995/2009) and the study of criticism as a form of enquiry into historical "values and ideological choices" (Paloposki 2012:185; Strowe 2018) or into present forms of evaluation (Pym 1998:5; Williams and Chesterman 2002:10–11, 56; Reiss 1971/2000).

A possible working definition could start by considering the terms from the perspectives of function and location, taking as a starting point Maier's description of reviewing as intending

to provide information about a text for the purposes of a prospective buyer or reader. Reviewing generally takes place outside of the translated text itself, although statements from reviews are sometimes incorporated into the paratext of books. Reviewing is thus a form of analytical practice, producing a new text that is independent of the text being reviewed, and aiming at a relatively pragmatic outcome: the evaluation of the text for those interested in purchasing or reading it. Criticism is also a form of analytical practice, again resulting in a separate text but one that is aimed at the development of knowledge or understanding of the text or its context. As articulated here, both practices necessarily occur after the translation has been produced and generally also published. Admittedly, reviewing as a form of marketing for a book does generally take place soon after its publication, but in theory the only restriction on the two activities is that the translation must exist prior to the act of writing a review or criticism. One additional form of intersection between translation and criticism is reflected in the tradition of viewing translation itself as a form of criticism. This sense is articulated by De Campos (1963/2009), drawing on Pound (1960), and relates to both the critique of the source text itself and of previous translations.

Two main tendencies may be identified in relation to the role of reviewing and criticism in translation studies. First, both are practices that scholars can and do engage in as part of their scholarship. Second, the acts of reviewing and criticism, their agents and their contexts can be the topic of scholarship in their own right.

Forms and models of reviewing and criticism

It seems noteworthy that of several major journals in the field (*Meta*, *Perspectives*, *Target*, *Translation Review*, *Translation Studies*, *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, *The Translator*), none has a statement on their website about whether they publish reviews of translations, as opposed to reviews of scholarly works. Reviews occasionally appear in a kind of limbo between research articles and book reviews, as with Tymoczko's (2000b) review of Seamus Heaney's translation of the *Buile Suibhne*, published in

the 'Revisiting the Classics' section in the special issue of *The Translator on Evaluation and Translation*. The journal *Translation and Literature* frequently publishes reviews of translations by both scholars and translators, as well as reviews of scholarly works. Reviews of translations that are essentially scholarly in their approach, often authored by scholars, are published in more mainstream venues as well, a good example being the review of Borde and Malovany-Chevallier's translation of Simone de Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe* by Moi (2010) in the *London Review of Books*.

Arguably, criticism of translations forms a major part of translation studies as an academic discipline, including its descriptive as well as other branches. Paloposki (2012:185) observes that much academic work in translation studies constitutes a form of criticism, citing the Anglo-American "usage of *literary criticism* to refer to the study of literature", and identifies Hewson's work (2011; emphasis in original) as an example of this broad usage, but observes that the words for 'criticism' in other languages do not necessarily include the idea of scholarship. Even apart from this terminological conflation, however, many of the activities of translation analysis in an academic framework result in the writing of a kind of criticism. For example, linguistic analysis of source and target texts, analyses of the context in which a translation is produced and explorations of the potential future role of a translated text in a culture, all common topics for academic work in translation studies, could all be seen, by our working definition, as forms of criticism.

Much work in the area of criticism and reviewing has gone into the articulation of models through which a critic, whether a journalist, literary specialist or academic, might accomplish an adequate or appropriate critique, often focusing on the translator's concrete linguistic choices in producing the translated text. Maier (1998/2009) discusses a number of models for criticism and reviewing, grouped broadly into the categories of comparative and non-comparative models. She includes in the former category the work of Simpson (1975), de Beaugrande (1978), Wilss (1982), Dodds (1985), den Broeck (1985), Kirkov (1988), Newmark (1988), Vilikovsky (1988) and Hatim and Mason (1990b). Non-comparative models

of criticism include the target-oriented paradigms of polysystem theory and norm theory; Maier mentions in this category Toury (1978), Borges (interviewed in Alifano 1984) and Conley (1986). She sees in Berman (1995/2009) something of a compromise, describing the comparative aspect as a "decisive" factor, "but not the sole component of an ethical and aesthetic evaluation that considers a translation in relation to its own language and literary tradition" (Maier 1998/2009:239, referring to Berman 1995/2009:66–78).

A number of these models and more recent ones focus on the delineation of several axes of analysis. Berman (1995/2009:48–79) identifies six "stages" of translation criticism: reading the translation; reading the source text; studying the translator's position, approach, and limits; comparative analysis; analysis of reception; a possible call for retranslation. Hewson (2011:24–27) also identifies six steps in analysis, which differ from those of Berman: collection of preliminary data; construction of a critical framework; micro- and meso-level analysis; macro-level analysis; identification of macro-level effects and creation of a hypothesis about the "nature of the translation" (2011:24); and testing the hypothesis on other sections with a corpus-based method. In addition to proposing a different order of operations, Hewson's version of criticism also differs from Berman's in that he proposes a corpus-based form of textual analysis as well as looking in more detail at issues of style. House (2004) proposes a model based on equivalence, which she describes as a "functional-pragmatic model" and which involves analysis of source and target texts along the lines of register and genre to determine text function. Other scholars have built on these models; they include Masduki (2012), whose three-part critique reflects a Bermanian structure, and Jané-Lligé (2013) and Al-Rubai'i (2005), both of whom take House's assessment model as their basis.

Research themes and contexts

Scholarly work that explores reviewing and criticism ranges from examinations of the norms that can be inferred from recurrent patterns identified in translation reviews to discussions of the role of reviewing or criticism in the

dissemination or reception of books, and to meta-reflections on the development of criticism in translation studies.

Perhaps the most well-known use of translation reviews as a source for scholarly information about norms is Venuti's discussion of Anglophone translation norms in the first chapter of *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995b/2008:1–34). Venuti uses a survey of reviews of literary works translated into English to argue that fluency is the dominant criterion in the assessment of translations into English (1995b/2008:2–5). He sees in this dominance evidence of the invisibility of the translator as an agent, connecting it to other phenomena, including the frequent omission of the translator's name in reviews (1995/2008:7). Vanderschelden (2000), Fawcett (2000) and Bush (2005) all complement Venuti's work, exploring issues relating to the invisibility of translators, linguistic competence of reviewers and the receptivity of audiences, focusing on French, English and a comparison of French, Spanish and English reviews, respectively. Overall, the studies find a distinct preference for fluency and a tendency to make assertions about translations without the support of comparative textual analysis. Bush (2005) further observes the ways in which the different countries' reviews can be seen to correspond to particular trends in political thought, with the British suspicion of the foreign and French interest in it mirrored in the work done by Fawcett (2000) and Vanderschelden (2000). Fernández (2011a) examines translation reviews in Spanish from a Bourdieusian perspective, looking at constellations of norm-indicative terminology as well as information about the respective social roles of the translators and the critics to investigate the extent to which group membership and symbolic capital seem to determine which aspects of a translation are explored and critiqued in reviews, an area also hinted at by Vanderschelden (2000).

Reviews can also be used to examine the fortunes of particular books or authors, as in Munday's analysis of the reception of Gabriel García Márquez in English (1998b), Costa's exploration of the fate of Kerouac in Brazil (2006), W. Zhao's analysis of the image of Ibsen in China (2009) and Bielsa's examination of the development of Roberto Bolaño's international reputation (2013). The critical reception of translated texts

can further be used to assess the reception of textual traditions, as in Kousta's (1995) analysis of the reception of Québécois theatre in Toronto through theatre reviews. The categorization of a translated text in terms of genre, also implicated in reception, is further influenced by book reviewing, as shown by Kemppanen (2011), who examines the reviews of a single non-fiction text translated into Finnish, and finds that reviewers' choices affected whether the book was viewed as a scholarly contribution to Finnish history or as a 'pamphlet' with lower scholarly value.

At the meta-level, Balaçchi and Häisan's (2013) article on "the role of the main Translation Studies journals in the evolution of the field" of translation criticism can be considered a self-reflexive form of scholarship about criticism. Meta-level reflections were also prompted by the remarkable flurry of letters to the editor of the *London Review of Books* following Moi's review (2010) of Borde and Malovany-Chevalier's 2010 retranslation of *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir. Some of these letters were critical of the translation, but many were critical of Moi's criticism.

As intellectual processes, reviewing and criticism are related to other activities performed in a variety of contexts, differing from them as regards timeline, agency or purpose, but not necessarily quality. In translator training, for example, a focus on self-criticism is often used to promote cognitive development and professional self-awareness, and criticism as a group or peer activity can be a significant part of pedagogy (Elena 1999; Robinson et al. 2006; S. Lee 2006; Selcen 2010). These processes connect to issues of translation quality assessment, but here the aim is often to improve a translation or improve processes of translation rather than to influence a potential reader or buyer.

The self-criticism and analysis found in translators' notes and prefaces, often derived from similar reflections on processes of decision-making, also have implications for the construction of an authorial or translatorial presence in the text and for understanding the role of the translator. These, together with paratexts written by agents other than the translator, can serve economic or marketing purposes, some similar to the functions of reviews published separately from the translation itself. Like criticism and reviews, these paratexts can be

used in the investigation of norms and in studies of historical or literary movements or networks related to translation (Armstrong 2007; Coldiron 1996; Fuchs 2002; Paloposki 2005).

Both pre- and post-publication, official reviewing can connect to questions of censorship and official translation policy. The construction of the canon is facilitated by published book reviews and academic criticism, which in turn can serve, paradoxically, to deconstruct the canon and question translation practices and products (Bielsa 2013; Sanz et al. 2000).

The issue of retranslation as a form of implicit criticism of previous translations also appears regularly in the literature. Hewson (2011:268–269) identifies criticism as facilitating future retranslation, while Dumas (2013) suggests that one way of becoming a critic of translation is through retranslating. This line of thought can be traced back to the work of Pound (1960) and De Campos (1963/2009), as well as Berman (1995/2009), not only in the sense that a retranslation might critique previous translations or a critique pave the way for future retranslations, but in the sense that translation itself is an activity which involves a literary critique of the source text.

Future directions

As Maier (1998/2009) has noted, the Internet has come to play an important role in the reception of texts and translations, one that cannot be overlooked. The sites of criticism and reviewing, traditionally embedded in mediums such as print journals or magazines, are multiplied on the Internet and include sales outlets such as Amazon, reader-oriented sites such as Goodreads and sites such as the Chinese Douban (豆瓣) that are oriented towards a wider variety of cultural reviewing. Reviews published on such sites are just beginning to attract the attention of scholars of translation.

Other, related areas have also attracted scholarly interest. These include the influence and impact of materiality on processes of reviewing and criticism, intersecting with location-related issues such as paratext and epitext. Fuchs (2002), for example, has explored Early Modern commendatory verses as critical paratexts. She suggests that these pieces, often printed

alongside the works they discuss but frequently overlooked as mere flattery, can be critically analyzed to reveal information about “how poetic authority, literary competition, and international rivalries figure in calculating the value of a given early modern text” (ibid.:241).

Another set of potential research areas related to reviewing and criticism can be found within areas of recent growth. Work on translation and publishing that incorporates research on reviewing and criticism can be seen as part of recent interest in book history, as in Armstrong (2007) and Strowe (2018), both of whom explicitly link their work to book history. The relationship between imagology and translation (van Doorslaer et al. 2016) is taken up in connection to reviewing and criticism by Saldanha (2018), who shows how reviews can influence the construction and reception of a national literary canon.

The question of agency has begun to be taken up in relation to critics and reviewers, for example in the investigation by Dumas (2013) into what motivates someone to become a translation critic. As well as investigating formal or official types of agency among professional reviewers, journalists and academics, however, research is also needed into the types of non-professional reviewing that is increasingly part of the landscape of digital platforms. This research could run parallel to investigations into other non-professional work in translation and interpreting, including fan translation, fansubbing/fandubbing, crowdsourced translation and nonprofessional interpreting.

As with other areas of research in translation studies, practices, models and theories of criticism and reviewing originating outside Western Europe and North America have yet to gain an international platform. Xu’s review in *Meta* of H.Y. Wang’s book 文学翻译批评论稿 (On the Criticism of Literary Translation) points to a number of ways in which traditional Chinese thought on translation might influence translation criticism, but unfortunately the book itself, now in its second edition (H. Y. Wang 2006/2010), does not appear to be available in English, nor is Wang’s earlier article (2004) on background variables in translation criticism. In Korea, S. Lee has been working on issues of publishing and criticism (S. Lee 2004, 2006). A group of researchers in Turkey are also engaged with this topic (Ulsever 2003; Akbulut 2010; İnce 2010; Selcen 2010).

See also:

LITERARY TRANSLATION; PARATEXTS

Further reading

Berman, A. (1995/2009) *Toward a Translation Criticism: John Donne*, Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press.

An example of a literary-critical approach to translation criticism, including a substantive discussion of method in translation criticism.

Hewson, L. (2011) *An Approach to Translation Criticism: Emma and Madame Bovary in translation*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Continuing in the literary-critical tradition of Berman, Hewson discusses various aspects of comparative analysis, including corpus analysis.

House, J. (2004) 'Concepts and Methods of Translation Criticism: A linguistic perspective', in H. Kittel, A. Frank, N. Greiner, T. Hermans, W. Koller, J. Lambert and F. Paul (eds) *Übersetzung translation traduction*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 698–719.

Reviews linguistic approaches to translation criticism, and proposes a model based on notions of equivalence and oriented towards quality assessment, which is adopted by a number of later scholars.

ANNA STOWE

Rewriting

The theory of rewriting proposed by André Lefevere (1945–1996) draws on systemic descriptive approaches and treats translation as a discursive activity embedded within a system of literary conventions and a network of institutions and social agents. Translating, according to Lefevere, is one of several types of rewriting that result in partial representations of literary oeuvres or aspects of reality: anthologizing, editing, reviewing and historiography (Lefevere 1992:9/2017:7). To this we may add film/TV adaptations, a genre Lefevere does not examine.

Theoretical framework

Rewriting is subject to certain intrasystemic constraints: language, the universe of discourse

and poetics; it is also subject to the influence of regulatory forces, namely, the professionals within the literary system, and patronage operating from outside the system. Under language, Lefevere discusses differences between the source and target language and linguistic shifts dictated by the dominant aesthetic criteria and ideology of the time (1992:103–109/2017:80–82). Universe of discourse refers to “the knowledge, the learning, but also the objects and the customs of a certain time, to which writers are free to allude in their work” (Lefevere 1985:233), in other words, to “cultural scripts” (1992:87/2017:66). Poetics refers to aesthetic precepts that dominate the literary system at a certain point in time. It consists of two components, an inventory component (a repertoire of genres, literary devices, motifs, certain symbols, prototypical characters or situations) and a functional component, which concerns the issue of how literature has to or can function within society (1992:26/2017:20). The professionals are the individuals, including critics and translators, who elaborate aesthetic criteria, control the literary system and filter material in or out of it. Strictly regulated literary systems even appoint individuals or create institutions with the express purpose of bringing about aesthetic stability in the system; the Académie Française and similar language institutions are good examples (Lefevere 1985:232). Patronage can be understood as the powers, be they persons or institutions such as publishing houses, which can further or hinder the reading, writing or rewriting of literature and are usually more concerned with the ideology of literature than its poetics (1992:15/2017:12).

Patronage consists of three components, namely, the ideological, economic and status components, with all three interacting in complex ways. Ideology, an inherently slippery term, is briefly defined by Lefevere as a general worldview that guides people's actions, as well as a diffuse, taken-for-granted frame of mind. The influence of ideology on translation may be traced in omissions, shifts and additions. The economic component of patronage concerns the translator's economic survival. The patron sees to it that writers and rewriters are able to make a living by giving them a pension, appointing them to some office, paying royalties on the sales of books or employing (re) writers

as teachers and reviewers (1985:227). The economic component also acts as a control factor on a more global level, for example by regulating royalties and production costs nationally and internationally (1982/2012:216–217). Acceptance of patronage signals integration into and acceptance of the style of life of a group or sub-culture of some kind, or an elite in the sense of the most talented and powerful group of individuals (1985:228). This is precisely what the status component refers to. It is status conferred upon a writer in a given society that allows him or her to be integrated into a certain “support group” or its lifestyle (Lefevere 1982/2012:207, 1992:16/2017:13).

An obvious weakness in Lefevere’s model is its inherent combination of rigidity and vagueness, the caveat of attempting to produce a simple explanation of how culture works. For example, it is not clear why the status, economic and ideological dimensions of patronage are clear-cut categories or how they can “enter various combinations” (Lefevere 1992:16/2017:13). Also, although Lefevere gives prominence to each of his categories depending on the materials he examines, he invariably turns to poetics and ideology to explain why translations are the way they are. Hermans (1999b:126–130) identifies several other weaknesses: not defining rewriting professionals, neglecting translator loyalty in the process of rewriting, unduly focusing on the passive role of translation as a sign of literary fashions and failing to provide detail on how institutions of patronage work. Lefevere passed away before he had the chance to address some of these criticisms. A glimpse of how his model could have developed may be seen in a posthumous publication, where he describes translation as an act of distributing and regulating cultural capital, depending on audience needs, patronage and the prestige of the source and target culture and language (1998:44, 51). Other scholars followed suit around the same period, deploying conceptual tools from the sociological work of Pierre Bourdieu and stressing that translation takes place in interconnected social spaces, or fields, where individuals and institutions pursue different types of capital (Gouanvic 1997:126). Agents of translation turn one type of capital into another as they compete for economic capital, symbolic capital (prestige), cultural capital (cultural awareness and

preferences) and linguistic capital (language preferences). This competitive pursuit of capital changes their place in a given field, their perspective as to how the field should develop and their level of autonomy within it.

Arguably, the relatively uncomplicated perspective of how cultures operate and cross-fertilize may have helped Lefevere’s ideas to be used and remembered. After all, he underscored some simple truths. First, a sociohistorical approach of combing text with context can offer a pluralistic, nuanced picture of translation practice (Asimakoulas 2015:3–4). Second, power is a highly significant factor in translation. Third, translation research can and should focus on concrete constraints of production and dissemination; in the sociology of literature, Peterson (1985:57) adds to the list of constraints: law, the market, technology, industry structure, organizational structure of distinct institutions and occupational trajectories and opportunities. Fourth, history and politics are impacted by the (invisible) contribution of various forms of rewriting that enable the circulation of ideas. Historiography and sociology have broadened their remit in terms of the scope of researching societies and their cultures, by engaging with the more or less visible transnational flows where the local and global are intertwined in circuits of movement and change (Saunier 2013:122). These flows have been shown to follow certain routes, at varying speeds and with different sensibilities attached to movement and change (Cresswell 2010:22–26). Central to such approaches is a double vision of “contexts, moments and places” (*loci* of power) as well as observed “action of specific institutions, organizations and individuals” (Saunier 2013:60).

In his least-cited case studies Lefevere touches upon these elements, illustrating the scope of rewriting as an umbrella term for topics in translation, comparative literature and historiography. He does so by resorting to source-target text comparisons, close reading of paratexts and examination of archives, memoirs and letters. Echoing contemporary views in anthropology and historiography, he states that a culture manipulates its past in the service of what powerful groups in that culture would like its present to be (Lefevere 1992:122/2017:92). He illustrates his argument by examining how authors of reference works, anthologies and

histories of literature subscribing to the foundational myth of the “Golden Age of Dutch culture” in the seventeenth century edited out and discredited the failed-medical-doctor-turn-(failed)-adventurer and author of burlesque poems and plays Willem Goldshalk von Focquenbroch (1992:112, 115/2017:84, 87). In a similar study (1992:140/2017:104), he shows how French critics constructed the posthumous image of Madame de Staël (1766–1817). Here Lefevere adds a gender lens. The life of this wealthy woman of letters who openly opposed Napoleon’s rule was seen through a narrow perspective of ethnocentrism, misogyny and undue focus on gossip and speculation. In both studies, Lefevere deftly exposes contradictions across several sources and the uncritical reproduction of negative views passed from one critic to the next over the centuries.

In his seminal study focusing on anthologies, Lefevere shows how collections vied for cultural space in the canonization of African literature. From the very first image of Africa in the early 1960s, to the anti-canonical wave of the early 1970s and up to the new canon-building in the mid-1980s, anthologies converged and innovated in the coverage of themes and in the oral-written literature mix (Lefevere 1992:127–133/2017:95–99). Paratexts of anthologies offer valuable insights into patterns of selection, even though, as Lefevere warns, inconsistencies between claims and actual content may be evident. Additional concrete contextual constraints can be factored in too: usage (for example, as textbook), number of pages allocated by publishers, audiences envisaged (initially white, then with an African focus in the 1980s) and the influence of extraneous literary movements, such as *négritude* in French anthologies, which gradually found its way into English anthologies through translation (1992:125, 136/2017:94, 101).

Lefevere convincingly argues that rewritings are a quiet but not negligible force that operates through time and at the intersection of cultures. The unexpected success of Georg Büchner’s play *Dantons Tod* (Danton’s Death, 1830) is a prime example. The play could be aired in the public domain only after two important German editors subjected it to strategic ‘mutilation’ for ideological and poetological reasons, respectively. In the publishing field, Karl Gutzkow secured

publication in 1935 only after he subjected the play to self-censorship. He eliminated distasteful medical and sexual references or ironed out demeaning comments on religion and favourable comments on the French Revolution (Lefevere 1992:151–153/2017:113–115). In the theatre field, Rudolf Franz defied the precedent of four unsuccessful productions (two in Berlin in 1902 and two in Hamburg in 1910–1911) and produced a distinctly Schillerian historical drama. He also reduced the number of scenes, streamlined action, generalized French references to accommodate audience presuppositions and wrote more detailed, explicit stage directions (1992:156–159/2017:116–119).

Research themes and foci

Borrowing Lefevere’s understanding of cultural/text dynamics, Aaltonen (2000) describes drama translation as an activity that straddles two cultural systems, literature and theatre. Both systems are controlled from within by groups of professionals with aesthetic concerns (translators, directors, designers, technicians, actors, critics, reviewers); they also have patrons with distinct ideological and commercial interests who control the field from the outside – theatrical boards, municipal and state institutions, publishers (ibid.:32). The potential interaction between the literature and theatre systems (depending on prestige, or on whether the former or the latter was established first), their internal configurations (fringe or mainstream theatres and publishers), as well as their links to consumer subsystems and broader discourses in society all result in distinct types of rewritings (ibid.:33, 44). Rewritings of performed texts in particular are exceptionally layered. Aaltonen discovered 4,640 revisions in one case study, revisions she was able to link – through observation and archival work – to the activity of an entourage of professionals involved in consecutive stages of performance, including workshops, readings and rehearsals (Aaltonen 2013:395–396).

The idea of layered textual dynamics has enabled both an inward and outward migration of ideas in translation studies. Scholars in adaptation studies and world literature quote Lefevere when describing multifarious forms and

non-linear paths in cultural exchanges. Phenomena as diverse as film adaptations of Dickens (Aragay 2005:18, 30) and retranslations or imitations of the increasingly internationalized Japanese classic *Genji Monogatari* (Henitiuk 2012:5, 10) show that rewritings reflect constant intertextual dialogism and concrete conditions of cultural production and reception. Such an understanding of culture has found highly interesting applications in translation studies. Thus, via Lefevere, Perdikaki (2017:9–10) examines audiovisual paratexts (trailers, reviews, interviews) in novel-to-film adaptation. Paratexts indicate how the economic, creative and social dimension of what she calls film patronage can contextualize the reinterpretation of genres in adaptation. Broadening the scope even further, Gentzler (2017) examines what happens prior to translation, during translation and in the ensuing impact of translation on society. Among other examples, Gentzler uses Marcel Proust as a case in point. Proust wrote in the international, technophile, translational space of early twentieth-century Paris; he established his own writing style after translating the works of John Ruskin and collaborated with (non)mainstream publishers, constantly editing and rewriting his text. The various translations, along with other rewritings, of his work have exercised extraordinary cultural influence. These rewritings included film, theatre, novel and radio adaptations, a photography book, abridgements, study guides, parodies and even forums where readers discuss the influence that his work has had on their own lives (Gentzler 2017:167–180).

All this suggests that there are significant synergies between original writing and rewriting and that mass audiences consume fragments of culture in some form of rewritten format. This is an idea explored by W. Zhao (2011), who focuses on literary criticism as a form of translation in the transnational context of the early 1900s. Zhao shows how Hu Shi, a US-educated Chinese scholar, was deeply influenced by two influential rewriters of the English-speaking world. These were William Archer, whose poetologically motivated literal translations (directly from the Norwegian) and theatre productions made Ibsen widely known, and Bernard Shaw, whose ideologically motivated criticism equated Ibsen's plays with socialist views. Upon his return to China,

Hu Shi became a major proponent of the New Culture Movement (1915–1923), a movement fuelled by a massive import of foreign ideologies and poetics (Zhao 2011:50–51). Thus Hu Shi introduced what was until then a peripheral genre (drama) into China and interpreted Ibsen's ideas according to the ideological needs of Chinese society, for example, the need to oppose women's subjugation and feudalistic values. Hu Shi's influential essay entitled *Ibsenism* in particular both ventriloquized and rewrote Ibsen's views, projecting Hu Shi's own agenda of internationalism and social critique (ibid.:52, 54).

Lefevere's critical focus on power inspired systematic research on censorship, the ultimate form of rewriting. For instance, Thomson-Wohlgemuth, who examined translated children's literature in East Germany, showed how Party institutions and the Ministry of Culture influenced East German publishers, leading them to actively rewrite translations from within the literary system. Rewriting took two forms: print permit documents and paratexts (afterwords). Publishers carefully selected books and wrote supporting statements to secure print permits. Print permit documents rehearsed officially sanctioned terminology and arguments (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009:138). On the other hand, works which could prove to be problematic were framed from a socialist perspective in afterwords that offered cultural clarifications and ideological guidance to readers (ibid.:201).

Rewriting theory has also found fertile ground in the field of news translation. Bielsa and Bassnett, for instance, describe news translation done by news agencies as an act of rewriting aimed at meeting the requirements of media clients, other institutions such as news agencies, and local or global audiences. In this transnational journalistic field, it is content rather than texts that circulates. Titles change, information is added or omitted to increase relevance, paragraphs are reordered or summarized and (ideological) nuances are adjusted, all under the pressure of ensuring exclusivity and timely delivery (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:64, 80–82, 91). Bassnett and Bielsa use interviews, questionnaires and field observation to examine how publishing policies of institutions active in this field, the technology they use, their internal organizational structure and the broader configuration of the transnational networks they

belong to all affect the professional (self)image and work ethos of rewriters in the journalistic field.

Future directions

J.-L. Kruger (2012a) examines patronage in audiovisual translation with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) serving as a case in point. SABC aims at promoting multilingualism and intercultural understanding in a media landscape where the level of linguistic proficiency among viewers is too complex to be accurately captured in surveys and where English programming is predominant. To increase the visibility of the other 11 official languages of South Africa, SABC commissions local news bulletins and dramas such as soap operas. Kruger examines four long-running soap operas with respect to their characters, settings, themes and language mix. Such features are bound to become highly ideological as they tally with generally accepted visions of South African society – some more simplistic or utopian than others – and with class aspirations of specific target viewers (2012a:503–506). Ideological mediation is compounded further by the fact that each programme comes with full subtitles in English, or English subtitles for selected parts of the dialogue that are not in English, or full English subtitles peppered with SDH (subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing) elements.

Kruger's study is one of very few publications that address the translation of multimodal documents and audiovisual programmes, an important and under-developed area with the potential to challenge some of the assumptions underpinning rewriting theory. In the twenty-first century, technology helped blur the boundaries between the national and the transnational, between production/dissemination and consumption, between dominant discourses and counter-cultural practice. Users of cultural products have increasingly become producers who critically tamper with existing, copyrighted media material. In the case of brandalism (brand vandalism), artists and activists replace officially produced adverts in public spaces with parodic, politicized versions and then post the results of their exploits on blogs, social media and video-sharing websites

(Anonymous 2015a; Smith-Anthony and Groom 2015). Hundreds of adverts of this kind, some in bilingual format, were used by an international team of activists before the 2015 UN Climate Conference in Paris to expose the “links between advertising, consumerism, fossil fuel and climate change” (Anonymous 2015b). In the area of comics, Internet communities of fans produce scanlations (scanned translations) of works such as manga that large publishing companies are not willing to translate – or do not translate speedily enough for eager audiences (Zanettin 2008c:9). Crackdowns on scanlation websites have created a mixed landscape for readers, who, in their turn, selectively embrace both legally and illegally available material. In a similar vein, fansubbing and fandubbing involve disseminating anime, video games and news items, thus unsettling the flows of cultural products and fostering loose online communities of interest (Pérez-González 2014b:242). Through annotation, free translation and playful experimentation with subtitling or dubbing conventions, fansubbers and fandubbers repurpose the politics, values and aesthetic sensibilities these products convey (ibid.:240, 243). Brandalism, scanlations and fansubbing/fandubbing bring into sharp relief the fine line between legality and illegality in contexts of competing corporate and grassroots convergence. This is what Lefevere, writing in the previous century, missed entirely. As self-expression and self-realization gain more traction around the globe, it becomes urgent for scholars to examine how convergences are enabled across geographic, technological or cultural boundaries. After all, it is precisely in the widespread, transnational, invisible yet consequential lived experience of culture that we can see history in the making.

See also:

ADAPTATION; CHILDREN'S LITERATURE; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS; IDEOLOGY; RETRANSLATION

Further reading

Gentzler, E. (2017) *Translation and Rewriting in the Age of Post-Translation Studies*, London & New York: Routledge.

Expands the definition of translation to examine pre- and post-translation implications for cultures in contact. Relay/indirect

translations, hypertext approaches to creative writing and close observation of affinities of adaptations across media all show that cultural forms cross-fertilize at inception, as well as in posterity.

Perdikaki, K. (2017) 'Film Adaptation as an Act of Communication: Adopting a translation-oriented approach to the analysis of adaptation shifts', *Meta* 62(1): 3–18.

Discusses the creative, economic and social aspects of patronage in novel-to-film adaptations, using so-called adaptation shifts in *P.S. I Love You*, along with relevant filmic paratexts, as observational data.

Zhao, W. (2011) 'How Ibsen Travels from Europe to China: Ibsenism from Archer, Shaw to Hu Shi', in D. Asimakoulas and M. Rogers (eds) *Translation and Opposition*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 39–58.

Demonstrates how Hu Shi introduced Sinitized foreign ideas into China through his work on Ibsen, in literary criticism, imitation of Ibsen's original plays and selective, contextualizing translations.

DIMITRIS ASIMAKOULAS

Role

The concept of role has grown out of studies in the social sciences and can be broadly defined, after Parsons (1951/1991:24), as a set of expectations associated with individuals acting in particular social positions. While interpreters clearly occupy a crucial position in communication, they are generally expected to exercise minimal influence on the way the encounter unfolds, and to restrict their contribution to repeating what is said in one language in the words of another. Cognitive models have thus predominated in interpreting studies, concentrating on the interpreters' capacity to manage the efforts involved in understanding, memorizing and rendering the content of speech (Gile 1995), thus overlooking the social situation in which interpreting takes place. While such cognitive models were originally designed with reference to conference interpreting (as in Gile 1995a), their guiding principles were extended to other types of interpreting, including dialogue

interpreting and sign language interpreting, which take place in different social settings. Roy (1993/2002) notes that while the metaphors used to describe the interpreter's role include that of helper, communication facilitator and bilingual/bicultural specialist, the conduit metaphor is by far the most pervasive: it traditionally dominated interpreting studies, and still thrives in the perception of most practitioners (Metzger 1999; Bischoff et al. 2012; Krystallidou 2013). Limiting the role of the interpreter to conveying the original message also continues to inform professional codes of conduct (Angelelli 2006; Hale 2007; Tebble 2012; Ozolins 2016).

Nevertheless, the clash between the conduit metaphor and actual practice has long been recognized, especially in face-to-face interpreting, with B.W. Anderson (1976/2002) possibly being the first attempt to provide a more nuanced understanding of the interpreter's role. Scholarship on sign language interpreting, for instance, engages with the challenge of enabling communication in situations of inequality, and sign language interpreters in the United States were among the first to question traditional standards of professional behaviour (Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002:339–340). Studies that focus on other situations of unequal power between participants, such as asylum seeking and healthcare, have led interpreters to explicitly pose the question of what their role can or should be in such contexts. Roy (1993/2002:347) cites a much applauded and widely quoted comment by Fritsch-Rudser: "Interpreters don't have a problem with ethics, they have a problem with the role". A number of studies have since underlined the mismatch between expectations raised by codes of conduct and the interpreters' work experience. Angelelli (2006) discusses the challenges healthcare interpreters face in coping with professional standards in their working environments; Dickinson and Turner (2008) highlight the difficulties sign language interpreters experience in workplace settings; and more generally, Mason and Ren (2012) discuss the gap between what interpreters are expected to do and what they actually do.

Starting from the late 1980s onwards, fieldwork in dialogue interpreting has revealed quite a complex picture of what it means, and may mean, to interpret talk in bilingual interaction. Analyses of recordings and transcriptions have made clear that contributions to

dialogue cannot be treated as short conferences (Wadensjö 1998b:41–42). B. Davidson (2002) demonstrates that in conversations involving an interpreter, the achievement of reciprocal understanding may and often does require the interpreter to engage in talk with one of the participants alone, leaving the other temporarily aside. Such shifts from a triadic organization (participant A – interpreter – participant B) to a dyadic one (participant A – interpreter – participant A), which are considered inappropriate by professional standards, are frequent in dialogue interpreting, for example when explaining and clarifying technical procedures (Pasquandrea 2011; Angelelli 2012a) and/or facilitating patients' contributions to medical talk (Baraldi 2012). Turns, moreover, may consist in acts of feedback by participants, like *mhm* or *okay*, which need not be rendered by the interpreter insofar as they are generally understandable to all three interlocutors without translation. Such feedback provided by the interpreter can be seen as a functional resource: thus *mhm* has been shown to be a way of encouraging hesitant patients to say more and to express their worries while keeping doctors 'on hold'; *okay* is sometimes used by interpreters to mark a change of addressee (Englund Dimitrova 1997; Gavioli 2012). Finally, turns can and often need to be monitored: gaze, for instance, has been found to perform an important function in encouraging a participant to go on speaking or to convey the interpreter's disengagement as a listener and reengagement for rendering the utterances he or she has just listened to (Mason 2012; Davitti 2013; Krystallidou 2016).

Rethinking the interpreters' role in terms of the range of functions they perform in a mediated interaction has thus become a central issue in the interpreting literature (Angelelli 2014; Llewellyn-Jones and Lee 2014; Pollabauer 2015). While the debate on the role of interpreters continues, and calls for clarity about the scope of their conduct can still be heard (Angelelli 2015; M. Mason 2015; Miner 2015; Böser and Wilson 2015; Inghilleri 2016; Devaux 2016), there seems to be a consensus that interpreters cannot *not* participate in talk (Pöchhacker 2012:50). The role of the interpreter may thus be seen as involving two main axes of communicative agency: acting as participant, and acting as (cultural) mediator between other participants.

Interpreters as participants

Wadensjö (1998) provided the first systematic account of interpreters' participation in interaction. Her contribution is based on three main distinctions: talk as activity vs talk as text; coordinating interaction vs relaying content; and implicit vs explicit coordination. In terms of the first distinction, she sees talk as constructed jointly by participants in an interaction, where individual turns are both additions to the sequence and consequences of the previous turns. Treating talk simply as text may lead interpreters to focus on the rendition of single turns as if they were isolated from the rest of the talk. Treating talk as activity, by contrast, implies considering the communicative functions that are achieved in a sequence and seeing these as informing the interpreter's choice of renditions; from this perspective, interpreters orient to sequences of turns rather than to their single components. As for the second distinction, relaying content is generally considered to mean repeating the content of each turn in another language. But Wadensjö argues that repeating the content is just one of the activities that interpreters perform. Other activities include coordinating the talk between participants (1993:107), making the ongoing action sequence clear to the other interlocutors, creating reciprocal understanding of each other's goals and actions. Since the construction of interaction, and the actual possibility of contributing to talk, are based on the interlocutors' understanding of their goals and relationships (Heritage 1984), it follows that where interlocutors do not share the same language the interpreter's coordination is what makes these goals and relationships clear (Baraldi and Gavioli 2012a). This leads to the third distinction: implicit vs explicit coordination. Implicit coordination may simply consist of interpreters taking the turn in one language, which may or may not involve selecting the next interlocutor. The interpreter may also introduce expansions, reductions and other types of adaptation of the content as part of their implicit coordination of talk. Explicit coordination includes so-called non-renditions (Wadensjö 1998b): these are contributions by interpreters which are not direct or modified repetitions of utterances made by a primary speaker. For instance,

interpreters may ask other participants to stop in order to allow them to translate, or to clarify or repeat details which are relevant to their rendition of the utterance. The historical significance of Wadensjö's distinctions is that they introduced a shift of focus, from whether a rendition is correct to whether it is functional in talk (Wadensjö 1993b:107), and that they introduced the idea that interpreters are coproducers of communicative events.

As Wadensjö (1998b) suggested, meaning is created in and through the talk sequence, and interpreters need to orient to the sequence in order to make choices that suit such interactionally constructed meaning. This argument has drawn attention to the interconnections between the nature of interaction, the role of the interpreter and the context of interpreting. Mason (2006a) asserts that contextual assumptions are not necessarily shared by all participants in an interaction. The interpreter may thus share certain assumptions with one of the interlocutors but these assumptions may not be available to the other interlocutor, raising the need, he argues, for interpreters to address this gap explicitly in the way they render utterances. He offers examples which demonstrate that interpreters do explicate assumptions, for example by explaining references to people, institutions, events and habits which are taken for granted by one of the primary participants but not by another, as well as expanding elliptical statements which omit information familiar to one interlocutor only. The interpreter's role is thus shown to involve making explicit the assumptions that are implicit in the contribution of some interlocutors to ensure that the relevant utterances are understood by other participants.

Research demonstrating the variety of activities performed by interpreters has stimulated interest in the different functions that interpreters may legitimately carry out in dialogue interpreting. A variety of labels have been used to refer to the roles played by interpreters, extending from language conveyor, with a focus on rendering linguistic content, to cultural broker/expert, which sanctions explanation of different cultural habits or expectations, to advocate, which involves pleading for one of the parties or supporting their needs or ideas (Leanza 2005; Merlini 2009; Krystallidou 2013). Although they highlight the multifaceted task of interpreting

in different contexts, and even within the same interaction, these metaphors reflect different perceptions of the interpreter's overall role rather than offer insight into the mechanisms by which interpreters negotiate their coordinating function in practice. Mason (2005, 2009a) suggests that the concept of positioning, derived from Davies and Harré (1990), provides a more suitable alternative in this respect. Mason's argument is that participants continually position themselves in talk, and are in turn positioned by others. Positioning is a coordinative activity, negotiated during the interaction, and positions may be accepted or rejected by interlocutors in line with their own goals and understanding of the requirements of the communicative event.

Interest in interpreter positioning led to investigations into how roles and responsibilities are constructed in talk. In conversation analysis, the notion of epistemics has been used to refer to socially distributed rights of access to knowledge (Heritage 2013), rights which give participants the authority to perform particular conversational activities such as answering questions (Heritage 2012). In interpreter-mediated interaction, interpreters may possess knowledge acquired from participants during the encounter or from their experience in participating in similar events; such access to knowledge enables them to interpret content which is not made fully explicit, and gives them the authority to render this content explicitly. At the same time, interpreters also have access to information about which participant is expected to be more knowledgeable than they are in relation to a particular topic, and may therefore have to negotiate their own authority in light of this information. Gavioli (2015a) shows that in medical interaction, doctors may authorize the interpreter to deal with delicate issues which need to be rendered in ways that ensure the patient's compliance, such as giving the patient advice on how to behave, outlining the serious consequences of misbehaviour and reassuring patients in relation to their specific concerns. Similarly, when taking visitors around exhibitions of local products, the official guides may authorize the interpreter to describe products more extensively, and may appreciate suggestions about how to improve their presentations for the visitors (Gavioli 2015b). These studies highlight the primary participants' contribution

in assigning interpreters the responsibility to use their linguistic and cultural competence to deal knowledgeably with relevant issues.

While research on this topic tended to focus on situations of high inequality, where the interpreter was found to be “cast in a helper role which extended to whatever needed to be done” (Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002:399), later work engaged with different types of context confirmed many of the earlier findings. Research on the work of professional interpreters in situations with a more balanced distribution of power, such as TV talk shows (Straniero Sergio 1999, 2012; Straniero Sergio and Falbo 2012) and business encounters (Gavioli and Maxwell 2007), has shown that, here too, interpreters do “whatever needs to be done” and contribute to achieving the contextual goals of the interaction. In talk shows, interpreters’ renditions reinforce the purpose of the talk show: informing and entertaining the audience, for example by explaining a linguistic joke; in business meetings, interpreters help to sell what is on offer as quality products and construct sellers as expert and reliable business people. This confirms Pöchhacker’s argument that if interpreters are to translate, they cannot *not* participate in talk. A further question to be addressed concerns the extent to which interpreters can make decisions as to what is relevant to do in and with their contributions as participants in an interaction.

Interpreters as (cultural) mediators

Interpreting has been discussed as a form of cultural mediation (Pöchhacker 2008; Baraldi and Gavioli 2015), leading to extensive debate in the literature, where it has been associated with the notion of advocacy and with lack of professionalism (Martinsen and Dubsclaff 2010). Of the two main current perspectives on the interpreter as cultural mediator, the first focuses on the inseparability of language and culture and prioritizes issues such as the need for the interpreter to explain culturally bound items in renditions. The second focuses on the need to bridge gaps in knowledge and opinions which are seen as creating obstacles to communication and exacerbating power asymmetries between the interlocutors.

Wadensjö (1998:7) argues that looking at interpreting as a context-bound activity makes it clear that translating and mediating go hand in hand. Understanding how interlocutors communicate through interpreting, how they give sense to what is said, must involve considering “non-linguistic differences between people – differences in world view – which make shared understanding between them difficult to achieve despite the interpreter’s bridging of the language gap” (Wadensjö 1998b:277–278; Merlini 2009); this reiterates the argument that many utterances are not translatable without considering the assumptions they entail, which may not be shared by all interlocutors. Thus, in a transcript discussed by Merlini (2009:76), a police interview in Italy involving an asylum seeker who is to be heard by a committee in Rome, the interpreter renders *Roma* (Rome) with an expansion (Rome, the capital), in order to help the (foreign) asylum seeker understand why the committee meets in Rome. Mediating, in this sense, means explaining and clarifying the assumptions that may lie behind particular utterances and facilitating the participants’ access to them.

But mediating may go beyond such minor glosses, given that dialogue interpreting often takes place in situations of inequality, involving speakers from disadvantaged communities who need assistance to gain access to services such as healthcare and protect their rights and freedom. Examples include encounters between doctors or judges and patients or suspects, immigration officers and refugees, a hearing person and a deaf participant (Mason and Ren 2012). Studies of role conflict (Hsieh 2006) and power relations (Inghilleri 2005a, 2007; Boéri 2008/2009) have shown that participants’ potentially differing expectations about the interpreter’s position may challenge interpreters’ understanding of their role, creating zones of uncertainty where the distinction between adapting renditions to interactional constraints and mediating asymmetries may not be so clear-cut. In doctor-patient communication, interpreters may adapt the doctor’s questions to the patient’s lifeworld, and this may include cultural connotations. Pain, for instance, may not be rated identically by US doctors and Latin American patients (Angelelli 2004a, 2012a), and small talk, for example in the assessment of aphasia, may draw on different topics for western doctors and Zulu

patients (Penn and Watermeyer 2012). In these cases, it is difficult to say whether the interpreter's mediating action may affect and be affected by role asymmetries or by expectations deriving from different cultural habits.

Such situations need to be handled with care. Some analyses show that the interpreter's management of power relations can reduce the weaker interlocutor's participation and thus act as a form of gatekeeping. In healthcare interpreting, for example, interpreters may select only some of the patients' details and adjust them in their renditions for doctors (Bolden 2000; B. Davidson 2000, 2001), they may assume the role of co-diagnosticians (Hsieh 2007), or they may neglect to provide renditions following dyadic sequences with a single interlocutor. Interpreters can sometimes recontextualize a weak party's discourse in a way that produces negative effects; for example, they may discredit young asylum seekers in their interactions with the relevant institutions (Keselman et al. 2010), or assimilate migrant parents to the dominant educational culture in parent-teacher interactions (Davitti 2013).

The importance attributed to bridging different cultures from the perspective of reducing power inequalities has led some countries such as Belgium, Italy and Spain to distinguish between interpreters and cultural mediators (Verrept 2008; Pittarello 2009; Luatti 2011; Martin and Martí 2008). Cultural mediators do provide an interpreting service, but are primarily trained (within the vocational system) to deal with cultural differences, emphasizing the need to resolve misunderstandings and conflicts that may arise in what Gumperz (1992) calls intercultural contact. Intercultural contact is here understood as a form of communication that is marked by different cultural presuppositions. In this view, the existence of differences is taken for granted and these differences are actively looked for. The epistemological background to this view of cultural mediation has been described in terms of essentialism (Holli-day 2011), a tendency to see cultural identities and differences as fundamental constituents in communication.

Essentialism, it has been argued, is not necessarily a productive way to consider mediation (Pöchhacker 2008). While cultural differences may need to be dealt with in interpreting to

facilitate the process of participation, the risk inherent in this approach is that it can attribute differences where there may be none. An alternative to this view involves shifting the focus from difference to plurality. This perspective has been described as transformational, in that it recontextualizes difference in terms of more and broader opportunities rather than in-group characterization (Cronin 2006; Baker 2006b). By treating cultural presuppositions as a plurality of options, interpreters may enhance the interlocutors' active participation and extend the range of choices available to them. This perspective, which goes beyond the focus on cultures and is described by Baraldi (2014, 2017) as dialogic rather than intercultural, views the interpreter as an agent who is able to empower other participants, with the freedom to talk as an equal rather than pleading for the weaker party. Pleading for a weaker party, in this view, serves to make inequality more evident and reinforces rather than challenges it. This is a direction that interpreting studies has been encouraged to pursue in the future (Mason and Ren 2012).

See also:

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; CONFERENCE INTERPRETING; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; LEGAL INTERPRETING; ETHICS; HISTORY OF INTERPRETING; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; WAR

Further reading

Anderson, B.W. (1976/2002) 'Perspectives on the Role of Interpreters', in F. Pöchhacker and M. Shlesinger (eds) *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, London: Routledge, 208–217.

Provides what is possibly the first discussion about the role of the interpreter as the person in the middle. By looking at the interpreter's role from the perspective of a sociologist working with interpreters for interview data collection, Anderson highlights the impact of the interpreter's presence in mediated communication. Angelelli, C. and B. Baer (eds) (2016) *Researching Translation and Interpreting*, London: Routledge. Offers a helpful overview of research issues and methods in translation and interpreting research. Part 2 in particular provides many insights into the complexity of the interpreter's/translator's role.

Mason, I. (2009) 'Role, positioning and discourse in face-to-face interpreting', in R. De Pedro Ricoy, I.A. Perez and C. Wilson (eds) *Interpreting and Translating in Public Service Settings*, Manchester: St. Jerome, 52-73.

A crucial contribution arguing for a shift of focus in interpreting studies, from the notion of role to that of positioning.

Pollabauer, S. (2015) 'Role', in F. Pöchhacker (ed.) *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*, London: Routledge, 355-360.

Provides a thorough discussion of the notion of interpreter role from different perspectives.

LAURA GAVIOLI



Sacred texts

Sacred texts fall into the category of most translated texts across the largest number of languages. And yet, sacred text translation remains one of the most contentious areas of translation activity, reception and study. Despite the many controversies that the translation of sacred texts provokes, most individuals access sacred texts through translation by default, making the debate on sacred text translation a live issue for both practitioners and scholars of religion and translation. Thinking critically about the translation of sacred texts involves engagement with several fields of enquiry, in addition to translation studies: religious studies, philosophy, history and anthropology all bring diverse analytical questions to bear on the subject. The different ways in which religions conceptualize and practice translation offer stimulating and interdisciplinary avenues to investigate sacred texts and their transmission. The field of comparative religions is particularly useful in challenging monolithic understandings of sacred text translation by drawing attention to the diverse relationships between sacred texts, religious traditions and faith communities. Equally, developments in translation theory contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the central role that translation plays in the construction and dissemination of religions globally.

Challenging categories and definitions

What is understood to constitute a religion, or indeed a sacred text, directly impacts translation decisions and processes. To start with, the meaning of the terms translation and religion cannot be assumed to be self-evident. Both categories

are widely disputed, with multiple interpretations and definitions. Understanding what may comprise translation as opposed to other types of writing and composition, and equally what may be recognized as religion and therefore as distinguishable from philosophy, mysticism, spirituality, superstition and the irrational (Asad 1993; King 1999; Masuzawa 2005; Smith 1964/2009; Smith 1982, 1998; Tambiah 1990) – or indeed as distinguishable from the secular – depends on the particular constellation of historical, cultural and political factors governing the perspective from which each is viewed. Similarly, there is no consensus on what a sacred text is, since this text type is not a stable category, recognizable as such whatever the religion or language.

Scholars have pointed out the extensive identification of sacred texts with the written mode (Levering 1989) in the study of religions. The range of terms used as synonyms of sacred text in the English language is limited: religious text, scripture, sacred writings. Derived from Latin, they all place a marked emphasis on the written nature of the text, without allowing sufficient room for religions that prize orality and promote the oral transmission of religious teachings. For instance, the Hindu traditions conceptualize the term *veda* (knowledge) as sacred knowledge that is heard and recited, and that passed down in oral tradition between 1500 and 800 BCE (Geaves 2006) and was only put in writing after that period. Similarly, *Qur'an* means reciting, emphasizing its “intrinsically oral/aural character . . . in its use of a verbal-noun form, *qur'an*, ‘reciting, recitation, lection’ to refer to itself as God’s culminating revelation” (Graham and Kermani 2006:115). The Sikh *Guru Granth Sahib* brings together the notion of the heard *sabad* (the divine word of God) and the written text uttered in human language, which together gain ontological status as the literal embodiment of the eternal Guru (word of God);

the *Guru Granth Sahib* is ascribed agency as a living guru, the only sacred text anywhere in the world recognized as a “juristic person” (Myrvold 2015:177). Although brief, these examples indicate why scholars of comparative religion have increasingly pointed to the difficulty of using the term scripture as a universal category, since as “a category conceived within a Jewish and Christian framework, [it] does not translate easily and accurately to other religious traditions” (McAuliffe 2006:1).

The term religious text, on the other hand, presupposes fixed relationships between texts and religious traditions, as if each religion were a discrete entity possessing a single authoritative text, ignoring the fact that some texts may be considered sacred by two or more competing religious communities (for example, Tanakh/Old Testament is considered sacred by Jews and Christians), and that some religious communities such as Hindus and Buddhists may consider more than one text sacred. Of the available terms, sacred text seems more appropriate. With the expansion of the definition of text to include any natural or human phenomenon that is subject to interpretation and meaning-making (McKee 2003), sacred text does not privilege the written over the oral, nor is it confined to specific religions but instead draws attention to the attitudes with which readers approach the text. In effect, then, it is possible to argue that an object becomes a sacred text when faith communities ascribe sacred value to it by inferring specific meanings from it or by using it for ritual purposes. By implication, sacred texts may also lose their sacrality for the same reasons. Nevertheless, the question of what exactly is sacred in a sacred text remains: specifically, whether the sacred nature of a text lies primarily in its content, or the specific language in which it is presented, and to what extent its sacred quality is determined by those who have authority to interpret its signs. Each faith community displays a range of attitudes to texts it considers sacred, emphasizing different aspects such as meaning, form, ritual reading, sound, the power of repetition or the magical potency of the text. Specific combinations of these factors will inevitably influence translation approaches to the texts considered sacred, which may range from a complete prevention of translation – as in the case of the Sanskrit vedas of Brahmanical

Hinduism – to keen promotion of translation – as in the case of sutras in the Buddhist traditions or the Bible in Protestant Christianity.

A key question that is equally relevant for the translator, the faith community and scholars of religion and translation is whether a translation may be considered as sacred as its original. The long-standing tradition of privileging original texts, especially within Anglophone and European intellectual history, has now been challenged. However, the relationship between an original and its translation, the latter defined in the widest sense of the term, is particularly fraught in the sacred context. Hermeneutics, with an emphasis on theological and linguistic interpretation of the sacred text to ascertain the ‘correct’ meaning of the original, has understandably played a significant role in shaping sacred text translation in several major world religions. When different translations compete for truth status, sacred texts have often required authorization by state or religious institutions to authenticate the replication of correct meaning and confer sacred status on specific translations (Hermans 2007a).

Approaches to the ontological and functional status of language within a faith community also play a large part in shaping attitudes to sacred text translation. Whether religious language can be considered a distinctly recognizable category is a question examined by anthropologists of religion. Keane (1997, 2013) writes about the highly marked and self-conscious use of language, its materiality and fetishism in religious practices, where who speaks and who listens are also questions that have particular relevance to both translators of sacred texts and translation studies scholars. Scholars examining European and Anglophone philosophies of religion (Alston 2005; Scott 2010, 2013) have explored the relationship between language and reality within a broadly Judaeo-Christian framework, for example in terms of whether literal and metaphorical meanings of sentences, or language *about* God and language expressing a belief *in* God, work in the same way. The philosophy of language that has developed within other religious traditions, such as Brahmanical Hinduism or Buddhism, offers different ways of thinking about religious language. From the Brahmanical point of view, Sanskrit – an eternal language that has never seen change – is closest to objective

reality and can therefore have an “effect on the objective world” (Bronkhorst 2011:672–673). The Buddhist position, however, is that all languages correspond to the false reality of the world, which is why the concern of Buddhists is not with the preservation of Sanskrit but mainly with “what they believed were the words of the Buddha in different languages” (Bronkhorst 2011:673). These various standpoints on the nature and function of language impact the community’s acceptance of sacred texts in translation. Some religions claim that specific languages possess intrinsic sacred value: Arabic, Hebrew and Sanskrit, for instance, are all considered languages of direct divine revelation. Others are more flexible on this point, although the question of language register and vocabulary always plays a part in complicating translation projects. In either case, the transgressive potential of translation draws attention to other political factors that may be involved, such as the desire of priestly classes to preserve their special power and authority by circumscribing one language as divine and prohibiting translation out of it, or by controlling translational choices – for instance, in terms of terminology, script and genre – in specific ways in cases where translation is allowed.

Scholarship on sacred text translation

Current scholarship in translation studies focuses most prominently on individual religious traditions, mainly Christian, Islamic and Jewish, and on specific texts such as the Bible or Qur’an. Much of the analysis centres on the translation challenges posed by individual lemmas, words or idioms, on what may have been ‘lost’ in translation, and provides suggestions for improvement (Abdul-Raof 2005; Wendland 2009). While these studies may offer valuable advice for translators in the relevant faith communities, such discrete conversations are likely to promote the idea that certain challenges are to be identified with specific religions and the primary languages associated with each, or indeed that this area of study is relevant only to practitioners of these religions. With its move away from prescriptive considerations of linguistic equivalence, translation studies now

offers a range of perspectives and questions with which to approach sacred text translation. Concepts such as translatability, mistranslation, equivalence and hermeneutics, several of which had for long been central to both practitioners and scholars of religions, have also been profitably revisited in response to developments in the humanities regarding the study of culture, history, power and ideology. Research on translation in the sacred context has shown that the historical and political contexts within which a faith community functions play an important role, and that a translation which may be acceptable in one historical period or political milieu may be rejected as inappropriate in another, as evidenced in Simon’s (2006) discussion of feminist critique and translations of Skilton’s (2010) discussion of the translator’s response to shifts in attitude to scatological language in Buddhist literature. At times, translation changes the function of the text, for instance when it is seen to increase or decrease its sacred value of the text, depending on how a religious community views the relationship between its texts, language and its community (Israel 2014). Translation projects have further been shown to constitute particular flashpoints of conflict, where theological interpretation may be a source of tension between different sects *within* a religious tradition, leading to clashes over the choice of correct terminology and its implications for the future of specific interpretations (Israel 2011; Loimeier 2005).

Translation scholars such as Bassnett-McGuire (1980) and Robinson (1997b) have drawn attention to Anglo-European theologians and translators of sacred texts who have influenced the development of western translation theory and practice historically (Jerome 395; Augustine 397–426; Luther 1530; translators of the King James Version 1611; Schleiermacher 1813). Likewise, important contributions to twentieth-century theoretical thinking about translation within Anglophone and European scholarship were born out of the translation practices adopted by a few sacred text translators such as Buber and Rosenweig (1936/1994) and Nida (1964). The works of widely cited European philosophers such as Benjamin (1923/2012), Derrida (1985/2002) and Levinas (1984/1994) focus on the intersections between religion, language and translation which have implications for

the way sacred texts in translation can be interpreted or studied.

Research using comparative approaches across the various religious traditions, where a focus on translation issues may itself feature as a methodological framework for comparative analysis, has begun to interest scholars of translation and religion. The links between concepts underpinning religion and translation has received some attention: for instance, key translation concepts such as equivalence and faithfulness have been traced back to the translation practices associated with a few sacred texts, including the Bible and Torah (Hermans 2007; Tymoczko 2010c). *Translation and Religion* (Long 2005) brings together scholars from the disciplines of religion and translation studies to explore sacred text translation across a range of religions, to “make sense of a cultural interface that requires translation, but at the same time defies it” (2005/2012:1). Delisle and Woodsworth (1995) devote an entire chapter to the topic of translation and the spread of religions. The translation histories of sacred texts intersect with and can throw light on the history of a religious tradition (Krämer 2013); the history of cultures and languages (St. André 2010a); of modes of transmission (Eubanks 2013); and histories of conflict, cooperation or appropriation (Truschke 2016). A small number of comparative studies have examined the translator’s paratexts, thereby shifting the focus from the sacred to the literary or philosophical aspects of a text (Israel 2014). Others have also engaged with the politics of gender in sacred text translation (Bose et al. 2013; Simon 2006; Singh 2014).

Religious studies scholars have been prolific translators of sacred texts of most religions, and continue to produce authoritative academic translations that often circulate in parallel with translations produced by faith communities. Academic translations may at times be viewed as a threat or treated as a sign of welcome interest, depending on the perceived sympathy and location of the translator-scholar. This raises the question of insider/outsider status: to what extent does a translator’s own belief in the text as sacred influence their epistemological understanding of the sacred, their politics of translation and eventual status? A roundtable discussion initiated by Engler et al. (2004) and an edited collection

of essays (DeJong and Tietz 2015/2017:6) invite religious studies scholars to think about “their study of religion explicitly in terms of translation” and what “it means to translate *religion*” (original emphasis). The use of translation as a methodology in the study of religion has also been addressed by Williams (2008, 2011) and Kavka (2012). Several religious studies or area studies scholars have made significant contributions on the transformative role of translations: in the spread of Buddhism from northeastern India to China (Boucher 1998; Nattier 2014) and to southern India (Monius 2001) and further to Southeast Asia (Berkwitz 2004; Deegalle 2006; Green 2018); Jesuit translations (Alves and Milton 2005; Cawley 2013; Zupanov 2005); and Jewish-Christian relations (Seidman 2006). Religious studies also offers interesting perspectives on popular religion, ritual devotional practices and the importance of taking into account how different sections of a faith community may treat sacred texts.

Interest in studying the translation histories and practices of religions in a variety of sacred geographies of the world has also grown. This scholarship has offered new ways of conceptualizing translation in the context of specific religious histories and faith communities, stimulating translation studies, which had developed until the 1980s within the Anglo-European context, to move in new directions. Good examples include work on Buddhist sutra translation in the Chinese context (Cheung 2006a; Hung 2005; Cheung 2017; Xia 2006), Buddhist translation in Japan (Eubanks 2013; Krämer 2013), the translation of Islamic texts in South and Southeast Asia (Ricci 2011; Tschacher 2011), East Africa (Mazrui 2016b) and Persia (Ernst 2003; Zadeh 2011, 2012). However, much more research remains to be undertaken in relation to the many other religious traditions around the world. For instance, the poet-translator A.K. Ramanujan, translator of Saiva bhakti poetry (medieval Hindu devotional poetry from 10–12 CE), offers a new conceptualization of translation arising out of the South Asian context. Arguing against the elevation of a monolithic written original from which all translations derive, he demonstrated the link between continual literary and performative retellings of a sacred story and the numerous devotional attitudes to the god Rama

on display. Pointing to how and why different faith communities, both Hindu and its rival Jain traditions, developed multiple and at times contradictory versions over time, his essay on the translation of the *Ramayana* (Ramanujan 1991) revitalized the scholarly study of the many versions of this Hindu epic in US academia since the 1990s, but is now little known within translation studies (Israel 2018).

Future directions

The links between translation and religion, both in practice and as disciplinary study, can be expanded in several fruitful directions. Questions include how translation constructs or transforms religion(s); what aspects of a religion are considered translatable, are translated in practice and with what effects; who is in a position of power to commission translations or to translate a sacred text; why and when sacred texts are translated; how faith communities respond to censorship or retranslations; and how the status of some sacred books as ritual objects of veneration impacts translation. These questions present the researcher with interdisciplinary lines of enquiry that draw equally on theoretical and methodological tools available in both translation and religious studies.

Scholars examining the effects of Orientalist attitudes and scholarship in the encounters with religions outside Europe from the eighteenth century onwards (King 1999; Sweetman 2003), for example, have shown how the translation of specific sacred texts into European languages – the *Qur'an* (Elmarsafy 2009; Pym 1995) into Latin and English, the *Bhagavad Gita* (Herling 2006) into German and the *Daodejing* (Clarke 2000; W. Zhang 2015/2017) into Latin, English, French and German – has played a significant role in homogenizing and systematizing a heterogeneous set of practices and traditions into discrete 'religions'. Others such as Rafael (1988/1993), Mandair (2009), Israel (2011) and Numark (2011) have revealed how European attitudes to non-European cultures, languages and religions influenced the ways in which Christian texts, considered foundational to European civilization, were translated for new audiences. Israel investigates

sacred text translation in colonial South Asia as an interpretative framework within which the translated Bible was intended to function as a civilizing tool to overcome the inferior beliefs of the East, whereas translations of non-Christian sacred texts were aimed at exposing their 'false' teachings. For faith communities on the receiving end, response to new religious traditions through translations ranged from trying to resemble the other more closely (thus 'reforming' themselves) to distancing themselves by seeking to reinstate a 'pure' past. The response from the nineteenth-century Sikh community in India, as Mandair points out, was to engage in a process of reconstruction that sought to translate Sikhism into a systematic belief system which could be recognized within European frameworks as a religion. Rafael's (1988/1993) investigation into the history of Jesuit translation in sixteenth-century Philippines demonstrates the agility and power of the many audiences who encountered the missionary translations on their own terms, reinterpreting and deploying the translations for their own purposes. This is an area that can be expanded to explore sacred text translation not only in the context of European imperialism but in the history of colonization amongst other cultural pairs across the globe.

Ultimately, investigating sacred text translation can reveal the way sacred concepts and ideas have developed and have been transformed and disseminated across time and cultures. At the same time, examining translation through the lens of religion highlights its heterogeneity and widespread influence in society.

See also:

BIBLE, JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN; BUDDHISM AND BUDDHIST TEXTS; FICTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS; HERMENEUTICS; QUR'AN (KORAN)

Further reading

DeJong, M.P. and C. Tietz (eds) (2015/2017) *Translating Religion: What is lost and gained?*, New York: Routledge.

Aimed primarily at a religious studies audience, this volume seeks to highlight translation as a critical category in the study of religions. Despite framing the discussion of translation's significance to religions in terms

of “loss and gain”, it includes excellent chapters on translating *Dao*, *Dharma* and *Allah*.

Frenz, M. and H. Israel (eds) (2019) *Translation and Religion: Crafting regimes of identity*, Special issue of *Religion* 49.

Examines the conceptual importance of translation for the comparative study of religions and argues that concepts considered key to different religious traditions should be reexamined by taking into consideration notions of translation, equivalence and commensurability.

Long, L. (ed.) (2005) *Translation and Religion: Holy untranslatable?*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

The first volume to bring together translation and religious studies scholars to examine the translation of ‘holy texts’ across the major religious traditions. Ranging from broad contextual issues to focused case studies, its primary emphasis is on the issue of un/translatability of sacred texts in each religion represented.

HEPHZIBAH ISRAEL

Scientific translation

Addressing research questions and issues relevant to scientific translation requires reflection on two key concepts, science and translation. The concept of translation is critically examined in a variety of ways by translation scholars who seek greater understanding of the place of translation in the world. The concept of science, no less complex, receives abundant critical examination in a different body of scholarship. The overlapping fields of science studies, science and technology studies (STS), and science, technology and society (also STS) are concerned with greater understanding of the place of science in the world. Both science studies and translation studies are inherently interdisciplinary and employ a wide range of theoretical and empirical approaches to address historical, philosophical, social, cultural and political questions. Our understanding of the place of scientific translation in the world may therefore benefit greatly from scholarship at the confluence of these two disciplines.

Perspectives on science

In the European and Anglophone context, philosophers of science began to address the cultural significance of science in the interwar years and after World War II (Turner 2008), but the seminal work of Thomas Kuhn in the 1960s paved the way for the more extensive development of social studies of science during the 1970s and beyond. Kuhn (1962, 1970) was interested in how scientific communities are organized and how scientific knowledge evolves through different periods of scientific revolution or paradigm shifts. His and subsequent contributions, which approached the concept of science from historical and sociological perspectives, increasingly challenged assumptions of scientific realism. Alternative, often constructivist, understandings of science emerged through critical analysis of the doing of science and of the relations between science and society. Challenges to post-positivist epistemology included rejection of the assumptions that science is unitary and universal, i.e. that there would be no culturally distinctive differences between different scientific disciplines or between science performed in different institutional settings, or in how knowledge is shaped by and shapes the society in which it develops (Harding 1998:3).

Constructivism contrasted with positivism and logical empiricism in focusing on how sciences and cultures are co-constitutive and co-evolving. Studies undertaken through the 1970s and 1980s focused on how science is shaped by the interests of relevant social groups (Bloor 2001) or how scientific knowledge is locally negotiated by scientists through their practices (Latour and Woolgar 1979; Traweek 1988), among other questions. This understanding of science as practice and as culture (Pickering 1992) shifted researchers’ interest away from science as the pursuit of universal truths and towards a focus on studying what scientists do and the enculturation of those situated knowledge practices (Franklin 1995). Science was no longer presumed to be universal, disinterested and value-free. Instead, researchers seek to understand the culture of the lab and the local strategies of sense-making, as well as the embeddedness of those local scientific cultures in wider cultural meanings (ibid.).

It could be argued that scholarship on scientific translation is following a similar trajectory, though with an interlude of some decades. The majority of publications that focused on scientific translation prior to the 2000s aimed to serve as guides to translators or translation students. Early contributions reflected an underlying conception of science as knowledge and of scientific discourse as communication of invariant referential meaning. Manuals produced during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s were designed and used as practical guides to scientific and/or technical translation (Jumpelt 1961; Maillot 1969, 1981; Finch 1969; Pinchuck 1977; Bédard 1986, 1987). Many fulfilled their didactic function through a strong normative emphasis on techniques for achieving terminological accuracy and precision of expression. A small number of contributions focused on the translator's development of conceptual scientific knowledge and understanding (Hann 1992, 2004). Since the turn of the century, guides to scientific translation have reflected a growing understanding of the social and cultural importance of scientific translation as part of scientific practice, and increasingly offer a much more contextualized view of scientific communication, providing insights into the activities of professional scientific and technical communication and/or focusing on specific scientific genres (Schmitt 1999; Byrne 2006; Scarpa 2001; Montalt and González Davies 2007; Scarpa 2008; Stolze 2009; Byrne 2012; Olohan 2016a).

Aligned with universalist and positivist views of science, many of the earlier contributions on scientific translation that involved textual analysis were limited by an understanding of scientific texts as serving primarily informative or referential functions, a view that is reflected in Ortega y Gasset's (1937/2000:50) assertion that scientific translation is easier than translation of literary texts, due to a perceived universality of the language of science and/or of scientific thought. This perspective overlooks the significant expressive and operative functions of scientific discourse, as the means by which authors construct meanings, make claims, challenge others, enrol allies and preempt contestation, seek to build consensus within a scientific community, exclude or include non-members of that and other communities and establish and drive research agendas (Latour 1987; Myers 1990;

Swales 1990, 2004). Failure to acknowledge these social and rhetorical functions of scientific discourse can lead to a focus on precision of terminology and accuracy of description, and moreover a consideration of both as somehow culturally invariant. This conceptualization of science, in turn, may be responsible for the relative lack of attention to scientific translators' social and textual practices, compared to the breadth and depth of research on their counterparts in literary domains. The typical backgrounds of translation researchers, for example in literary and linguistic studies, may also mean that they are less prepared to engage with scientific disciplines, ideas and discursive practices.

Research themes

Among the relatively small number of research contributions on the translation of science, a significant set is historiographical. It is widely acknowledged that translation has played a major role in the production and circulation of scientific knowledge throughout the ages (Salam-Carr 1995). Some historical research therefore takes scientific and technical texts as a basis for in-depth theoretical reflection on the role of translation. A key contribution in this regard is Montgomery's (2000) analyses of translation activity in several periods. A central assumption in this work is that translation is involved in knowledge production at all levels, and Montgomery's case studies serve to illustrate the role of translation in the shaping and reshaping of ideas as they travel between cultural and linguistic contexts. Cases analyzed include the history of translating astronomy in Europe from antiquity to the Renaissance, and the translation of science in Japan from the late medieval period into the twentieth century. Other specific cultural contexts and periods in which scientific translation has been examined include Dodson's (2005) research on translation into Indian languages in nineteenth-century colonial India, Raj's work (2007) on collaborative scientific production in India between 1650 and 1900 and Meade's (2011) study of the development of engineering knowledge in early Meiji-era Japan.

The ninth century, which witnessed a strong movement focused mostly on the translation of ancient Greek texts into Arabic, and the Middle

Ages, when a considerable number of translations were carried out from Arabic into Latin, form two periods of translation that have been extensively studied by historians of science and translation scholars, with researchers challenging assumptions about knowledge diffusion and translation as acculturation that underlay traditional accounts. In their reappraisals of the translation of science from Greek to Arabic around the ninth century, Saliba (1994, 2007) and Rashed (2006, 2009b) treat translation, research and learning as being closely linked; translators and their Arabic translations are shown to play crucial roles in the advancement in scientific endeavours and research programmes of the translator-scholars or scholar-translators, their patrons and institutions (Rashed 2006:172). Saliba (2007), for example, argues that the Greek astronomical tradition was assessed critically by translators into Arabic, who reworked and reevaluated the research. Rashed (2009a) examines the case of Thābit ibn Qurra', a Baghdad-based scholar who translated texts by Archimedes, Apollonius and others from Greek into Arabic and revised translations by others, including Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*, during the second half of the ninth century. Thābit ibn Qurra's translation work enabled him and his masters, the Banū Mūsā, to pursue their own research in astronomy, philosophy and geometry (Rashed 2009a:6). Both scholars, Saliba and Rashed, conclude that the translation movement was governed by social conditions of the time and that translation was concomitant with research, contributing to the development and implementation of new research programmes, often through patronage.

Likewise, Burnett's extensive research (2001, 2005, 2006) on the translation of mathematics and science from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages reveals how the preferred translation practices were related to the prestige values attached to the source or target language or culture at particular periods. Gutas (1998, 2006) compares two translation movements – Græco-Arabic and Arabic-Latin – and situates both in their internal and international political and social contexts, thereby observing numerous differences in motivation for the two translation movements. Other scholars have also shown that translation was an essential part of

scientific practice during these periods, focusing their attention on the misnomered 'schools' of Baghdad (Salama-Carr 1991, 2006; Gutas 1998) and Toledo (Hernando de Larramendi and Fernández Parrilla 1997; Foz 1998; Pym 2000), respectively.

While these two periods and translation movements garner most attention, the intricate relationship between translation and scientific research has been observed elsewhere too. Jardine and Segonds (1999), for example, discuss how the German astronomer Johannes Kepler reworked, emended and glossed Aristotle's *De caelo*, not for the sake of literary embellishment but so that the text could offer him a basis on which he could present his own work in astronomy. These and other historical cases exemplify the need for research to move beyond the texts to consider the scientific context, the motivations for translation, revision and retranslation, the role of patrons and many other aspects which help to illuminate the "dialectic of translation and research" (Rashed 2006:193).

Other historical analyses with a strong focus on translation include the work of Wright (1998, 2000) on how western chemistry travelled in China in the nineteenth century. Wright's interest in the development of concepts and terms is framed by detailed studies of the actors involved in translation activities and their converging and diverging interests, with due attention also to the intellectual and political circumstances in which those activities took place. Further studies of the circulation and construction of knowledge in China include volumes edited by Lackner et al. (2001) and Lackner and Vittinghoff (2004). The anthology of Chinese discourse on translation compiled by Martha Cheung, with extensive editorial apparatus, traces specific translation practices in China; Volume Two in particular (Cheung 2017), completed by Robert Neather, focuses on the translation from Latin into Chinese of European texts on science and technology. It is useful to read these studies against the backdrop of Needham's substantial series *Science and Civilisation in China* and critics of that project. The series, consisting of seven volumes, each comprising several parts, was published from 1954 onwards, with Needham authoring much of the work himself during his lifetime. Needham's goal was to recognize and acknowledge China's contributions to science but, in doing

so, he adhered to mainstream ideas of the time that conceived of modern science as uniquely 'western', thus perpetuating notions of the divide between so-called western (modern) science and Chinese (traditional) science (Hart 1999).

Canonical figures and their scientific works have traditionally tended to be a focal point for historians of science (Jardine 2003:133) and this tendency is also seen in translation research. One notable example is Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, which has been studied in relation to its positivistic translation into French (Briset 2002), the expression of epistemic stance in Dutch translations (Vandepitte et al. 2011) and the handling of unfamiliar Darwinian concepts and terms in Arabic translations and scientific discourse (Elshakry 2008). Other studies of canonical translations include the publishing of Euclid in China (Engelfriet 1998), retranslations of Newton's *Opticks* in French (Baillon 2008) and translations of Linnaeus's *Systema naturae* into French and other languages (Dietz 2016b; Duris 2008; Hoquet 2008).

In parallel, historians and translation scholars have also begun to focus on the contributions of women to scientific endeavour through their translation work, which was variously acknowledged or unacknowledged, visible or invisible, cautious or confident. Martin (2011, 2016), for example, explores the contributions of women translators of botany in the early nineteenth century and scientific travel writing in the late eighteenth century; her detailed analyses show how the translators deploy various narrative strategies to mark their involvement in the process of scientific knowledge-making.

While there is near boundless scope for historical accounts of the work of a particular translator of science or the translation of a particular text or its reception in specific times and places, studies that are of particular interest to translation scholars also implicitly or explicitly reflect on underlying conceptualizations of translation. A transmissionist or diffusionist model of translation may treat knowledge as being wrapped, boxed and transported in the translation van before being unpacked, placed and admired in its new location. By contrast, other models may focus on how knowledge is shaped and transformed in and through translation. Increasingly, the cultural and ideological situatedness of scientific translation practice is of interest to schol-

ars. Examples include Somerset's (2011) study of shifts in ideological orientation in the translation of a seminal popular science work of the nineteenth century and Sánchez's (2011, 2014) study of Carmen de Burgos's paratextual and textual interventions as she challenged the misogyny of a scientific treatise by Möbius when translating it into Spanish. Elsewhere, Sánchez (2007) explores how gender is represented discursively in a French edition of a popular science magazine and the Spanish translation of part of the French publication. That analysis contrasts the social constructivist perspectives on gender that are reflected in discursive choices of the French magazine with a foregrounding of biomedical perspectives and biological determinism in the Spanish. In the Spanish translations in particular, through discursive moves that gender the body, the feminine and the masculine are presented as natural and mutually exclusive categories, and "difference replaces differentiation" (Sánchez 2007:191). The respective scientific discourses are thus seen to reflect and participate in contemporary social and legal debates on gender roles and sexual dichotomy.

Any consideration of the translation of science must also consider the issue of the dominance of the "Tyrannosaurus rex" of English (Swales 1997:374) and the implications of this dominance (Montgomery 2009; Gordin 2015). One area of corpus-based study has involved investigating the possible influence of translation on language change, with a strong focus on popular science discourses (House 2002, 2003a; Baumgarten et al. 2004; Malamatidou 2013; House 2013). A second area of enquiry has been initiated by Bennett's (2007a, 2007b, 2011) analyses of the role of translation in reinforcing the hegemony of English and scientific epistemologies of the Anglophone world and undermining or obliterating non-Anglophone epistemologies, drawing on de Sousa Santos's (1995) use of the term 'epistemicide' to denote the destruction of knowledges by European expansionism and Northern oppression of the South from the sixteenth century onwards. Finally, given that much present-day translation is of popular science discourse, a growing body of work focuses on key features of such texts. In-depth analyses of how translators deal with metaphor (Shuttleworth 2011, 2014, 2017; Manfredi 2014) and other meta-discursive features of reader-writer

interaction (Liao 2011) provide important insights into how discursive practices can shape public understanding of science.

Future directions

Translation studies still has a number of blind spots when it comes to scientific translation. There remains considerable scope to develop more complex understandings of the transcultural nature of science (Olohan 2014a). Productive approaches from historians of science include Secord's (2004) work on knowledge in transit and Raj's (2007) conceptualization of sites of intercultural contact. These approaches are interested in how scientific knowledge and practices circulate and interact and are influenced by both the processes of circulation and the local conditions in which they are entangled; they require further studies of the sociocultural and material aspects of scientific translation practice.

Scholarship on scientific translation policies and practices can also be further extended by engaging with approaches to the study of power inequalities that have emerged in areas of science scholarship such as postcolonial science studies and feminist science studies, the latter as exemplified by Sánchez's work (2007, 2011, 2014). An understanding of science as constitutive of colonialism, for example, requires science and colonialism to be studied as co-emergent and co-produced; such studies can then challenge colonial logics, including categories, identities and concepts that have been given epistemic credibility by Eurocentric and modernist science (Hamilton et al. 2017:613). Translation research can continue to play a crucial role in studying how knowledge systems and knowledges are bestowed or denied legitimacy, whether through colonizing projects or the exercise of other forms of epistemological power.

See also:

HISTORY, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Bennett, K. (2007) 'Epistemicide! The tale of a predatory discourse', *The Translator* 13(2): 151–169.

Discussion of the worldview encoded by Anglophone academic discourse and the

relationship of translators and editors to this hegemony, as gatekeepers of western academic culture.

Montgomery, S.L. (2000) *Science in Translation: Movements of knowledge through cultures and time*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Translation-focused, historical account of science, tracing rewritings, adaptations and displacements throughout the centuries and foregrounding the decisive role of translators in knowledge production and circulation, and in the development of textual and intellectual cultures.

Olohan, M. (2018) 'Translating Cultures of Science', in S. Harding and O. Carbonell i Cortés (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Culture*, London & New York: Routledge, 501–516.

A detailed exploration of the potential offered by cultural perspectives on science to inform scientific translation scholarship, exemplified by notions of epistemic cultures, postcolonial science studies and boundary work.

Olohan, M. and M. Salama-Carr (eds) (2011) *Translating Science*, special issue of *The Translator* 17(2).

A selection of research articles addressing questions related to the translation of both popular and professional science from a variety of perspectives and using a range of methodologies, including (multimedia) corpus methods, discourse analysis, paratextual analyses and archival research.

MAEVE OLOHAN

Self-translation

The term self-translation can refer to either the process of translating one's own writings into another language or the product of such an undertaking. Once thought to be of limited interest (Santoyo 2005), the phenomenon has received considerable attention since this encyclopedia first documented its existence in the late 1990s. Self-translators can be found on every inhabited continent, with some areas buzzing with activity: post-Franco's Spain, several former Soviet republics, immigrant communities in most of Europe and the Anglophone world,

as well as the scattered remains of Europe's colonial empires. Nor is the practice limited to contemporary writing, or even to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Hundreds of writers from centuries past translated part of their work into another language. In the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, for instance, self-translation was one of the means by which knowledge was transferred (*translatio studii*) from learned Latin to a variety of European vernaculars such as French, Italian (Tuscan), Catalan, Spanish (Castilian), German, Dutch and English. Over time, writers would gravitate towards some of these vernaculars, which were empowered as state-sponsored national languages in the ensuing centuries. Today, many self-translators work into English, the lingua franca of the time. On the whole, however, it may well be French that benefited most from this particular dynamic. In the course of gathering material for their historical overview, Hokenson and Munson became aware "that within the time span of 1100 through 2000, writers adopt[ed] the French language for literary self-translation with disproportionate frequency" (2007:15).

Given the almost global nature of self-translation today, it comes as no surprise that it is attracting attention from scholars working in many countries and languages. Several special issues have been devoted to the topic by journals in Austria (*Quo vadis, Romania?* in 1996), Spain (*Quimera* in 2002; *Quaderns* in 2009), the UK (*In Other Words* in 2005), Romania (*Atelier de traduction* in 2007), Denmark (*Orbis litterarum* in 2013), Brazil (*Tradução em revista* in 2014), France (*Glottopol* in 2015) and especially Italy (*Semicerchio* in 1999; *Oltreoceano* in 2011; *Interfrancophonies* in 2015; *Ticentre* in 2017; *Testo & Senso* in 2018). Italy has also been the venue for the largest conferences, which were all hosted by departments of literary studies and resulted in a number of edited collections and special issues of journals (Ferraro 2011; Rubio Áñez Marcial and D'Antuono 2012; Ceccherelli et al. 2013; Ferraro and Grutman 2016). Yet it is in Spain that the phenomenon has been most consistently studied by translation scholars, in all likelihood for reasons linked both to the mushrooming of translation departments at Spanish universities and to the profound impact of diglossia on the production and reception of Catalan, Galician and Basque literature (Gallén et al. 2010; Dasilva

and Tanqueiro 2011). Even conferences held outside of the Iberian Peninsula highlight Spain's minority languages and literatures (Lagarde and Tanqueiro 2012; Castro et al. 2017).

The politics and poetics of self-translation

All these initiatives and developments have led to an important shift in the perception of self-translation, which is no longer considered the exclusive preserve of a handful of particularly gifted polyglots. Self-translation has been shown to be more frequent in certain circumstances; among these, situations of asymmetrical language contact or diglossia seem to be of particular relevance, as bilinguals who are native speakers of languages of lesser diffusion may feel compelled to translate their work into more widespread languages in order to gain more exposure.

Studies of self-translation have shown the practice to be prevalent in both minority and migrant writing, as well as writing in (post) colonial contexts. In the latter case, self-translation takes place between the native tongue(s) of (post)colonial subjects and the acquired language of their current or former overlords. Rabindranath Tagore, winner of the 1913 Nobel Prize for Literature, is the best known but by no means the only self-translator from the Indian subcontinent. In English-speaking Africa, Kenya's Ngugi wa Thiong'o has arguably been most vocal about the issue, but writers from former French colonies have also translated their own poetry, as in the case of Jean-Joseph Rabearivelo in Madagascar, or novels, as in the case of Rachid Boudjedra in Algeria, into or out of the French language.

A second category is comprised of exiles or, more generally, migrant writers. At times, migrant writers expand on an oeuvre initiated in their native country and switch languages in order to stake out new ground for themselves in their adoptive country. The United States, and American literature, have traditionally welcomed such translingual self-translators as Isaac Bashevis Singer, Joseph Brodsky and Ariel Dorfman.

Self-translating writers from long-established historical minorities are another important

group. In Europe, for instance, scores of Catalan, Galician and Basque writers prepare Castilian versions of their own novels in Spain, as do Swedish writers in Finland. A similar pattern can be seen in the Low Countries – Flemish writers in Belgium, Frisian writers in the Netherlands; the British Isles, where Scottish Gaelic or Irish poetry often appears in self-translated bilingual editions; and the (former) Soviet Union, where it was common for writers from Ukrainian, Belarusian, Kyrgyz or Uzbek backgrounds to self-translate their work into Russian. In all these instances, self-translation is not only or even primarily a site of aesthetic self-exploration, but tends to involve complex issues of loyalty to a given language or language community, and is influenced by identity politics, as demonstrated by several essays in Cordingley (2013) and Lagarde (2015).

Many of these writers cast doubt on commonly held views about the impossibility of producing creative writing in a second or foreign language. This does not mean that they look forward to the time-consuming exercise of repeating in another language what they have already written. Neither Vladimir Nabokov nor Samuel Beckett, arguably the two most famous examples of sustained self-translation by migrant writers, enjoyed what the former described as “sorting through one’s own innards, and then trying them on for size like a pair of gloves” (cited in Beaujour 1989:90), the latter as the “wastes and wilds of self-translation” (Cohn 1961:617).

It is precisely because of these reservations that the importance of the decision to self-translate (or not) cannot be overstated: while “bilinguals frequently shift languages without making a conscious decision to do so, polyglot and bilingual *writers* must deliberately decide which language to use in a given instance” (Beaujour 1989:38; original emphasis). Much research has gone into analyzing the reasons – personal or political, aesthetic or economic – why some writers embark on this adventure while others, in comparable circumstances, do not (Anselmi 2012:33–55; Ramis 2014:32–77; Gentes 2017:99–120).

In addition to trying to understand what motivates certain writers to self-translate, it can be useful to map out the mechanics of self-translation by asking some of the following questions: at what point in their career do writers begin to

self-translate? Is it an isolated experience (which is often the case) or does the practice become systematic over time? Do source and target languages remain constant or do writers switch directions? Do they tend to use their mother tongue for original creations only or do they also produce self-translations into it? Does there appear to be some kind of division of labour between the languages involved – for example, with one being predominantly used for high literature, the other for more popular genres, journalism or essay writing? Finally, is it possible to determine how much time – days, months, years, decades – separates both versions? This last question is particularly relevant insofar as it points to a distinctive feature of self-translation: the original version need not be finished in order for work on the interlinguistic transfer to be initiated. In simultaneous self-translations, the first version is still in progress when the writer embarks on self-translating it. In consecutive self-translations, by contrast, the translation work begins once the original has been published or at least a final draft has been completed. In the first kind of self-translation, practised by the later Beckett, but also Nancy Huston and André Brink, for instance, both texts evolve in tandem, keep pace with each other, even cross-fertilize each other, as this particular process allows for feedback. It is therefore possible to speak of a double writing process instead of a two-stage reading-writing activity. Simultaneous self-translations give less precedence to the original, whose authority is no longer a matter of “status and standing” but becomes “temporal in character” (Fitch 1988:131–133). The distinction between original and translation thus collapses. Both texts can be referred to as variants or versions, as per the terminology of manuscript studies, which have been opening up new vistas for self-translation scholarship (Montini 2012; Grutman 2016; Gentes 2017:139–186).

Samuel Beckett, arguably the self-translator who has received most critical attention, resorted to both *modi operandi* at different stages in his career. Initially, and with the help of Alfred Péron, he translated *Murphy* into French consecutively, a decade after the novel had come out in English. The English text having already led its own public life somewhat limited the possibilities of innovation: “By and large, the translation follows the original, of which, obviously, no

one could have more intimate knowledge than its author-translator” (Cohn 1961:616). Later on, Beckett would initiate (often) English rewritings while still working on (mostly) French versions: in the process of completing *Ping*, for instance, he does not “work simply from the final version of [*Bing*], but on occasion takes as his source the earlier drafts of the original manuscript” (Fitch 1988:70). In this type of crosslinguistic creation, the (f)act of self-translation allows the bilingual writer to revisit and improve on earlier drafts in the other language, thereby creating a dynamic link between both versions that effectively bridges the linguistic divide. Thus, while it is rare for Beckett’s individual texts to foreground other languages, his oeuvre taken as a whole can certainly qualify as bilingual, inasmuch as each part, be it French or English, echoes its counterpart in the other language. As Fitch puts it (1988:157, emphasis in original),

One might say that while the first version is no more than a *rehearsal* for what is yet to come, the second is but a *repetition* of what has gone before, the two concepts coming together in the one French word *repetition*.

Self-translations have been associated with a number of distinctive features. A common claim, made by writers and literary scholars alike, is that they are freer than other translations. This view is based less on a comparative study of translated texts than on a perception of the underlying process. In the words of Menakhem Perry, “Since the writer himself is the translator, he can allow himself bold shifts from the source text which, had it been done by another translator, probably would not have passed as an adequate translation” (1981:181). The reason for this unusual degree of acceptance is not hard to identify: “the writer-translator is no doubt felt to have been in a better position to recapture the intentions of the author of the original than any ordinary translator” (Fitch 1988:125). Consequently, self-translators are routinely given poetic licence to rewrite their texts.

One among many examples is James Joyce’s Italianizing of several passages from his *Work in Progress* (the future *Finnegans Wake*). In an influential essay, Risset refuses to consider Joyce’s self-translations as translations in the

usual sense of the word” (1984:3) because there is “no pursuit of hypothetical equivalents of the original text (as given, definitive)” but rather “a later elaboration representing . . . a kind of extension, a new stage, a more daring variation on the text in process” (1984:6). Hence her preference for Joyce’s version over what she sees as the “fidelity and uninventiveness” (1984:8) of the French translation, though the latter is prepared by a team that included none other than the young Beckett. What is really at stake here are Romantic notions of auctoriality and authority, of which original authors are traditionally perceived to have a great deal but translators none. The fact that Joyce himself wrote these second versions – in idiomatic and even creative Italian moreover – invests them with an authority that cannot be matched in the eyes of most Joyce scholars; O’Sullivan (2006b) offers a more nuanced view on this issue. This authorial authority is then transferred metonymically to the self-translated product, which comes to be regarded and even marketed – on book covers and title pages – as an original work, as a second original, to use I.B. Singer’s term for the coauthored English rewritings of his Yiddish short stories.

It would be a mistake, however, to infer from the (always relative) freedom enjoyed by the original author that this scenario automatically leads to a freer version. Textual evidence to the contrary is readily available: self-translators come up with solutions that for the better part can be shown to be common to all translators (Tanqueiro 2000; Ehrlich 2009; Antunes 2010; Anselmi 2012). The real freedom of self-translators, then, might reside in the possibility of speaking out as authors, of fashioning themselves as writers and rewriters, a possibility that stems largely from their doubly privileged status as author(itie)s and agents.

See also:

AUTHORSHIP; LITERARY TRANSLATION

Further reading

Anselmi, S. (2012) *On Self-translation. An exploration in self-translators’ teloi and strategies*, Milan: LED.

A concise and useful introduction to the sub-field of self-translation studies, focusing on the motives and strategies of self-translators

and starting from the premise that self-translation is a type of translation. Discusses varied techniques by writers/self-translators such as Kundera, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Beckett, Huston, Tagore and Brink and demonstrates that most tend to adopt domesticating strategies.

Cordingley, A. (ed.) (2013) *Self-Translation: Brokering originality in hybrid cultures*, London & New York: Bloomsbury.

A collection of 12 essays, mostly by literary scholars who look at self-translations and self-translators from a historical, sociological, psychoanalytical, philosophical or postcolonial perspective. Canonical self-translators such as Beckett, Nabokov and Tagore are discussed alongside previously overlooked self-translators, from Japan to South Africa, and from the Basque Country to Scotland.

Hokenson, J.W. and M. Munson (2007) *The Bilingual Text: History and theory of literary self-translation*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

A comprehensive historical overview of self-translation that provides many insights and explores a range of avenues. The authors engage with a pantheon of significant writers from the fifteenth (Nicole Oresme, Charles of Orleans), sixteenth (Remy Belleau), seventeenth (John Donne, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz), eighteenth (Carlo Goldoni) but especially late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Rabindranath Tagore, Stefan George, Giuseppe Ungaretti, Vladimir Nabokov, Julian Green, Samuel Beckett and Rosario Ferré).

RAINIER GRUTMAN

Semiotics

Increasing digital innovation and mobility have created new environments within which we all produce and interact with texts. Translators thus now participate in the translation of a wider range of multimodal texts, ranging from tweets to websites, and featuring elements such as hashtags (Desjardins 2017) and *emoji* (Eggert 2016; Desjardins 2017). These developments render insights from semiotics increasingly relevant to the study of translation and interpreting.

Semiotics

Semiotics is generally defined as “the study of signs” (Chandler 2007:1), with the concept of sign referring to “anything that stands for something else and gives meaning to it” (Stecconi 2009:260). It is also generally acknowledged that semiotics is not “widely institutionalized as an academic discipline” (Chandler 2007:2) and that there is “no unifying theory of semiotics” to date (Stecconi 2010:314). Translation studies shares a similar history. Its institutionalization is rather recent, and scholars such as Sütiste and Torop (2007:190) have argued that “present-day translation studies do not form a methodologically unified discipline”. Like semiotics in some respects, prior to the 1980s translation was often one of several objects of study addressed in other disciplines, including linguistics, comparative literature, education and second language acquisition. It is perhaps this shared ability to cross disciplinary boundaries that provides semiotics and translation with additional points of convergence and explains why both have enjoyed a degree of interdisciplinary appeal, particularly since the latter half of the twentieth century.

There are two main traditions in the study of semiotics. The first tradition is usually associated with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, a Swiss linguist whose *Course in General Linguistics* (1916/1983) is considered a seminal reference in the field. His approach to the study of sign systems is usually referred to as structural semiotics, or *sémiologie* (semiology) in French. De Saussure espoused a structural view of sign systems, including human verbal language, and focused on studying the role of signs as part of social life as well as studying the laws that govern the use of signs. Sign systems, he argued, depend for their functioning on a set of relations between the elements that comprise the system. The sign itself was conceptualized as a dyad: a unit of meaning that comprises a signified (i.e. a concept) and a signifier (i.e. a sound-image to communicate the signified). Contemporary understandings of the signifier define this element of de Saussure's dyadic model as the material form of the signified; in other words, it is the part of the sign that can be physically touched, seen (read), heard (spoken), tasted or smelled (Chandler 2001). The relationship between the signifier and the

signified is defined as arbitrary: for example, there is no reason why the concept of a tree – a woody perennial plant – should or must be represented by the letters t-r-e-e in English instead of any other letter combination. The signifier is agreed upon socially, by individuals making up a speech community.

The Saussurean tradition has influenced many prominent semioticians. These include Louis Hjelmslev, who is associated with the Copenhagen school; Algirdas Greimas, considered one of the most prominent French semioticians of the twentieth century; and the earlier work of Roland Barthes, whose studies in semiotics and myth continue to be widely cited across many disciplines today.

The second tradition is associated with the work of Charles Sanders Peirce, an American scholar who characterized himself as a logician, but who is also generally known for his work in mathematics, philosophy and semiotics. Peirce worked independently from de Saussure and his conceptualization of signs was largely influenced by his work as a logician. While de Saussure's sign is dyadic, Peirce's sign is part of a triadic model comprising three basic elements: a sign (representamen), an object (semiotic object) and an interpretant. In Peircean or interpretive semiotics, as this tradition is known, the relationship between the three basic sign elements is known as *semiosis* (sign-action). Peirce's conceptualization of sign-action can be likened to the logic of translation because it necessarily involves an interpretant, i.e. a mediating entity between the sign and the object, which can extend the sign further, much like a translation. Translation, thus defined, can be seen as "a crucial element of all meaning-making and of ordinary language use" (Steconi 2009:261). While Peircean semiotics is considered the more influential of the two traditions in translation studies, it should also be noted that Peirce's conceptualization of the sign and process of semiosis is quite complex, and this complexity may have served as a deterrent for some translation scholars looking to integrate interpretive semiotics in their research. Eco (2001b:68) describes Peirce's work as "fecund" but "notoriously protean". A similar criticism has been levelled at studies of translation inspired by the interpretive tradition, such as Gorrée (2004) and Petrilli (2003). Sütiste and Torop (2007) raise this issue in their assessment

of Petrilli's work, though they also underscore its innovative contribution.

Translation and semiotics

For researchers interested in the connections between translation and semiotics, what is most significant about Peirce's work is that it served as a precursor to Roman Jakobson's well-known essay 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation' (1959/2004), in which he outlines three types of translation: intralingual, interlingual and inter-semiotic. Jakobson's taxonomy of translation processes has often been cited in the work of those looking to push the boundaries of translation beyond verbal human languages (Desjardins 2008, 2013b, 2017; Gambier and Gottlieb 2001; Oittinen and Kaindl 2008; Poyatos 1997a; Torresi 2008; Tymoczko 2005; Steconi 2010); these researchers tend to focus on Jakobson's third category of inter-semiotic translation. Others, such as Gorrée (1994, 2004), have given more attention to the notion of translation semiotics, in which insights from Peirce and Jakobson are used to redefine or revisit more traditional understandings of translation, not necessarily to consider exchanges or transformations between non-verbal codes, but rather to view translation as a means to expand meaning. Here, translation is understood to effect "expansion through transformation" (Gorrée 1994:231); Gorrée uses the term *semiotranslation* to refer to this process. Likewise, Toury drew on Jakobson's work as a point of departure to establish a more "systematic view of translation-related issues as seen from a cultural-semiotic angle" (Sütiste and Torop 2007:197) but conceded that in the end, Jakobson's typology continues to have the most currency in the field.

The semiotician Umberto Eco similarly draws on Jakobson's typology to explore how semiotics can be useful to translation theory. Eco, however, argues that instead of translation, it is likely that Jakobson was categorizing three broad types of interpretation (Eco 2001b:68). Further, in response to Chesterman's (1997b) concept of the supermeme, which posits that "all writing is translation", Eco states that "such a broad conception of interpretant implies that if a translation is certainly an interpretation, not always an interpretation is a translation"

(2003:87; translated by Stecconi 2010:318). Eco's discussion of this particular part of Jakobson's work thus appears to focus mainly on delimiting the concept of translation proper. This classification was later amended in *Dire quasi la stessa cosa* (Eco 2003), the expanded Italian version of *Experiences in translation* (Eco 2001b).

Petrilli's work builds on both Peirce and Jakobson, as well as Thomas Sebeok, a renowned Hungarian-American semiotician. She argues that sign activity – Peirce's semiosis – is a process that can be likened to translation, that it is a translative process. For Petrilli, this means that transformative processes, even at a biological level, as when biological cells expand and evolve into something more complex, can be conceptualized as a form of translation. Her reading and application of Peirce's work thus posits translation as a fundamental and constitutive element of transformational and evolutionary processes (Petrilli 2015). Though highly relevant to translation studies, Petrilli's work is somewhat difficult to parse, in part because her classificatory system uses a number of complex terms that some may find difficult to relate to concrete situations and that are not clearly delineated from each other. Marais, for instance, is "not convinced by. . . [her] distinction between intersemiotic and endosemiotic translation – the first would be between sign systems and the second would be within sign systems" (2019:61). Second, Petrilli's work seems to presuppose a firm command of Peircean semiotics on the part of the reader, as well as knowledge and understanding of Sebeok's (1995, 2001) zoosemiotics and global semiotics. Finally, combining concepts from the two overarching semiotic traditions – de Saussure's structural semiotics and Peirce's interpretive semiotics – is arguably not always successful and can be confusing to some readers.

Future directions

Existing scholarship on translation and semiotics suffers from two shortcomings. The first is a tendency to exalt natural languages (i.e. human, verbal languages), whether this is intended or not. When translation theorists focus on concepts of translatability and equivalence between natural languages, even if they expand their

remit beyond the word, there is a tendency to only minimally address other semiotic modes and systems. This can be explained historically by the fact that technology was not as advanced as it is today; handwritten texts without iconographic content, for instance, cannot exploit as many semiotic modes as, say, a smart phone's tactile screen. There is also the fact that transcription of the wealth of new semiotic modes for the purposes of analysis is a complex, time-consuming endeavour (Baldry and Thibault 2006). The focus on natural languages within and outside translation studies in relation to translation processes can further be explained by how translation is defined by society (Desjardins 2013b). Translation is generally, and not surprisingly, defined by most human societies as a process of code-switching that occurs between natural verbal languages, thanks in part to a recursive system of norms (Toury 1995/2012) that defines what constitutes translation (Desjardins 2013b, 2017). The second shortcoming is twofold. First, there is a strong tendency to build upon Peircean semiotics, to the detriment of other semiotic traditions, including more recent research areas such as computational semiotics that do not necessarily depart from an interpretive premise. The second aspect of this latter shortcoming has to do with the disparate nature of research that focuses on other semiotic traditions. For instance, a considerable body of work in translation studies has focused on film and advertising (Cronin 2008; Torresi 2008), both of which involve a degree of semiotic insight but are not categorized or discussed under the overarching label of translation semiotics. This work is therefore hidden from view as far as the connection between translation and semiotics is concerned.

Other branches of semiotics that could find a degree of resonance within translation studies are computational semiotics, specifically in the context of new developments in machine translation and computer-assisted translation (Tanaka-Ishii 2010); marketing semiotics (Oswald 2012); and visual semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006).

Companies such as *Facebook* and *Google* have been integrating semiotic theory in their development of new programmes that assist users in the translation of online content, be it on social media platforms in the case of the for-

mer or on the wider web in the case of the latter. *Google Translate* (Turovsky 2016) has rolled out a Neural Machine Translation system which integrates contextual analysis in its programming. This seems to mimic a form of semiosis worthy of further investigation. Current classifications of semioses such as anthroposemiosis, *zoösemiosis* and *phytosemiosis* suggest that a sentient or at least living entity is involved in the interpretation and translation of meaning, but this is not always the case with programming languages. When programming languages are 'translated' at a semiotic level, the interaction is between computers, i.e. non-sentient agents. Scholars of semiotics and translation need to raise questions about the implications of this development as computers and digital devices become more and more pervasive in human communication. They also need to address the question of how semiotics might inform the programming of mobile translation applications, specifically those that code-switch and mode-switch, as was the case with earlier versions of Quest Visual's *WordLens*, later acquired and now owned by *Google Translate*; *WordLens* is an app that involved users hovering a smart phone over any visual sign containing text to obtain a translation – not only of the written text itself, but with additional contextual references when the iconographic elements were detected by the application. The evolving semiotic competencies of automatic machine translation pose a threat to more traditional understandings of translation and need to be seriously considered in translation research and training (Desjardins 2017).

Oswald (2012) explores another branch of semiotics that gives serious consideration to the role of intercultural and interlinguistic translation in the context of marketing: marketing semiotics. She argues that all too often, localization and translation work in online marketing settings – and marketing context more broadly – in ways that obfuscate the finer details of marketing campaigns, leaving target consumers with a watered-down version of the original campaign. She argues that translation is fundamental in branding and marketing semiotics, especially given that brands act as high-level signs across national boundaries and particularly in digital spaces.

The rise of new social languages is also worth exploring from a translational and semiotic perspective. *Emoji*, an iconographic language (Desjardins 2017), has risen in popularity and is expected to become one of the most 'spoken' languages in human digital communication (Doble 2015). For example, more and more people are texting messages exclusively written in *Emoji*. This trend gives new currency to Jakobson's concept of inter-semiotic translation, raising the question of how the regular practice of humans translating natural verbal languages into an iconographic language might be conceptualized as an inter-semiotic and translational process at the same time. Here, it is worth noting that it might not be apt to describe *Emoji*, an inherently visual code, as a language, which presupposes once more the exaltation of linguistic signs and references, but the use of the term is only meant to facilitate comparison and distinction of different semiotic codes, in this case, human languages such as English, Russian and Madarin, and iconographic languages such as *Emoji*. Future research could explore how *Emojis* are translated in a literal fashion – apple = apple *Emoji*, regardless of the geolocation of the source speaker and target user – and in translational semiosis, where connotative meanings shift across digital cultures. In the latter case, *Emoji* might take on connotative and associative meanings that can only be adequately understood when analyzed from a semiotic perspective based on a user's geolocation, as in the sexualized connotation of the peach and eggplant *Emoji*.

See also:

ADVERTISING; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; MULTIMODALITY; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS

Further reading

Jakobson, R. (1959/2004) 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation', in L. Venuti (ed.) *The Translation Studies Reader*, second edition, London & New York: Routledge, 138–143.

A seminal essay that examines the relationship between translation and semiotics and proposes a tripartite typology of translation: intralingual translation, interlingual translation and inter-semiotic translation.

Petrilli, S. (2015) 'Translation of Semiotics into Translation Theory, and Vice Versa', *Punctum* 1(2): 96–117.

Draws on concepts from both semiotic traditions (de Saussure's and Peirce's) and discusses processes of translation and sign making.

Sütiste, E. and P. Torop (2007) 'Processual Boundaries of Translation: Semiotics and translation studies', *Semiotica* 163: 187–207.

Offers an overview of the relationship between translation and semiotics, drawing on Jakobson's typology and outlining various attempts by scholars such as Toury and Eco to revise and extend it.

Torresi, I. (2008) 'Advertising: A case for intersemiotic translation', *Meta* 53(1): 62–75.

A case study that draws on semiotic concepts to examine the role of visual elements in the translation of print advertisements.

RENÉE DESJARDINS

Sexuality

In *Re-Engendering Translation*, one of the few volumes on sexual politics in translation studies, Larkosh (2011b) asks why James Holmes – a foundational figure in the field – is seldom remembered as a pioneering scholar of LGBT studies in the Netherlands and as an influential gatekeeper in the LGBT publishing world. In his reflections on the organization of scholarly knowledge, Larkosh (ibid.:2) calls attention to the "disquieting silence" on Holmes's sexual identity and cultural activism in order to make a broader point about the marginal position that scholarship on sexuality occupies in the field. This marginality is surprising for two reasons. Firstly, two groundbreaking critical contributions to translation scholarship – Butler's theory of performativity (1990, 1993, 1997), which has influenced theatre translation and literary translation research in particular (Marinetti 2013; Bermann 2014), and Foucault's approach to the power/knowledge nexus (1978), which has contributed significantly to writing on translation and ideology (Bandia 2006; Mason 2014) – derive from a critical engagement with sexuality as an epistemological category. Secondly, unlike sexuality, the neighbouring concepts of gender

and feminism have received much attention, often by making implicit reference to lesbian politics and, in particular, to the poetics of lesbian writers such as Adrienne Rich (Bermann 2011).

While research on the construction and the representation of sexual desire and sexual subjectivity through translation is yet to fully develop, it is important to recognize existing and important contributions that can be grouped into four areas. The first one is the transnational travel of non-conforming sexual and gender identity categories like *lesbian*, *third sex*, *gay* and *queer* (Harvey 2003; Bassi 2014; Suzuki 2015), with particular reference to the adaptation of so-called international terms into local languages (Baldo and Gualardia 2010), which complicates existing accounts of 'Gay English' and its supposed global reach (Leap 1996). The second area of research is the travel of nineteenth- and twentieth-century theories of sexuality (Chiang 2015; El Shakry 2017). A third area concerns the interlingual translation of the sociolects of homosexual communities (Harvey 1998) and their role in the development of discourses of sexual identity (Harvey 2003). Finally, there is scholarship on the censorship (including self-censorship) of discourse on gender and sexuality in literary translation, subtitling and dubbing (Linder 2004; Asimakoulas 2012) and grassroots resistance to censorship through practices such as fansubbing and other instances of web-based translation (Guo 2018).

In *In other words* – one of the foundational texts in translation studies – the translation into Arabic of the term homosexuality is discussed as posing problems that are at once semantic, ideological and political (1992:24). In the initial stages of the field's development, Baker showed that non-heteronormative sexualities can be refigured as "a translation problem" (Baer forthcoming). This issue would then be explored systematically by historians and translation scholars with reference to various periods in the history of sexuality. In the first book-length study on translation and sexuality ever published, *Intercultural Movements: American Gay in French Translation*, Harvey (2003) argues that translated texts are more than just a resource for the study of the history and sociology of sexuality, alongside original literary texts and other primary sources: translation can function as a

structuring principle because of the role it has played in European modernity as the Other of national literature and authorized original writing. Indeed, the dominant representation of translation is reminiscent of the sexological construction of so-called deviant sexualities as foreign imports threatening the healthy body of the nation with contagion (Harvey 2003; Santemilia 2017). Since the publication of Harvey's groundbreaking study, a lively debate has been developing amongst translators and translation theorists on translation strategies for queer literary texts (Démont 2017) and, more generally, on textual representations of non-conforming sexualities across linguistic borders. Much of this scholarship, as in the case of Bassi (2014), is ultimately calling for the systematic "dual integration of queer theory into the study of translations and translators, and of translation into the global study of sexuality" (Baer forthcoming).

Translating sexuality

Drawing on the Nietzschean argument that morals have a history – or, better still, a genealogy – Foucault (1990) famously refuted the idea that sex and desire belong to the realms of the biological and the psychological, outside of discourse. He claimed that the epistemological category we now call sexuality should be studied as a modern invention by focusing on the "link between the obligation to tell the truth and the prohibitions weighing on sexuality" (1990:224). It is especially important for the study of translation that such link should emerge in the late nineteenth century, at the same time as ethnolinguistic nationalism and the notion of translation as an equal exchange between fundamentally different and self-sufficient linguistic systems (Yildiz 2012; Sakai 1997).

Through nineteenth-century sexology, which, for the first time, inscribes sexuality in diagnostic medical discourse and criminalizes 'deviant' sexual practices, sex shifts from being understood as a series of acts that bear no relation to one's identity to sexual acts identifying individuals as either deviant or normal (Foucault 1990). Such shift involved the classification and ordering of sexual behaviours as either normal or perverse, with the latter being stigmatized and, sometimes, criminalized. Importantly, it

also made space for processes of self-designation in terms of particular sexual identities. In this respect, the category of male homosexuality is especially important in Foucault's genealogical reconstruction of the modern emergence of sexual subjectivities. In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault explains that, as a constructed category of knowledge, the homosexual should not be interrogated for what it tells us about the individuals it purports to describe, but for what it says about the modern European world that invented it in the first place. Importantly, queer studies scholarship went on to expand on this argument by interrogating the identity category of homosexual, and particularly gay man, as a highly abstract and symbolic conflation of a set of values such as sexual liberation, personal freedom, autonomy, individual responsibility, agency and cosmopolitanism that are problematically imagined as finding a rightful home in Euro-America.

Baer's (2015) work on the Russian travels of the European gay literary canon expands on Foucauldian accounts of the ideological imbrication between the figure of the homosexual and transnational processes of modernization. Baer looks at how Oscar Wilde's literary fame transforms as his oeuvre travels into post-Soviet Russia. Whilst in the contemporary Euro-American context Wilde is viewed as something of a gay icon, in Russia he was transformed into a martyr and as the bearer of the quintessential Russian quality of self-sacrifice – a quasi-national hero. This has much to do with the insertion of the translations of *De Profundis* and *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* into the Russian literary canon in place of *The Portrait of Dorian Gray* and *The Importance of Being Earnest*, which were celebrated in Europe and North America. The choice to foreground his prison writings, in which Wilde develops the theme of sacrifice and compares himself to Jesus Christ, allows for a Christian rewriting of his figure as the tragic hero "whose narcissism is redeemed through suffering and the humble acceptance of that suffering" (Baer 2015:149). Thus, 'Russian' Wilde becomes a lens through which to look at how the discourse of modern nationalism is reconfigured after the fall of Communism, as well as confirming the centrality of the figure of the homosexual as a space for the negotiation of meanings attached to modernity and postmodernity. At the same time, the

cultural associations that endow homosexuality with meaning change through translation from freedom, autonomy and agency to doomed heroism, suffering and catharsis in the Russian case (ibid.).

Butler (1997) further develops some of Foucault's reflections on discourses on sexuality and the power/knowledge nexus and – importantly, particularly for translation theory – focuses on the relationship between power and language. According to Butler (1993), while Foucault sees the notion of a sexual self as historically determined, he problematically casts the human body as a preexisting, transhistorical surface on which history imprints cultural values. By contrast, Butler focuses her argument on the supposedly natural distinction between the sexed male and female bodies – or more broadly “sexual difference” – and describes the materiality of the sexed body as “an effect of power, as power's most productive effect” (ibid.:2). Thus, the materialization of bodies is a process, one that is regulated by sex as a cultural norm (ibid.). In *Gender Trouble* specifically, she argues that gender is a “social temporality” (1990:179) created through citation and reenactment of words, gestures, movements and behaviours. Precisely because of its reliance on the repetition of a dominant script, the naturalized gender binary system is, in fact, continuously at risk of being subverted. As Butler (1990, 1991) shows, by hyperbolically exposing the imitative structure of gender itself, drag performance – a widespread social and cultural practice amongst transnational gay communities in the twentieth century – makes us look closely at what we think is natural and reconsider our investment in gender norms.

Harvey's (2003) seminal work on *American Gay in French Translation* demonstrates the transgressive potential of drag culture and camp aesthetics, while drawing on Butler's theory of performativity in order to advance a performative theory of the translated text. Harvey analyzes the French translations of a selection of classic gay American novels. For example, when looking at Larry Kramer's *Faggots* translated by Brice Matthieussent, he shows how the translator's lexical choices deliberately index a set of debates happening in France about the minoritarian, rights-oriented American model of identity politics. Harvey's analysis reveals how a set of gay-identified subjects – authors, source-text

readers, translators, publishers and target-text readers – construct community between gay men through textuality and paratextuality, while also rewriting the idea of sexual minority community, and the controversial trope of the gay ghetto, through interlingual translation. He concludes that translation, like gender identity, should be seen as an instance of citation and repetition that “never fully inhabits/encloses the category it putatively enacts and represents” (Harvey 2003:4). Also drawing on Butler's work, as part of his study of nineteenth-century British knowledge production on China, St André (2018b) argues for reconceptualizing instances of pseudotranslation as drag to generate more nuanced accounts of the colonial encounter and highlight the often overlooked place of satire and parodic disavowal in the history of Orientalism.

Queer methods in translation

Harvey's reflections on why translation as a genre of cultural production has historically appealed to sexual subcultures allow us to close in on two ways in which sexual minorities have historically utilized translation to carve out a space for themselves and for alternative ideas about sex and sexuality. Firstly, through translating a foreign text or reading a translation, sexual minorities may be able to evade dominant domestic moral codes around sex (Pham 2011). Secondly, the translated text can function as something of an open-ended space for queer-identified translators and readers alike to insert their own projections of other worlds onto the target text. Furthermore, translation can have an important function as a safe space (Larkosh 2007; Tyulenev 2018) for queer cultural producers. Since translating means engaging in “a literary activity in which someone else's name is on the line”, writers whose homosexuality could not be publicly declared have doubled up as translators to be able to explore homoerotic phantasies or the viability of non-heterosexual kinship models, without their name being linked to supposedly deviant (or even criminal) sexualities (Larkosh 2007:70).

The work of two important twentieth-century translators has been investigated by placing their sexual identity at the centre of their

translation projects: José Bianco, an important figure in the Argentinian literary magazine *Sur*, and Jack Spicer, the gay American poet who translated Federico Garcia Lorca into English. According to Larkosh (2007), for Bianco, who was not openly homosexual, the translation of homoerotic texts was a way of experimenting with his narrative voice while maintaining a low profile. For Spicer, who had an explicitly politicized understanding of translation, translation provided the ideal space to experiment with sexually explicit language and devise an unabashedly gay intervention into literary space (Keenaghan 1998). Larkosh's work draws on Sedgwick's (2004:67) foundational critique of "the regime of the open secret", represented by the trope of the closet. Keenaghan draws on Edelman's concept of homographesis. According to Edelman (1989), modern reading and writing practices of gay-themed texts overdetermine homosexual difference in ways that appeal to mainstream cultural institutions, but simultaneously cause them to be dismissed as niche and formulaic cultural products.

Whilst Sedgwick and Edelman both identify ways in which literary texts discipline and contain the expression of homosexual desire, the concepts of the closet and of homographesis refer to two distinct structures of containment. Whilst the metaphor of the closet – the "defining structure for gay oppression in this century" (Sedgwick 2004:71) – encourages us to pay attention to the ways homosexual desire is encoded and therefore partially concealed in and through literature; homographesis refers to explicitly gay writing that may be presented through the language of gay liberation, but is also disciplined through commodifying and objectifying formulas. Larkosh (2007) and Keenaghan (1998) show that the translated text can work both as a closet – as was the case for the Argentinian intellectual Bianco – and as an example of homographetic writing, much like Jack Spicer's English-language translations of modernist Spanish poetry. Albeit different, both cases demonstrate that the ambiguous relationship that translation entertains with ideas of authorship, voice and authorial recognition, and the much-lamented invisibility of translators, may turn out to be creative assets for sexual minorities who had previously existed outside regimes of the visible and the audible.

Future directions

Foucault's critical moves paved the way for a vast body of historical, literary and sociological scholarship that locates sexuality within discourse about subjectivity, entrenches it in the discursive practices of modernity and approaches it as a transnational formation. However, Foucault himself regrettably paid little attention to the role of colonialism in the emergence of sexuality as modernity's chief episteme (Stoler 1995; Sakai 2009). Contemporary queer studies scholarship strives to approach sexuality as "a defining feature of global modernity" (Bauer 2015:4), with several scholars turning to translation to examine how ideas about sex and sexuality "were formed in different contexts via a complex process of cultural negotiation" and across power asymmetries (ibid.:5).

As a result, scholars have brought into critical focus the translators and translations implicated in processes of cultural negotiation centred upon sexuality as an Early Modern, modern and postmodern category (Chauncey and Povinelli 1999:445). For example, Sigal (2007) and Dominguez Ruvalcaba (2016) draw attention to late sixteenth-century translational practices in Central America under Spanish rule and, in particular, to the Spanish translation of the Nahuatl stories and knowledge that made up the *Florentine Codex* – a monumental ethnographic study of Aztec culture carried out by the missionary Bernardino de Sahagun, in order to provide the Spanish elites with tools to evangelize indigenous people. Deploying a group of 'native informants' in his translation team, de Sahagun rewrites local sexualities that do not fit the homosexual/heterosexual binary, which was beginning to form in Early Modern Europe, into the key Catholic notions of sin and sodomite. Likewise, figures like that of Captain Richard Burton – a prominent Victorian orientalist, explorer and best-selling literary translator with a penchant for translating Eastern erotica – can also help unpack the link between modern regimes of truth, moral propriety and sexual mores. Burton's *A Plain and Literal Translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, Now Entitled the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* provides scholars with a fascinating archive of colonial depictions of a supposedly authentic eastern sexuality (Shamma 2005). Translation

studies is well placed to make an original intervention into current debates on non-binary, inclusive language (Wodak and Dembroff 2018) that is grounded in the history of colonial modernity and present global inequalities. Further work on the linguistic representation of sexual and gender identities that exist outside what Butler has called “the heterosexual matrix” (1993:208) may approach both interpreting and translation in a variety of genres and modalities – including literary translation, theatre translation, the translation of theory, subtitling and localization – as translingual semantic laboratories that allow us to rethink terminologies beyond existing linguistic and cultural norms.

See also:

FEMINIST STRATEGIES; GENDER; IDEOLOGY; INTERSECTIONALITY

Further reading

Harvey, K. (2003) *Intercultural Movements: American gay in French translation*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Draws on Butler’s theory of gender performance to offer an exhaustive analysis of the place that American gay literature has occupied in the French markets in the 1970s and 1980s and provides a model for analyzing the pragmatic and stylistic aspects of gay discourses across languages.

Kaindl, K. and B. Baer (eds) (2018) *Queering Translation, Translating the Queer: Theory, practice, activism*.

Focuses explicitly on the intersections between queer studies and translation and interpreting studies and explores the travel and translation of ideas about sexuality.

SERENA BASSI

Sign language interpreting

Sign language interpreting can occur bimodally, between a signed and spoken language, from a live text stream to a signed language, and in face-to-face settings or remotely – for example, via videoconferencing; the latter mode is becoming

more common (Collins 2014). It can also occur uni-modally, between signed languages, or by repurposing a signed message for a DeafBlind participant via tactile sign language interpreting (ibid.). In some regions, notably North America, the term sign language interpreting also covers working between a spoken language and a signed form of that language, a practice known as transliteration. Transliteration, as opposed to interpreting (in the context of signed languages), involves transposing from a spoken language using the lexicon of a natural sign language such as ASL (American Sign Language) while following the syntax of the dominant spoken language – in this case English. Sign language interpreting is a profession in the making, with published data in the field appearing only from the 1960s onwards (Roy and Napier 2015).

SLI may take place in any situation where a deaf and a hearing person do not share a common spoken or signed language. While a deaf person may be fluent in the written form of a given spoken language, they may not be able or wish to use it in interactive settings where following a spoken language conversation would be difficult. Deaf people also report that they prefer to express their views in comfort, via their own language, without exerting undue effort (Haug et al. 2017). SLI occurs in both conference and community interpreting, and in diverse contexts, including public service domains such as education and health settings; private-sector contexts such as job interviews; and in social and cultural life, including theatrical productions and museum tours. In some countries, there is a commitment to the provision of on-screen interpreters for television and media productions: the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is a leader in this regard. Deaf interpreters (DIs) are increasingly visible on screen; they work from written scripts or autocue, which introduces an element of translation in what was traditionally a largely oral/visual practice (Stone 2009). This element is also present in some broadcasts that are interpreted live, such as news, where DIs work from a text-based source. Access to web-based translations of material in sign languages is on the rise; examples include the translation of public service information and live-streamed conference presentations.

Kyle (2007) reports that deaf sign language users prefer information to be presented on

TV – and by inference in other media – by DIs because of their native language competence and heightened awareness of deaf cultural norms. Despite the enhanced public profile of DIs, however, very few countries offer DIs the same professional opportunities as their non-deaf counterparts, whether in terms of accessing interpreter education or securing accreditation or licencing (Adam et al. 2014; Brunson 2011; Leeson and Venturi 2017; Metzger and Nicodemus 2014; Russell 2018; Swabey and Malcolm 2012). This despite the fact that DIs work with hearing SLIs in a wide arrange of settings which require the expertise of a native signer from the deaf community. As the majority of hearing SLIs are non-native signers, the nuance that a DI can bring to an interpreted interaction, especially when children and other vulnerable parties are involved, is critically important. DIs may also work into International Sign (IS) in spaces where deaf people congregate but do not share the same sign language (Boudreaault 2005), and where IS then serves as a *lingua franca* (Garcia and Wei 2014).

Language and modality

Sign languages can represent the relative positions of real-world elements in signing space (Leeson and Saeed 2012; Liddell 2003; Sutton-Spence and Woll 1999). The path and/or manner of movement are encoded in some verbs, thus facilitating isomorphism between motion in the real world and that expressed in signing space. This allows signers to express highly specific information regarding the relative location of entities in an environment, information not usually encoded with the same level of specificity in spoken languages. As a result, one of the main challenges facing SLIs working from spoken languages is accuracy with respect to the relative location of entities and the path and manner of interaction, for instance in terms of whether an aggressor slapped, hit or punched the victim, and where on the body the victim was hit. The impact of modality is particularly crucial in legal contexts, given the importance attributed to accuracy of information relating to location and manner of interaction (Brennan 1999; Brennan and Brown 1997; Leeson et al. 2017).

The visual aspect of SLI differentiates it from some types of spoken language interpreting in other respects. Sign language interpreters are physically visible. They have to be seen to be ‘heard’ by signers, and must be audible when they work from a signed to a spoken language. SLIs thus work bilingually and bimodally. This has technical implications: lighting in a venue must be appropriately bright to allow the interpreter to be seen, but not so glaring as to cast shadows on the interpreter’s face or body since this would impede ‘reading’ the interpretation; a spotlight must be placed on an interpreter in a theatre interpretation, or in contexts where the lights will be lowered in an auditorium, which means that the interpreter stands on stage, beside the speaker or adjacent to the actors as they work for the duration of the performance (Turner and Pollitt 2002). In community settings, seating arrangements must be conducive to interaction: the sign language user must have easy eye contact with the interpreter and the hearing person must be able to see the deaf person. Thus, seating arrangements in triadic exchanges are typically triangular, allowing all parties to see each other, while in group discussions or small-group facilitated sessions, U-shaped seating arrangements, with the interpreter standing or seated close to the facilitator, are common (Dean and Pollard 2013; Frishberg 1986; Napier et al. 2006).

Research themes and trajectories

Several disciplines have been influential in shaping the course of research on signed language interpreting, among the most important being the field of sign linguistics, especially in the 1990s. The first linguistic analysis of a signed language was undertaken by Tervoort in 1953, for Sign Language of the Netherlands, followed by Stokoe (1960) for American Sign Language, both focusing on the analysis of the sign. These groundbreaking studies led to work on the morpho-syntax, semantics and sociolinguistics of signed languages worldwide. Research on interpreting emerging from this strand includes work that examines the relationship between the content of the source and target languages to identify ‘miscues’ that occur during interpretation, including additions, omissions,

substitutions, intrusions and anomalies (Cokely 1992). Other work looks at the impact of modality differences on target-language completeness (Brennan and Brown 1997; Johnson 1992) and discourse-level analysis of data, for example the way in which the signed language interpreter manages turn-taking (Roy 2000).

SLI research has become more interdisciplinary since the turn of the century. Applied linguistic approaches and discourse analysis methodologies have contributed to research by facilitating work on naturally occurring data. The discourse analytical approach is adopted by Metzger (1999) and Roy (2000), who highlighted the position of the SLI as an active participant in a dialogic communicative event. Discourse analytical approaches have also underpinned work that explores aspects of interaction in the workplace (Dickinson 2010) and in the higher education classroom (Leeson and Foley-Cave 2007), as well as analysis of political speeches (Swabey et al. 2016; Nicodemus et al. 2017; Leeson et al. 2018). Some research has focused on the role of language in the performance of identity in interpreted interaction, particularly how the performance of an interpreter may be conflated with the expertise of the interpreted party (Feyne 2015, 2018). Applied linguistics has also informed work on the evaluation and assessment of linguistic aspects of interpreting performances (Cokely 1992; Napier 2005; Swabey et al. 2016). A small but growing number of studies have built corpora to facilitate crosslinguistic analysis of interpreting performance (Leeson et al. *in press*). As Napier and Leeson (2015) note, these studies push the boundaries of traditional corpus-based studies by using multimodal software to annotate and transcribe various layers of the SLI process (Goswell 2011). Some crosslinguistic studies focus on spoken-to-sign language performance (Swabey et al. 2016; Nicodemus et al. 2017; Napier et al. 2011) while others explore the work of trilingual interpreters (Quinto-Pozos et al. 2015; Annarino et al. 2014; Leeson et al. 2018). Collins (2014) explores the use of adverbial morphemes in tactile sign language, while Nicodemus et al. (2017) look at how interpreters working into a range of sign languages use fingerspelling to transmit information associated with a range of grammatical classes. Research that draws on pragmatics has favoured Relevance Theory, which has informed studies of deaf and hearing interpreters working in televi-

sion settings (Stone 2005, 2009), and those that examine how interpreters repair sequences that involve ambiguity and underspecificity (Crawley 2016). Politeness theory has also informed some work on politeness in sign interpreted discourse (Savvalidou 2011; Mapson 2016, 2014).

Research influenced by the field of psychology includes analyses of aptitude (Shaw 2011; Bontempo 2012; Bontempo and Napier 2014), occupational stress (Hetherington 2011) and responses to the demands of interpreting workplaces (Dean and Pollard 2013), often intersecting with discussion of ethical decision-making (Dean 2015; Rozanes 2014, 2018). Gile's (1995a) effort models have informed some work on SLI (Pointurier-Pournin 2014, 2015). Experimental work undertaken within this tradition includes studies that examine aspects of working memory among students, novices and experienced interpreters (Shaw et al. 2016). The influence of anthropology is evident in studies that adopt an ethnographic approach; for instance, in Dickinson's (2013) study of workplace interpreting, and Johnson's (1992) deaf stakeholder-driven ethnographic analysis of interpreting in a postgraduate classroom. Sociological approaches underpin a body of work undertaken from Marxist and feminist perspectives (Brunson 2011, 2018b), and studies that adopt a Grounded Theory methodology (Wehrmeyer 2013; Rozanes 2014).

Some work has explored aspects of intersectionality, such as race (Collins and Hill 2017), though much remains to be done in this domain. The positionality of the interpreter vis-à-vis the deaf community is central to a body of work that has so far been grounded in the description of changes in the profession (Cokely 2005), but relatively little empirical work has been published that explores how interpreters from different backgrounds are viewed by the communities they serve (Napier and Barker 2004). At the same time, some 90% of new entrants to the profession are non-native sign language users (Napier and Leeson 2016), a situation which has implications for SLIs' level of engagement with the deaf communities they serve, their language and cultural proficiency, and quality of interpreting performance when working into a sign language. Research on educational settings would clearly benefit from a focus on positionality (Winston 2004).

Some of the most interesting work being undertaken examines the relationship between the theories that govern presumptions about language and interpreting, and the impact of these often unspoken assumptions on interpreting practice and interpreter pedagogy. For example, Janzen (2013) examines the impact of linguistic theory and language ideologies on interpreting research methodology, and consequences for interpreter education, concluding that “the benefits of situation interpretation research in modern linguistics theories and methodologies are beginning to be apparent, and in fact they may be symbiotic” (ibid.:111). In a similar vein, Shaffer (2013) analyzes the impact of adopting particular theories of interpreting on our understanding of interpreter role, noting that the “repositioning of the interpreter as not simply an ‘active participant’, but as an ‘intersubjective participant’” (ibid.:147) opens up new avenues for conceptualizing, teaching, talking about and researching interpreted interaction. Such reassessments of the interpreter’s role have led to increased interest in ethics. Researchers have argued for teleologically driven ethical decision-making based on morals, values and rights rather than rigid codes of ethics (Hoza 2003; Tate and Turner 2002; Dean and Pollard 2001, 2005, 2013; Dean 2015).

Evidence-based research remains limited. Winston (2013:165) argues that evidence-based practices need to replace “seat-of-the-pants practices, which are often based in little more than folklore”; Winston and Monikowski (2013) similarly point out that there is an ever-widening gap between research and teaching, which holds back the development of interpreter education and undermines the potential for robust approaches to research to emerge from the classroom. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of literature that examines empirical data in order to support change in policy and practice. Examples include Napier and Spencer’s (2008) study of deaf jurors, work on access to police services and the wider legal system (Leeson et al. 2017) and research on interpreting in theatre settings (Richardson 2017). There is also some interpreter fieldwork research that involves reflective practice on the part of individual interpreters (Napier 2011b).

A number of studies have involved stakeholders from a range of domains, such as

healthcare and legal settings; this development has moved SLI research beyond offering descriptive accounts of interpreting as a generic activity (Neumann-Solow 1981; Frishberg 1990; Humphrey and Alcorn 1995) towards domain specific empirical analyses that benefit from interdisciplinary perspectives. Empirical studies on healthcare interpreting (Swabey and Malcolm 2012; Metzger and Nicodemus 2014) now often include input from healthcare providers, leading to findings being published in domains where professional stakeholders can easily access them. Napier and Kidd’s (2013) study of English literacy as a barrier to access to healthcare information for deaf people who use Australian Sign Language, for instance, which focuses on the practice of family doctors, appeared in *Australian Family Physician*. In the domain of legal interpreting, analysis of aspects of interpreter education and training may be framed in one way for the interpreting community (Brennan 1999; Mathers 2006; Russell 2002; Russell and Hale 2008; Potterveld 2012) and in a different way for front-line law enforcement professionals (Mulayim et al. 2015). Brennan and Brown’s (1997) classic work documents and evaluates access to justice for British Sign Language users and has been an influential point of reference for both interpreters and stakeholders in the legal profession. Other work that has explored the relationship between stakeholders in legal settings includes Russell (2008), who examines the ways in which teams of interpreters in a mock trial prepared for the work they would undertake with stakeholders, and the impact of this cooperation on lawyers, expert witnesses, deaf witnesses and judges. The findings of research on stakeholders working with interpreters may also be framed from the viewpoint of deaf professionals (Hauser et al. 2008).

A number of studies have adopted think-aloud protocol (TAP) as a methodology. Researchers have examined how interpreters conceptualize their audience and how this conceptualization influences their strategic planning for interpreting, how they visualize the events described by source speakers, how much weight they give to scripts versus the presenter and how they evaluate their own performances post hoc (Stone 2009; Swabey et al. 2016; Leeson et al. 2015; Leeson et al. 2018). Other studies have focused on aspects of interpreter educators’

behaviour (Marschark et al. 2005; Winston and Monikowski 2013) and how they respond to the challenge of preparing interpreters for the information age (Ehrlich and Napier 2015).

Research interest in new technologies and their impact on interpreters, stakeholders and the interpreting profession is beginning to grow in response to societal demands. As in other areas of interpreting, remote interpreting has been introduced in a range of settings, and is being expanded to overcome logistical challenges such as the lack of availability of an SLI to travel to a more isolated region. This brings additional challenges in the context of sign language interpreting (Brunson 2011). For instance, interpreting remotely with access to the signed content on screen can prove challenging as the visual clarity of the signed message may be reduced as a result of the size of the screen and/or the quality of the connection between devices. This, in turn, may render certain aspects of the language difficult to read, for example, finer movements such as fingerspelling and the grammatical modifiers expressed on the face. It also interferes with rapport building and blocks opportunities for seeking clarification. Other topics of growing interest include the way interpreters handle shifts in footing (Marks 2015) and underspecified linguistic features such as gender in this setting (Quinto-Pozos et al. 2015).

Other topics that are attracting growing research interest include translanguaging (Garcia and Wei 2014), language contact and language brokering, particularly in terms of exploring the difference between naïve and professional practice (Napier 2017). This intersects with current work on translanguaging in the international deaf community – as in the European Research Council-funded Deaf Mobile project – and work on trilingual interpreting (Locker Mc-Kee and Davis 2010; McKee and Awheto 2010; Quinto-Pozos et al. 2015), as well as work on identity, as performed and identified through and by interpreters (Feyne 2015, 2018; Leeson et al. 2018).

Future directions

In terms of Deaf Interpreters (DIs), research has so far documented international best practice

initiatives to raise DI profiles, improve testing and accreditation, cognitive processes and interpreting team dynamics, and has focused on specific domains where DIs bring specialist skills – for instance, skills required to serve the DeafBlind population (Boudreault 2005; Collins and Walker 2006). This strand of research holds much potential: exploring how DIs work – with each other, and in partnership with hearing SLIs – promises to provide important insights into aspects of multimodal interpreting performance and practice (Adam et al. 2014; Brunson 2011; Metzger and Nicodemus 2014; Russell 2018; Swabey and Malcolm 2012). Research in this area would benefit from engagement with theories of multimodality and embodiment, and further requires examination of how DIs access education, accreditation and/or licencing (Leeson and Venturi 2017; Russell 2018), and how they work as translators (Turner and Pollitt 2002; Stone 2005, 2009; Wurm 2010).

Given that the majority of SLIs are non-native sign language users, it is of some concern that research on those learning a sign language as a second or subsequent language, and on a language learner's pathway from second language (L2) to second modality (M2), is extremely rare. Exceptions include Pires Pereira and de Azvedo Fronza (2011), Chen-Pichler and Koulidobrova (2016) and Sheridan (2019). At the same time, there is a need to document the linguistics and sociolinguistics of the many under-documented indigenous sign language/s of the world, in order to provide researchers such as Ibrahim-Bell (2008), who examined the Deaf community in Malaysia, and Nilsson (2010), who researched space in Swedish Sign Language, with a basis for conducting discourse-driven analysis of interpreting performances. Finally, as the community of interpreter educators engage in further research, future studies might examine the range of additional activities undertaken by educators and the impact of increased work pressure and a changing research and teaching environment on the educators themselves, as in Webb (2017).

See also:

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; CONFERENCE INTERPRETING; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; LEGAL INTERPRETING; ROLE

Further reading

Brennan, M. and R. Brown (1997) *Equality before the Law: Deaf people's access to justice*, Durham: University of Durham, Deaf Studies Research Unit.

A seminal empirical study that looked at deaf peoples' access to the law in the UK, highlighting challenges for bilingual bimodal interpreting in legal domains, with implications that continue to challenge researchers and practitioners today.

Roy, C. and J. Napier (eds) (2015) *The Sign Language Interpreting Studies Reader*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A compendium of 29 papers, originally published between 1965 and 1999, many of them difficult to access and several abridged; all have impacted significantly on the field of sign language interpreting.

Shaffer, B. (2013) 'Evolution of Theory, Evolution of Role: How interpreting theory shapes interpreter role', in E. Winston and C. Monikowski (eds) *Evolving Paradigms in Interpreter Education*, Washington DC: Gallaudet University Press, 128–150.

Challenges assumptions about how the field conceptualizes the role of the interpreter and considers the work of interpreters from a discourse-driven perspective, enlisting the concept of the interpreter as intersubjective participant to understand processes of contextualization in interpreted discourse.

LORRAINE LEESON AND
SARAH SHERIDAN

Social systems

Translation scholars wishing to understand translation as a social practice often look to sociological theories for inspiration. While the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) have attracted most attention, other sociological models, too, have been explored for the light they can shed on the world of translation. Among these models is the social systems theory developed by the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann (1927–1998). Approaching translation through the lens of Luhmann's account of

social systems poses a conceptual challenge, but it also creates a fresh perspective on what translation is and does. Luhmann's emphasis on communication renders his theory particularly relevant to researchers interested in translation as a form of social interaction.

Niklas Luhmann was a prolific writer who, in addition to numerous essays, produced books on law, education, politics, the sciences, the arts, the economy, the mass media, ecological issues and intimate relations, but also on concepts such as risk and trust, and on the notion of social systems as such. His approach draws on a variety of sources, including general systems theory, cybernetics and biology, and it tends to operate at a relatively high level of abstraction. While this can make for challenging reading, the key principles tend to reappear from one book or essay to another, and they are theoretically consistent. At the same time, the high level of abstraction allows for creativity in the interpretation and application of the theory.

Main tenets

Social systems theory is part of a broader set of systems theories that all start from the fundamental distinction between a system and its environment. A system distinguishes itself from that which is not itself, the environment. It does so by performing recursive operations that are specific to it. In a biological system like a body, cells perform biochemical operations that produce new cells, enabling the system to perpetuate itself. The mind, a psychic system, produces mental states that generate further mental states. Humans are made up of bodies and minds working together. However, neither bodies nor minds can operate outside themselves, and therefore they are not social. A body's self-reproducing cells are encased in that body's skin, and one person's thoughts cannot reach another person's thoughts. For Luhmann, then, social systems constitute a third kind of system, one that is concerned with what happens *between* people. This is what Luhmann calls communication. His outlook in this respect is radical and post-humanist. The domain of the social consists of neither individuals nor communities of people but exclusively of communications. Social

systems are communication systems. They are held together and reproduce themselves by means of strings of interconnecting communications, with different social systems practising different kinds of communication. Bodies that produce speech and minds that generate thoughts are a prerequisite for communication, but since they are not in themselves social, they are not part of any social system (Luhmann 2002:169–184; 2012:92–113; 2013a:180–211; Moeller 2006:5–11).

Communications happen, they are momentary events that take place and then pass. For a social system to emerge and to continue to exist, successive communications must interlink to form a chain. A communication itself is made up of three components: information, utterance and understanding. Information indicates the particular selection from among a range of possible topics that the utterance is about, to the exclusion of everything that is not being raised. Utterance means the actual presentation of something at a certain moment. Understanding refers to the sense being made of the combination of utterance and information and of the dialectic of inclusion and exclusion at work in each. This sense becomes socially recognizable when it is deployed in subsequent communications. The chain of connecting communications builds and maintains the system (Luhmann 1995:137–175). The recursive process of communications generating communications is what Luhmann calls an autopoietic or self-generating social system (Luhmann 2012:32–35; Moeller 2006:11–21). The temporal aspect of the process is important. Communications are brief occurrences, and they must be followed by a response if the system is to continue to exist. The series of interlinking communications forming over time, like an ever-growing chain, provides a metaphor that sets Luhmann's social systems apart from, say, polysystem theory or network theories, which mostly employ static spatial metaphors such as a spider's web.

Luhmann's model of communication is that of stimulus and inference, the type of model that is also used, for instance, in Relevance Theory. It dispenses with the idea of communication as the transmission of preexisting content. In social systems theory, language is not a system in the Saussurian sense; instead, it is a medium, a collection of elements that have the capacity to

cluster into forms, or particular utterances (Luhmann 2002:157–161; 2012:123–133). People, or persons, on the other hand, feature in communicative chains as identity markers, figures to whom actions and motives are attributed, but for these attributions to be socially relevant they must themselves form part of the chain of communications. Agency, for Luhmann, is likewise something that is attributed to people or to organizations, and what matters is who is attributing agency to whom (Luhmann 2002:113–127; Moeller 2006:83–98).

Different systems develop communications of different kinds by consistently privileging certain types of information, construing subjects in their own way, producing their own kind of sense and thus creating distinct communicative chains. The political system, for instance, tends to highlight questions of power, construes individuals as citizens or voters or dissidents, and interprets the world as a scene of power struggles. Over time these preferences, and the inclusions and exclusions they entail, coalesce into structures of expectation, where expectation means the anticipatory projection inherent in every communication. As systems differentiate themselves, they draw their own boundaries and create their own structures. Social structures, for Luhmann, are structures of expectation.

Historically, Luhmann broadly distinguishes three types of societies: segmented or tribal societies; stratified societies such as the feudal world of the European Middle Ages or pre-Republican China; and the functionally differentiated societies of modern times, in which different function systems such as the economy, the legal world, politics, the sciences and the arts exist side by side, each performing functions which the other systems do not and cannot perform. Together they make up the social system, and ultimately world society, without there being an overarching agent or system that could impose overall control or be in a position to coordinate the different function systems (Luhmann 2013b:1–108; Moeller 2006:52–63).

Individual function systems become distinct by organizing themselves around a guiding difference, which Luhmann calls a code. The sciences, for example, have as their most basic orientation the distinction between truth and untruth; they seek to make statements that will be accepted as true. In practice, codes yield

various more specific programmes, which may be understood as criteria for assigning the code's positive value. The sciences operate with a panoply of theories and methodologies that enable certain statements to be qualified as possibly or very probably true. Programmes may also legitimize reference to criteria derived from other systems. For example, decisions about scientific research may be informed by financial considerations or by perceptions of the common good (Luhmann 1990; 2000:16–18, 2002:33–78; Borch 2011:66–92).

Systems are operationally closed in that they can only perform their own kind of operations. But they are open to their environment in that events occurring there can stir or perturb the system and trigger communications. The environment of a function system includes other function systems. In some cases, individual systems have become so closely correlated they are virtually interdependent, as is the case, for example, with politics and the law. Politicians make laws and are bound by them; lawyers and judges apply laws but do not make them, although they may advise politicians who are drafting new laws. Systems that resonate with other systems become internally differentiated, which means they increase their own complexity to deal with the complex world around them (Luhmann 2002:25–43, 83–101).

Individuals going about their daily business can be thought of as weaving in and out of a variety of function systems, each of which will construe the individual in its own way as a role, a bundle of communicative expectations. These daily roles can range from employee to taxpayer to mother to student to lover to believer. In the same way, particular events will be read differently in different systems and create different resonances. A destructive hurricane may bring tragedy for the victims but be a news story for the media, spell ruin for an insurance company and herald opportunities for lawyers and electricians (Luhmann 1996/2000:71–75).

Systems monitor both their environment and themselves. Luhmann speaks of observation in this context. Observation here simply means indicating something, picking something out for attention. To do this, the 'something' has to be distinguished from something else or from everything that is excluded. Luhmann calls this first-order observation, and notes it has a blind

spot: when observing something the observer cannot simultaneously observe the distinction that informs the observation. Second-order observation is the observation of observation. It is interested not in *what* is observed but in *how* an observer observes, by means of which distinctions. Because it observes the first-order observer from a different position, it can see the blind spot that the first observer could not see. Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud are celebrated examples of ways of seeing human behaviour as symptomatic of something else that the individuals themselves remained unaware of. Second-order observation is unsettling because it renders first-order observation contingent. Scientists, for instance, read each other's articles not just for the research results that are being reported but also for the way the results were reached (Luhmann 1998:46–50, 2013a:101–20; Borch 2011:50–65).

If these are some of the basic ideas underpinning Luhmann's view of the domain of the social, we may wonder what these ideas could mean for the world of translation. Broadly speaking, two applications have been developed. One seeks to describe translation as a social system. The other explores the role of translation in and across social systems.

Translation as a social system

Since interlinking communications are the building blocks of social systems, the social system of translation must consist of communications recognized as being of a certain kind, that is, as translational or bearing on translation. Stringing together communications of this kind leads to the emergence of a distinct series and of associated patterns of expectation. They in turn facilitate connecting communications, but they also permit the exclusion of communications not recognized as translational. This account chimes with norm theory as it became prominent in translation studies in the 1980s. Luhmann defines norms as counterfactually stabilized behavioural expectations: expectations about behaviour that remain stable despite individual transgressions (Luhmann 1995:292–298). Various sets of localized norms flesh out the programme of the translation system in the sense described above, as criteria that allow certain

communications to count as translations and others to be excluded. Normative expectations about translation that remain valid over a period of time constitute a poetics of translation. At the same time, we routinely recognize and produce translations thanks to the vast store of existing translations and the sedimented notions of translation that have taken hold in particular cultural contexts (Poltermann 1992).

Normative expectations secure the guiding difference, the matrix or code of translation as a system. Since the code needs to be assigned a value, a likely candidate for what makes translation distinct is the notion of representation in the double sense of proxy and resemblance (Hermans 2007b:67). Translations represent preexisting texts across semiotic boundaries. Other conceptualizations remain possible, however, and debates about the nature or the definition of translation are essentially debates about the value of translation's code in Luhmann's sense of the term. The function of translation is to disseminate representations, thereby extending society's range of communications across barriers of understanding while simultaneously acting as a reminder of these barriers.

Like all social systems the translation system is cognitively open but operationally closed. That is, it monitors the world around it and can respond to its environment, but it can only do so in terms of its own operations, by reading other systems in its own self-centred way and by producing translations and discourses about translation. Clients therefore cannot determine the structure of the translation system, although the system can resonate with demands raised elsewhere. The localization industry, but also techniques like domestication or defamiliarization, are typically adjustments that reflect particular requirements. The development of forms and techniques like these represents a growth in complexity of the system as its internal differentiation keeps up with a complex and changing environment.

The interaction between the translation system and its environment is evident also in translator training institutes. Much translator training is vocational in nature, as the institute equips students with the knowledge and routines that will be needed in the professional world. Often student assignments simulate professional working conditions, staff are drawn

from the profession or have professional experience, assessment criteria reflect those prevalent in the marketplace, and the curriculum ensures that students leave with a range of skills enabling them to function as translators in different contexts. In all these ways the institute copies into itself and reproduces a model of the translation system, including its internal differentiation. But the pedagogical situation also makes for a crucial difference. Students not only will but must make errors. Because the institute is insulated against real-life working conditions, errors generate reflection and discussion with teachers, and thus produce declarative as well as procedural knowledge. By foregrounding both types of knowledge, translator training also thematizes the contingency of prevailing preferences in professional translation. This thematization is a form of second-order observation, as it draws attention not only to the choices to be made while translating but also to the grounds for those choices and the alternatives that remain available.

More broadly, the interplay between actual choices made by translators and the set of potential alternatives that are excluded by those choices but remain available for future use constitutes a key element in the historical evolution of translation. Luhmann's approach to evolution is Darwinian in nature and rests on the circular triad of variation, selection and stabilization, the last of which in turn produces variation. Applied to Western Europe, where Luhmann sees the form of social organization changing from a primarily rank-based to a functionally differentiated society between roughly the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, we might trace the evolution of the translation system as a corresponding growth in complexity. In Early Modern Europe, print culture supplied a growing number of books at a time when increases in urbanization and literacy fed a growing demand for reading material. Translation helped to meet the demand and in turn fuelled it. Thanks to the printing press, multiple translations could arrive simultaneously in a competitive market, leading to rival versions, retranslations, specialization and translation criticism, all of them forms of differentiation and of translation observing and describing itself. Throughout this period translatability as such was taken for granted, based as it was on the separation of meaning and

expression. The stability of this idea was shaken when in the eighteenth century language began to be viewed as an agent of social bonding and an index of identity. Untranslatability became a topic among the German Romantics; it was dramatized in some forbiddingly literal translations like those of Hölderlin and theorized in Schleiermacher's hermeneutic take on translation, all at a time, ironically, when due to further technological inventions and demographic changes Europe witnessed professional translating on an industrial scale in so-called "translation factories" (Hermans 1999b:137–150, 2007a:109–136, 2007b:57–75).

Translation between systems

It may be possible to apply Luhmann's ideas about social systems in a different way, by focusing on the function of translation. The aim in this case is not to conceptualize translation as a system but to think about its role between and across systems. Translation is then, like language, viewed primarily as a medium.

Two aspects might be explored from this angle, and both involve the idea of alterity. First, just as money mediates in economic exchanges and both facilitates and accelerates the processes in question, translation may be ascribed a similar catalytic function (Tyulenev 2012:133–145). It does so by recognizing similarity in difference, commonality in divergence, sameness in otherness. Secondly, translation normally operates near the boundary of the system. Boundaries are creations of the systems they enclose. As the system differentiates itself and maintains its identity, it develops self-reference and self-descriptions which mark the boundary separating the system from its environment. Translations typically probe into other systems. Because they constantly deal with otherness, which they nevertheless process in terms of their own system, they rehearse, within the system, the difference between the system and its environment. But they also introduce variation into it, meanings that do not fit easily into the system and may be rejected or give rise to unexpected communicative chains. In the latter case, they contribute to evolution by setting in motion variations and novel selections. If systems, left to themselves, would degenerate into entropy, the freshness

that translation introduces provides new impulses and reinvigorates the system.

See also:

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY; FIELD THEORY; POLYSYSTEM THEORY; STRUCTURATION THEORY

Further reading

Borch, C. (2011) *Niklas Luhmann*, London & New York: Routledge.

Appears in a series on Key Sociologists and is aimed at students; provides a relatively brief but comprehensive overview of Luhmann's thinking.

Hermans, T. (2007) *The Conference of the Tongues*, Manchester: St. Jerome. Chapter 5: 'Connecting Systems', pp. 109–136.

Explains the basic components of Luhmann's theory of social systems and offers a description of translation understood as a social system.

Luhmann, N. (1996/2000) *The Reality of the Mass Media*, translated by Kathleen Cross, Cambridge: Polity.

One of the most accessible of Luhmann's works, on how the mass media construe the world.

Luhmann, N. (2002) *Theories of Distinction*, edited by William Rasch, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

A collection of nine essays from Luhmann's later work, with an excellent editorial introduction.

THEO HERMANS

Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is a subfield of linguistics that is concerned with the social meaning of language in use, particularly in relation to social identity and social differentiation. The field encompasses different research traditions that intersect with language-related research in sociology and anthropology (Duranti 2011). A major focus in sociolinguistic research is on language variation and change (Labov 1972), including the study of dialects, registers and speech styles (Eckert and Rickford 2001), but also on language use in social interaction (conversation analysis and

discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, speech act theory), often in institutional settings (Gumperz 1982; Blommaert 2005; Heritage and Clayman 2010). Sociolinguistics also engages in research that looks beyond the analysis of specific linguistic forms and their use in specific interactions, to broader questions of the sociology of language (Fishman 1972) such as issues of language maintenance and shift, and research on language ideologies and attitudes (Woolard 1998).

Sociolinguistic research is empirical, consisting of quantitative or qualitative analyses of language in use, collected with experimental or ethnographic methods. Such studies often investigate language variation in pronunciation, but scholars have also examined morphological, syntactic, lexical and discourse variables, both among speakers in a speech community (inter-speaker variation) and within the speech of a single individual (intra-speaker variation). Since Labov (1963), such research has consistently found that linguistic variation is not random but systematic, and that speakers' linguistic choices are socially meaningful. Eckert (2012) argues that the study of the social meaning of linguistic variation has evolved over time, in three waves. Whereas the first wave was concerned with identifying correlations between linguistic forms and predefined macro-sociological categories such as social class, age, sex and ethnicity, the second wave used ethnographic methods to identify local categories that are marked by linguistic variables. The third wave focuses on variation in the speech of individual speakers to argue that linguistic variables do not reflect fixed social meanings, but rather gain specific meaning when they are used by speakers in the stylistic production of social differentiation. Central to these investigations of the social meaning of linguistic choices is the semiotic concept of indexicality (Silverstein 2003a; Eckert 2008), in which linguistic forms point to social identities through their association with contexts in which they have been used previously. These social meanings are not fixed or uniform, but differ among individuals and across situations, and they may be changed with each new instance of use that can generate new associations to new contexts.

Translation has not been a prominent topic of sociolinguistic research, as evident in the lack

of mention of translation in volumes that survey the field (Mesthrie 2011; Bayley et al. 2013; Coupland 2016). However, where sociolinguists have engaged with translation studies, two major areas of enquiry can be distinguished. On the one hand, sociolinguists have compared the indexicalities of source and target texts, as have translation studies scholars who have sought to apply sociolinguistic concepts or methods to translation (Nida 1994; Sánchez 2007). On the other hand, sociolinguists have also explored processes of translation and interpreting as social practices that shed light on the macro-sociolinguistic circumstances of particular situations of language contact and on the identities of bilinguals embedded in them. Such issues have been studied by analyzing the linguistic choices of translators or interpreters, the consequences that these choices have for the interactions and the language ideologies that underlie them. This has included research on non-professional translation practices performed by bilinguals in language contact situations, sometimes referred to as language brokering.

Translation of social meaning

The fact that indexical meanings derive from knowledge of prior contexts represents a challenge for translation, as target-language contexts are by necessity different from source language contexts. As Blommaert (2006:173) notes, "even when the translations would be referentially symmetrical (a perfect one-on-one mapping of target and source language), the indexical meanings generated by both versions would still be very different". This is especially evident where indexical meaning is rooted in regional dialect and where "there is not an equivalent variant with the same connotations in the TL" (Sánchez 2007:128). However, translators may attempt to map indexical meanings when source forms index social categories such as gender, age, social class or education, which may be viewed as having parallels in the target culture. For example, Hale (2004) argues that court interpreters should strive for stylistic equivalence in translation, rendering source speakers' non-standard speech or stylistic choices such as hedging, hypercorrection and disfluencies into the target language in order to convey an impression of the

social identities that are indexed in the source. However, such attempts tend to rely on social stereotypes, and they single out certain indexical associations at the expense of others.

The translation of African American English when used by characters in film or literature is a case in point. Studies by Berthele (2000), Inoue (2003), Queen (2004) and Hiramoto (2009) show that the translation of African American English relies on stereotypes about gender and politeness and on the use of stigmatized regional or ethnic varieties of the respective target language. Analyzing the German-language versions of American movies, Queen (2004) found that dialect differences between characters speaking African American English and characters speaking other varieties of English are often erased. However, young male African American characters with ties to urban street culture of drugs and crime are dubbed into German using features of a colloquial urban speech style that is associated with working-class youths. At the same time, these stylistic features are also found in the dubbing of white characters with similar street affiliations. Similarly, Inoue (2003) examines the Japanese dubbing of the classic film *Gone with the Wind* to show how stylistic features of what is often called Japanese women's language are used to index not only gender but also race. African American characters are not represented as speaking in a gendered style, so that "[w]hiteness is translated into 'Japanese womanness' by assigning women's language exclusively to white women, while blackness, whiteness' diametric other, is represented in Japanese not only by non-standard variations, but, more critically, by canceling gender marking" (Inoue 2003:327). Both examples show that the indexical meanings of translation choices are deeply rooted in ideologies about language varieties and their speakers, in both the source and target language. In both cases, translation does not represent African American English per se, but rather treats it as a speech style that is attributable to certain social personae and not others.

Silverstein (2003b:83) also notes the problem of translating indexical meanings and proposes instead the term transduction to describe "a process of reorganizing the source semiotic organization . . . by target expressions-in-co(n) text of another language". However, Silverstein also points out that this ultimately leads to

transformation into forms that are substantially different from the source material and have new meanings in the target culture. Along similar lines, other studies in linguistic anthropology have viewed translation as a metaphor for their own ethnographic work (Agar 2011; Gal 2015) and have examined the role of translation in anthropological research (Rubel and Rosman 2003). Such work has shown not only that attempts to bridge the cultural divide between speakers of source and target languages may require detailed explanations to the target audience, but has also investigated how processes of translation may relate to those of cultural and linguistic change. In the context of Christian missionary work, for example, Schieffelin (2007) shows how early oral Bible translations in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea were marked by linguistic and cultural constraints against reporting others' thoughts. Over time, the translation of Bible passages with reported thought led to the development of new forms of evidential marking in the target language, Bosavi. Similar issues have arisen in the context of the spread of digital media, where corporations such as Microsoft influence processes of language standardization through translation of software into indigenous languages (Romero 2016). These examples show that translation practices may lead to changes to the target language, and consequently it is not surprising that translation may become contested and the authority of translators challenged.

The social identity of the translator/interpreter

Some studies on translation in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology focus on the role of translators, especially interpreters, in intercultural interactions and in situations of language contact more generally. As noted by Valdés and Angelelli (2003:58), "interpreters are individuals who, as the locus of language contact, have much to teach us about the nature of this contact and about the characteristics of bilingual individuals who broker interactions between monolingual members of groups in contact". Sociolinguistic studies of interpreters have often focused on institutional contexts such as hospitals, courtrooms or other legal settings, where

interpreters may act as institutional gatekeepers (B. Davidson 2000; Jacquemet 2005/2010). At the same time, the interpreter's personal identity and linguistic belonging to one or both of the groups in contact may be questioned and problematized, particularly in situations of conflict (B.W. Anderson 1976/2002; Wadensjö 1998b). Some scholars have proposed the concept of language brokering as an activity that mediates communication between speakers of different languages, but that differs from translation in that it focuses less on formal equivalence and in that the brokers themselves are interested parties who have a stake in the interaction. Inherent in the concept of brokering is the notion that the participants are faced with a problem that the language broker seeks to resolve or repair, typically a problem of understanding (Bolden 2012). Language brokering often occurs in intergenerational contexts, with children of immigrants brokering between their parents and speakers of the dominant societal language (del Torto 2008), including in formal contexts such as parent-teacher meetings (Reynolds and Faulstich Orellana 2014). Brokering can thus be understood symbolically as an attempt by bilinguals to mediate between the two communities, and to overcome divisions between them. This may extend to a desire to reduce the division between the languages themselves by engaging in bilingual speech practices such as codeswitching or translanguaging.

Studies of the interpreter's role and identity often rely on methods of conversation analysis to explore the ways in which interpreters participate in the interactions they mediate and how they coordinate talk among participants (Wadensjö 1998b; Baraldi and Gavioli 2012a). Scholars have investigated turns by interpreters that do not translate source language talk, but have also analyzed the deictic stances of target renditions, particularly whether interpreters use direct or indirect translation. In the former, interpreters translate in the voice of the source speaker (what Wadensjö 1998b terms *relaying by replaying*), maintaining the pronominal deixis of the source utterance, with the first person singular referring to the source speaker, second person referring to the addressee of the source utterance and interpreters referring to themselves in the third person, if necessary. The use of the first person in particular may lead

target recipients to believe that the interpreter is aligned with the source speaker and endorses the content of the words that are said, or even that the spoken words are not a translation at all, but express the interpreter's own position (Wadensjö 1998b; Baker 2006a). Alternatively, interpreters may use indirect translation, engaging in a target-centred deictic shift in which they use first person to refer to themselves, second person to refer to the target recipient (irrespective whether that person was addressed by the source or not), and third person to refer to the source speaker, often using reported speech. Wadensjö (1998b:19) refers to such indirect translation as "*relaying by displaying*" and points out that interpreters are thereby "*presenting the other's words and simultaneously emphasizing personal non-involvement in what they voice*".

To some extent, the choice between these two interpreting styles can be understood as a resource for interpreters to take personal stances towards the other participants, and towards the linguistic communities they are associated with. Instances in which interpreters dissociate from the voices of source speakers can be seen as providing evidence of how interpreters understand their role and responsibilities. Angermeyer (2005, 2009, 2015) draws on quantitative methods of variationist sociolinguistics to explore the use of indirect translation by court interpreters in New York small claims court. While all interpreters were found to use direct translation consistently when interpreting into English, indirect translation occurred regularly when translating into the other language, especially in confrontational contexts or when arbitrators talked of legal decisions, that is, situations in which interpreters may have a strong reason to show "*personal non-involvement in what they voice*" (Wadensjö 1998b:19). Moreover, some interpreters used reported speech throughout when translating from English. As these interpreters were themselves native speakers of the other language (rather than English), their alternation between the two styles can be viewed as enabling them to balance their professional duties when speaking English with their membership in the minority community when speaking the other language. Such a balancing act is not always possible. Maryns (2013b:682) found that interpreters in asylum interviews may adopt "*a more objectified, rational and for-*

mal” perspective that leads them to “dissociate themselves from the narrated emotionality” of applicants’ testimonies, especially testimony of gender-based, sexual violence. Importantly, this lack of emotionality in the interpreter’s performance may undermine the credibility of the applicant’s testimony. Maryns’s study also draws attention to the importance of gender as a social category that may affect the interpreter’s stances towards other participants.

Studies of interpreting in legal contexts strongly highlight the potential impact of interpreters on the lives of individuals and on the fair and equitable functioning of institutions. It is therefore not surprising that both institutions and lay users may distrust interpreters and doubt their neutrality and reliability. Institutions often seek to constrain and control interpreters’ work (Inghilleri 2012), or avoid reliance on translation whenever possible (Collins and Slembrouck 2006). Such attitudes are indicative of language ideologies, including ideologies about languages, the boundaries between them or their relative importance, but also language ideologies about translation and about the relationship between linguistic form and meaning. For example, Haviland (2003:767) identifies an ideology of “referential transparency” in the US legal system that presupposes that meanings are independent of linguistic forms so that they can be variously expressed in any language through “verbatim translation”. Similarly, Pritzker (2012) shows that some American students of traditional Chinese medicine expect Chinese medical terms to have straightforward English translation equivalents, and are irritated to find that English language texts vary in their translation choices. This ideology contrasts with that of others who believe that clinical experience in Chinese medicine will lead them to a better understanding of Chinese medical concepts than relying on translation alone.

In general, language ideologies about the form and function of translation constrain the institutional evaluation of interpreters’ performances as well as the ways in which they shape the interactions in which they participate. This is particularly evident in Vigouroux’s (2010) study of simultaneous interpreting from French into English in a Congolese Pentecostal church in Cape Town, South Africa. Interpreting in this context does not fulfil a need to bridge a commu-

nicative gap, as none of the congregants require interpreting into English in order to understand the sermon. Instead, Vigouroux argues that the inclusion of an interpreter results from practices in the migrants’ homeland of the Democratic Republic of Congo, where Pentecostal sermons usually involve interpreting between French and a regional lingua franca, like Lingala. She argues that the interplay between pastor and interpreter constitutes a performing genre of its own, which constitutes a “re-enactment of ways of delivering sermons introduced to DRC and elsewhere in Black Africa in the 1960s by prominent American Pentecostal pastors” (2010:342). In this reenactment, the interpreter’s ability to convey religious dedication and match the pastor’s emotional intensity and expressiveness through verbal and gestural performance is more valued than their target-language competence and monitored more closely than their specific lexical translation choices.

Future directions

Sociolinguistic research has increasingly been concerned with the ways in which linguistic difference relates to social inequality, and some of this research has engaged with translation. Examples include studies of situations in which access to translation is negotiated in emergency calls (Raymond 2014a) or police warnings and interrogations (Eades and Pavlenko 2016). Another important subfield in sociolinguistics that is attracting increased attention involves the examination of linguistic landscapes, where the relative distribution of languages in the public signage of a given place is taken as indexical of social hierarchies between linguistic communities (Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Jaworski and Thurlow 2010). While linguistic landscape research does not often address translational processes explicitly, there is potential for developing a sociolinguistics of translation along similar lines, as the presence and direction of translation indexes a particular – often hierarchical – relationship between languages and their speakers (Tesseur 2017). Translation also presupposes the recognition of linguistic varieties as distinct, which may be controversial in the perceived absence of a language barrier, that is, when there is cross-varietal intelligibil-

ity or widespread multilingualism, as in the case of the national languages of several successor states of the former Yugoslavia. Conversely, the absence of translation and interpreting indexes that varieties are not distinct, potentially ignoring significant communication difficulties as demonstrated by Rickford and King (2016) for African American Vernacular English, and Brown-Blake (2008) for Jamaican Creole, both in relation to English.

The widespread use of machine translation represents another potential area for sociolinguistic research of linguistic landscapes. Linguistics blogs such as *Language Log* feature abundant examples of translation errors, often produced by machine translation, typically involving infelicitous attempts at producing English-language signage in countries such as China, but these have so far not received much attention in linguistic landscape studies. Angermeyer (2017) shows that the use of machine translation – which results in ungrammatical and pragmatically inappropriate target forms – can be perceived as disrespectful by target-language speakers, and as indexing a lack of interpersonal engagement with members of their community. At the same time, users (and creators!) of machine translation have ideologies about what translation is and how it works, and these ideologies merit systematic empirical study from a sociolinguistic perspective. Removing the human translator removes concerns about the allegiance of the interpreter and with it the element of brokering between communities and the potential to mediate in situations of conflict. These examples show that there is ample potential for future connections between the fields of sociolinguistics and translation studies, with obvious benefits to both disciplines.

See also:

DUBBING; ROLE

Further reading

Blommaert, J. (2006) 'How Legitimate Is My Voice? A rejoinder', *Target* 18(1): 163–176.

In this rejoinder to a special issue of *Target*, the influential sociolinguist Jan Blommaert engages with translation studies, placing the concepts of indexicality and voice at the centre of a sociolinguistic analysis of translation.

Ellender, C. (2015) *Dealing with Difference in Audiovisual Translation: Subtitling linguistic variation in films*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Explores the issue of translating dialects and their social meaning through audiovisual translation, comparing the subtitling of several British and French films in which dialect variation and difference are central to the story and to the audience's understanding of the characters.

Lane-Mercier, G. (1997) 'Translating the Untranslatable: The translator's aesthetic, ideological and political responsibility', *Target* 9(1): 43–68.

Approaches the issue of the translation of dialectal, non-standard language in literary works, arguing that the translator's choices inevitably reflect his or her own ideological position and political agenda with regard to the sociolinguistic divisions of the target culture.

Queen, R. (2004) '“Du hast jar keene Ahnung”: African American English dubbed into German', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(4): 515–537.

Using variationist sociolinguistic methodology, investigates the dubbing of African American English into German. Closely analyzing the variable distribution of linguistic features in both the source films and the dubbed target versions, stylistic and dialectal variation is shown to be mostly erased, except in movies where African American English is spoken by characters associated with street culture.

PHILIPP SEBASTIAN ANGERMEYER

Strategies

Strategy is generally understood as a plan of action designed to achieve a goal. One of the main features of translation competence is its strategic component, since, according to PACTE (2011:16), it serves to control the translation process by mobilizing other subcompetences and determining which to activate at each stage. However, despite serious efforts to provide a comprehensive overview of research on translation and interpreting strategies (Lörscher 1991; Muñoz Martín 2000; Zabalbeascoa 2000;

Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002; Chesterman 2005; Gambier 2008b; Gil-Bardaji 2003, 2009; Kearns 2009), the name and precise definition of strategy vary from one author to another, leading to considerable terminological ambivalence. Terms such as procedure, technique, tactic, plan, method, tranjection, solution-type, shift, change, operation and operator have been employed to describe sometimes similar, sometimes quite distant phenomena.

One of the first scholars to provide a precise definition of strategy is Lörscher (1991). Lörscher aims to incorporate the interactional, psycholinguistic and communicative aspects highlighted in previous research (Hönig and Kußmaul 1982; Wilss 1982; Faerch and Kasper 1983; Königs 1987) and defines strategy as a “potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language into another” (1991:76). Lörscher’s definition distinguishes strategies from related terms such as methods, which he describes as supraindividual, tried and tested procedures; plans, which are global mental representations of sequences of actions; rules, which are related to social norms and aim to establish what is correct and/or adequate; and tactics, which are molecular entities that control a concrete action or part of it within the entire process (ibid.:80).

Zabalbeascoa (2000) also contrasts strategy with other related terms such as method, solution and technique. A strategy, he proposes, “is a specific pattern of behaviour aimed at solving a problem or attaining a goal, a conscious action(s) intended to enhance a translator’s performance for a given task, especially in terms of efficiency and effectiveness” (ibid.:120). In this sense, strategies cannot be identified through text analysis alone, since a given result might be reached by different paths. He also distinguishes between behavioural strategies and mental activity: the former include actions observable by the researcher, such as consulting a dictionary, writing a draft version, underlining while reading; the latter can only be detected indirectly by indicators or symptoms such as hesitations or mumbblings.

Molina and Hurtado Albir’s (2002) distinction between method, strategy and technique has been influential because of its integrative character. For these authors, translation method

should refer only to those global choices that affect the whole text, leading to a certain type of translation, such as communicative, literal, free or philological. Strategies, on the other hand, should be conceived as conscious or unconscious procedures of a verbal or non-verbal nature used by the translator to solve problems (ibid.:508). Strategies can be of two types: comprehension strategies, involved in distinguishing main and secondary ideas, or establishing conceptual relationships, for example; and reformulation strategies, including paraphrase and retranslation. Techniques are textual micro-units that can be used retrospectively as an instrument of textual analysis to understand how translation equivalence works.

Chesterman (2005) accepts Molina and Hurtado Albir’s definitions of method, strategy and technique, whilst adding the term shift to refer to “the result of a successful strategy or a routine technique, or indeed the consequence of a misunderstanding, an unsuccessful strategy or badly chosen technique” (Chesterman 2005:26). Shifts, unlike methods, strategies and techniques, cannot be taught, although they can provide information about strategies and techniques. Chesterman identifies five major problems in the study of translation strategies: the terminological problem (coexistence of different terms to refer to the same thing), the conceptual problem (problem of definition depending on whether strategy is seen as result vs process, from a linguistic vs cognitive perspective, etc.), the classification problem, the application problem (how to apply the concept to empirical research) and the pedagogical problem (how to organize the concepts into useful pedagogical tools).

Strategies in written translation

The focus of most research on strategies in written translation has been the link between the level of expertise of the translator and the type of strategy employed. One of the first empirical studies on written translation strategies is Kußmaul and Tirkkonen Condit (1995), which used thinking aloud protocols. On the basis of a range of experiments conducted in Germany and Finland, Kußmaul and Tirkkonen Condit conclude that successful translators seem to

work more strategically, since their local decisions seem to be subordinated to global ones in their decision-making process (ibid.:190). Königs and Kaufmann (1996:18–19) arrived at a similar conclusion after demonstrating that the translation strategies employed by foreign-language students are more vocabulary centred than grammar centred. Likewise, Jääskeläinen (1996) observes that experts have more processing capacity available for production strategies than novices. Lörscher (2005) employed thinking aloud protocols to compare professional translators with advanced foreign-language learners. According to Lörscher, the translation process includes both strategic phases, directed towards solving translational problems, and non-strategic phases, which aim to accomplish tasks without specific difficulties. The results show that most of the foreign-language students produce translations by exchanging language signs (form-oriented); the units of translation are larger among professionals; foreign-language students tend not to check the TL utterances, while professional translators continuously check their TL text output (professional translators mainly check their TL utterances with regard to their stylistic and text-type adequacy).

Tirkkonen-Condit (2005) examined the ability to monitor one's own performance when translating. Drawing on several studies, she offers an overview of features of expertise: the use of global-oriented comprehension and production strategies; coherence between global decisions and principles adopted; strategic behaviour in decision-making efforts; use of generation and monitoring strategies for quality assessment; and a tendency to improve quality in relation to the source text. The results of Tirkkonen-Condit's research show that awareness of the process helps to monitor one's own performance (ibid.:412) and that novices approach the translation task as a problem-solving activity centred on lexical or phrasal units, with little or no regard to broader, textual aspects (ibid.:408). Asadi and Séguinot (2005) also studied the use of experience-related or text-specific strategies among a group of nine experts. Surprisingly, no common methodology in the use of strategies could be observed, in spite of the apparent homogeneity of participants. Instead, two main cognitive styles of production were identified: solving problems mentally or aloud before

typing the solution; and translating first small segments, such as lexical items and phrases that followed the source text closely; and then moving on to larger segments that required changing the syntax and discovering problems after typing.

Another surprising finding comes from a pilot study to ascertain whether professionals and amateurs differ in how often they follow an advanced translation strategy (Płońska 2014), specifically, that of scenes and scenarios introduced by Hejwowski (1992, 2014, in Płońska 2014). The expectation was that professionals would use more advanced strategies, but the results show that both amateurs and professionals use these strategies, and even that some amateurs use them more than professionals (Płońska 2014:73).

Strategies in interpreting

Gile's Efforts Model for simultaneous interpreting (1985, 1996/2009, 1999a, 2002) defines effort as the non-automatic and conscious cognitive operations involved in the interpreting process. He describes a set of deliberate strategies and coping tactics to prevent or solve processing failures. Strategies designate planned actions with specific goals, such as conference preparation strategies, whereas tactics refer to online decisions and actions (Gile 1996/2009:201). These tactics can be of three kinds: comprehension tactics, such as delaying the response or reconstructing the segment with the help of the context; preventive tactics, such as taking notes, lengthening or shortening the ear-voice span; and reformulation tactics, which include a longer list of actions, from explaining or paraphrasing to referring delegates to another information source.

From a functionalist point of view, Kalina (1992, 2005) and Kohn and Kalina (1996) argue that the goal is what determines the thoroughness of processing, regardless of the conscious or automatic character of the strategies used, and that strategies change depending on whether they take place during discourse reception or production. Interpreting, argue Kohn and Kalina (1996), can be conceived as strategic discourse processing, since the strategic orientation of interpreting is all-pervasive. Kalina

(2005) also observes the factors that determine interpreting quality under specific conditions; chief among them is the interpreter's skill in choosing appropriate strategies.

As with written translation, comparisons between novices and experts are common in interpreting research. Gran (1998) distinguishes between strategies and creativity: strategies are planned in advance, based on certain rules and require previous assimilation; creativity comes in at a later stage, once the translator/interpreter can handle the basic cognitive and linguistic tools of the profession. On the basis of an experimental study comparing students and professional interpreters, Gran concludes that cognitive abstracting – that is, the division of speech into segments of information in order to facilitate the task of rendering it in the target language – is the result of a well-planned strategy, whereas linguistic compressing – the shortening of sentences to make speech more effective and clear – is a more creative process.

Riccardi's (1998) research on simultaneous interpreting shows that experts develop strategies which allow them to support a heavier cognitive memory load, possess a higher flexibility to combine strategies and have a higher capacity to make use of their extralinguistic knowledge. Abuín's (2008) comprehensive study of the problem-strategy binomial in consecutive interpreting provides a detailed taxonomy of strategies encountered by a sample of interpreters with different levels of expertise. The strategies are divided into two main categories: reception phase and production phase (*ibid.*:55–56). Abuín shows that problems move from the reception phase to the production phase as competence grows, which leads the interpreter to apply different strategies (*ibid.*:174). Arumí (2012) also analyzes the interpreting problems encountered by two groups of students at different stages of training and the strategies they use to solve them. She divides the strategies applied into four categories: listening and understanding strategies, note-taking strategies, decoding strategies and expression and reformulation strategies (*ibid.*:826). Arumí finds that more advanced students employ a wider range of strategies and argues that spontaneous use of individual strategies should be further studied.

In the field of public service interpreting, one of the first studies to deal with strategies was

Wadensjö (1998). Although the term strategy is not directly mentioned, Wadensjö analyzes a set of mediated interactions in hospitals and institutional settings in Sweden and describes eight types of renditions: close, expanded, reduced, substituted, summarized, two-part or multi-part, non-renditions and zero renditions. This taxonomy is intended to help elucidate whether interpreters are more text- or interactionally oriented: text-oriented interpreters aim to bridge a linguistic gap, while interaction-oriented interpreters aim to bridge a social gap (between interactants); while some renditions may be inappropriate from a textual point of view, they are necessary and justified from an interactional perspective. Allen Rosenberg (2002) focuses on Wadensjö's non-renditions, which are original utterances by the interpreter without correspondence to an original. He shows that interpreters' non-renditions constitute 46.4% of their utterances and classifies them into five types: phatic expressions, understandable utterances, non-relation utterances, humorous expressions and clarifications (*ibid.*:135–136). Still in the healthcare context, Valero-Garcés (2005) used two different corpora of doctor-immigrant patient interviews recorded in Minneapolis and Madrid to analyze the problems encountered and the strategies used by interpreters when dealing with specialized medical language. The results show that the strategies are quite similar to those previously described by Niska (2002) in the context of a study on community interpreter training: direct equivalence, approximate equivalence, loan-translations, explanation of a concept, direct loan, term creation and translation couplets (combinations of two or more strategies). Other authors, such as Merlini and Favaron (2003), consider power management strategies such as verbal and non-verbal modifications of the original message that result in raising the patient's status, as perceived by the healthcare practitioner. Rudvin (2006a:174) analyzes strategies of identity negotiation related to perceived and in-built perceptions of Self and Other.

Dueñas González et al. (2012) describe the strategies more commonly used by court interpreters in simultaneous interpreting, consecutive interpreting and sight translation. These general strategies are subsequently associated to specific exercises for improving skills. Another

relevant contribution to court interpreting comes from the MIRAS research group within the frame of its TIPp project. On the basis of an extensive corpus of recorded trials, they offer a taxonomy and statistical data about the use of both techniques – strategies applied to short text segments – and strategies which are related to the interactional dimension of interpreting, such as asking for repetition (Orozco-Jutorán 2017). Other authors, such as Pöllabauer (2004), used critical discourse analysis to study the strategic behaviour of interpreters during asylum hearings recorded in the Austrian city of Graz. Pöllabauer observes “face-saving strategies” used by the interpreter, which consist of a move from the first to the third person singular (2004:163). She also describes another kind of strategy (change of footing by using *we* structures), that interpreters may employ to forge alliances between themselves and the officers and/or asylum-seekers (ibid.:168).

The MIRAS research group has also investigated the strategic behaviour of professional interpreters working in specific social and educational settings. The study, based on recorded simulations of Arabic-Spanish/Catalan and Chinese-Spanish/Catalan interpreted interactions, complemented by preliminary and retrospective interviews, offers an in-depth analysis and detailed description of the strategies used by five professional interpreters for each pair. The results show that Arabic interpreters turn to strategies traditionally associated with intercultural mediation, whose goals are to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding, resolve potential conflicts, empower the user and establish familiarity between the interpreter and the user. Examples of strategies employed for these purposes are: paraphrasing terminology, explaining culture-specific references and including rapprochement expressions (Gil-Bardaji 2016:37–38). Chinese interpreters resorted to different strategies to coordinate information and turn-taking, combining more intrusive strategies such as questions and interventions with less intrusive ones such as non-verbal signs or continuers (Arumí Ribas and Vargas-Urpi 2017:134–136).

On the basis of interviews with public service interpreters working from Chinese into Spanish and Catalan, Vargas-Urpi (2016) corroborates earlier findings (Hsieh 2006; Dysart-Gale 2005;

Angelelli 2006) that place interpreter role shifts as a core issue in public service interpreting: interpreters move from the role of user advocate when coping with world-level problems to one of provider’s assistant when pragmatic problems are detected. This role shift may be explained by the hierarchical relationship between provider and user (Vargas-Urpi 2016:674). On another level, Vargas-Urpi and Arumí Ribas (2016) adopt Wadensjö’s taxonomy to carry out a case study of the interpretation provided during a meeting between a tutor in a Catalan public primary school and a mother of Chinese origin. They suggest that strategies may not always be reactive: they may also be anticipative, for example to prevent problems.

Audiovisual translation

Delabastita (1990:104) describes five types of “operations” in AVT, which he assimilates to the following categories of classical rhetoric: *repetitio*, *adiectio*, *detractio*, *substitutio* and *transmutatio*. Gottlieb (1992) offers a taxonomy of ten strategies often used in subtitling: the first seven – expansion, paraphrase, transfer, imitation, transcription, dislocation and condensation – result in correspondence, while the remaining three – decimation, deletion and resignation – involve some degree of semantic or stylistic non-correspondence. Using the Danish subtitled version of Mel Brooks’s *Young Frankenstein* as a case study, Gottlieb observes that only 16% of the original suffered a loss of semantic or stylistic information, and that the most used strategy was “transfer”, that is, “full expression with adequate meaning”, followed by “paraphrase” and “condensation” (ibid.:167).

Díaz-Cintas and Remael outline the importance of “text reduction” in subtitling, whose double aim is to eliminate what is not relevant for the comprehension of the message and/or to reformulate the message as concisely as possible (2007:146). In the field of dubbing, Matamala (2010) investigates how written translations of audiovisual products are adapted through the dubbing process and identifies a set of strategies at the synchronization, recording and revision stages. Vercauteren (2012) looks at strategies in audio description, focusing on what should be audio described from a narratological point

of view. Considering time as one of the most important constituents of narrative, Vercauteren proposes a strategy for the audio description of film time. This strategy, presented as a decision-making process, begins with the classification of a scene's temporal setting (clear or not clear) and goes through the delimitation of other temporal aspects, such as temporal orchestration or temporal relations (ibid.:225–227).

In the field of video game localization, Mangiron and O'Hagan (2006) argue for a transcreation model that grants translators more freedom to deal with space and other constraints, and describe four types of translation strategies specific to the video game genre and applied in the localization of the best-selling Japanese PlayStation game *Final Fantasy*: renaming of key terminology and character names; contextualization by addition; re-creation of play on words and deliberate use of regional expressions. Fernández Costales (2012) proposes a hypothetical connection between translation strategies and the different genres of video games. Although he admits that it is difficult to establish definitive correspondences, he argues that it is possible to observe some regularities, such as the more frequent use of transcreation in narrative-driven games (ibid.:385), and recognizes the following strategies: domestication vs foreignization, no translation, transcreation, literal translation, loyalty, loss of meaning and compensation strategies and strategies to compensate censorship.

Future directions

Research on strategies has been mainly concerned with defining what a strategy is and classifying strategies into different categories on the basis of theoretical or empirical studies. Although these contributions have been crucial in establishing the basis for a solid development of research on strategies, a greater openness towards new methods and theoretical approaches is needed. Beyond the benefits offered by textual, psycholinguistic and cognitive perspectives, future research on strategies might draw on ethnographic, sociological, interactional and critical scholarship on situated decision-making. Such research may be usefully combined with new and mixed methods, including eye-tracking techniques and the

triangulation of data obtained from different types of analysis.

See also:

ADAPTATION; COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; FEMINIST TRANSLATION STRATEGIES; GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS; ORIENTALISM

Further reading

Chesterman, A. (2005) 'Problems with Strategies', in K. Károly and A. Fóris (eds) *New Trends in Translation Studies, in Honour of Kinga Klaudy*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 17–28.

A comprehensive discussion of the key difficulties involved in the study of strategies, with insightful analysis of the main theoretical complexities involved in researching the topic.

Lörscher, W. (1991) *Translation Performance, Translation Process and Translation Strategies*, Gunter Narr, Tübingen.

A founding work on translation strategies from a psycholinguistic perspective; analyzes the mental processes involved in translation and proposes a very detailed description and classification of strategies based on both qualitative and quantitative data.

Riccardi, A. (2005) 'On the Evolution of Interpreting Strategies in Simultaneous Interpreting', *Meta* 50(2): 753–767.

Insightful summary of the evolution of research on strategies in simultaneous interpreting; helpful in understanding differences in the development of different approaches to strategies in relation to oral and written translation.

ANNA GIL-BARDAJÍ

Structuration theory

Of the sociological theories that have exercised influence in translation and interpreting studies, the work of Anthony Giddens has been markedly less prominent than that of Bourdieu, Latour or Luhmann, for example. In part, this may be explained by the fact that Giddens does not share the commitment to ethnographic methods found, for instance, in the works of Latour and Bourdieu. However, Gid-

dens's contention (1984:xxx) that "a good deal of social theory . . . has treated agents as much less knowledgeable than they really are" prompts reflection on the ways in which scholars might access the full range of agents' knowledgeability, with implications for research on translation and interpreting.

Giddens's scholarship falls into two main theoretical areas. His early work (1976, 1979, 1984) critiqued the two broad programmatic approaches that dominate social theory: various forms of interpretive sociology and functionalism. His later work (1991, 1998) took an explicitly political turn, and his influence on the development of the politics of the third way has been widely documented.

Structuration theory

The development of structuration theory marks an attempt to address the gap between "action theory and institutional analysis" (Knorr-Cetina 1981:155). Giddens proposes the concept of the duality of structure to bridge this gap by promoting agents in institutional analysis as capable and knowledgeable actors and by emphasizing temporal and spatial elements commonly encountered in structured social action. For Giddens, the duality of structure relates to "the *fundamentally recursive nature of social life and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency*" (Giddens 1979:69; original emphasis). The term structuration conveys the idea of active historical process and "admits continuity while allowing for deliberate innovation and change" (Whittington 2010:112).

Giddens understands institution or structure as structured social practices that have broad spatial and temporal extension, in contrast to other theorists such as Durkheim who present structures almost exclusively as a form of constraint. An innovative though contested aspect of his approach is the promotion of structure as both constraining and enabling, and as taking the form of rules and resources that exist virtually, meaning that they are "only tacitly grasped by actors" (Giddens 1984:22), and are instantiated in social systems. He argues that social actors draw upon these rules and resources to structure their actions, and, in turn, the "structural qualities which generate social action are

continually reproduced through these very same actions" (Giddens 1979:155).

The interconnection between intended and unintended consequences of social action and the knowledgeability of social actors is foregrounded in structuration theory: unintended consequences are said to condition social reproduction and consequently determine the process of structure through which systems are maintained and change over time (Knorr-Cetina 1981:27). Giddens (1979:55) conceives of agency and action as a continuous flow of conduct rather than as discrete acts, and assumes that agents are able to reflexively monitor their own behaviour and the contexts in which they move, and hence that they "could have acted otherwise". Monitoring involves different types of consciousness: practical consciousness, which concerns what actors know about social conditions but cannot express discursively (1984:375), and discursive consciousness, which relates to the ability of agents to give verbal expression to social conditions (ibid.:374). The ability to monitor action helps agents to make sense of the world around them, as a result of which they develop routines that afford them a degree of ontological security. A core claim of Giddens's approach to agency is that most of our actions are unconscious and not directly motivated, an assertion he illustrates through a stratified model of the agent in which motivation for action is positioned at the bottom and reflexive monitoring of action at the top (1984:5).

Loyal and Barnes (2001) argue that although Giddens's emphasis on agents' ability to act otherwise seeks to explain how an agent's actions "are never wholly determined by structural constraints", it does not have any empirical significance since "[t]heorists do not need to know how far a course of action 'could have been otherwise', for there is nothing here to be known" (2001:518). For Giddens, its significance lies in its potential to counterfactually investigate a "singular set of events" and consider, for instance, "what would have happened to events B, C, D, E . . . if A had not occurred" (1984:13). This has application to translation and interpreting activity, where the potential to act otherwise is often instantiated in the written mode and can be investigated by analyzing multiple translated versions of and revisions to the same text. Similarly, in the spoken mode, whether in commu-

nity or conference interpreting, there is scope to revisit and renegotiate discursive formations immediately or asynchronously, for instance, in subsequent interpreter-mediated interactions with the same service user. At a broader level, this analytical approach may help to shed light on how “cycles of unintended consequences feed back to promote social reproduction across long periods of time” (Giddens 1984:14).

Despite offering what he considers to be a very congenial approach in which human agency and structure presuppose each other rather than being opposed, Sewell finds that the concept of structure in Giddens’s theory remains “frustratingly underspecified” (1992:5). Others assert that Giddens’s proposed solution to the macro-micro problem does not achieve the aim of promoting structure as both enabling and constraining. This is based on claims that he ends up promoting the type of objectivism (about structures) that he wishes to transcend, largely as a result of his lack of attention to causality in his characterizations of social relations (Loyal 2003:84; Archer 1982; Craib 1992; King 2000). In other critiques (Layder 1985), structuration theory appears unable to account for the fact that some actors have more power than others in the first place, in contrast to Bourdieu’s theoretical approach in which such questions are a central concern (Bourdieu 1984/2010).

Structuration theory vs Bourdieu’s field theory

In making a distinction between Giddens and Bourdieu and their respective theoretical approaches to social reproduction, Wacquant (in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:3) asserts that Giddens chiefly focuses on “issues of social ontology and conceptualization”, whereas Bourdieu’s theoretical focus “has always been a desire to grapple with new empirical objects”. Wacquant also stresses that although there may be areas in common, each scholar’s work is largely rooted in different philosophical questions and views of society. One of these differences can be observed in the status of reflexivity, a concept central to both theorists’ work. For Bourdieu, reflexivity is epistemic and involves the sociologist subjecting him-/herself to the same critical analysis as what is being observed, whereas for

Giddens it relates to the agent’s ability to monitor the self in social interaction.

In both theorists’ approaches there is an emphasis on forms of disposition to practice; in Bourdieu this is foregrounded as habitus and in Giddens as rules and resources, with concomitant differences in function. Habitus is a structuring mechanism “that operates within agents” in the sense that external structures are internalized but in a way that is “neither strictly individual nor in itself fully determinative of conduct” (Wacquant, in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:18). Habitus is thus conceived as a tool that mediates between subject and object. For Giddens, rules are “generalised procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social practices” (Giddens 1984:21). Conceptually, rules can relate to “the constitution of *meaning*” and “to the *sanctioning* of modes of social conduct” (ibid.:18; original emphasis).

The role of language and discursivity in social practice is also an area in which the two theorists differ. In a study of interpreting in the political asylum procedure, Inghilleri draws attention to Bourdieu’s limited view of language in relation to the potential of speaking subjects to act as “activators of the transformative capacity of the habitus” (2003:246) and considers Bernstein’s (1990) concept of pedagogic discourse as holding the potential for power and knowledge to be constituted interactively and discursively within a field, i.e. through recontextualization. In developing structuration theory, Giddens sought to move beyond the turn towards language observed in ordinary language philosophy and offer “an altered view of the intersection between saying (or signifying) and doing” (1984:xxii). However, he appears to overplay actors’ discursive power in processes of social transformation in asserting that “all actors have some degree of *discursive penetration* of the social systems to whose constitution they contribute” (1979:5; original emphasis). This claim derives from Goffman’s notion of front and back regions, illustrated by the waiter who, on entering the front region of a restaurant from the back region of the kitchen, often changes her or his (discursive) behaviour. The ability to discern different social performances in these front and back regions is evidence for Giddens of “substantial *discursive penetration* of the institutional forms within which interaction is car-

ried on" (1979:208; original emphasis). However, he makes limited reference to the differentiated capacities of agents in terms of their ability to discern differences in performance and arguably neglects the role of interaction in processes of so-called discursive penetration. Furthermore, the complexities of multilingual and multicultural contexts of interaction are not factored into his theorizing.

Structuration theory in translation and interpreting studies

Van Rooyen (2013) is one of the few scholars in translation studies to have directly applied structuration theory in her study of the role of agents and agency in news translation. Drawing on data gathered from the newsroom of Radio Sonder Grense, the Afrikaans public broadcaster in South Africa, she analyzes the producer as an example of an agent governed by their practical consciousness: that is, the individual gets on with their work without thinking about it, but if asked they could articulate what they are doing and why. The producers are observed as they select, edit and translate news items, and van Rooyen suggests that structuration theory helps to show that these agents are re-creating and transforming their social environment rather than blindly reproducing structure (ibid.:500). Although decisions appear to be freely enacted, they are shaped by the internalized rules and resources of the newsroom, since the producers "end up editing and translating (transediting) stories before these stories have been edited (and therefore screened and chosen) by the main news desk" (ibid.). With regard to issues of temporality and spatiality in structuration theory, van Rooyen observes that the rules and resources of the newsroom structure are used over long periods of time, and that the structure of the newsroom successfully reproduces itself without compromising its identity. Although the decision-making processes can be viewed through an ideological lens, the time constraints imposed on the agents' activities play an important role and provide a useful complementary means to examine practice and its impact on processes of transformation at the local and wider societal levels.

Although few studies in translation and interpreting have critically engaged with Giddens's theoretical programme, its potential influence on both fields merits further consideration, not least because its "ontological scope ranges from face-to-face encounters between 'present' individuals to distanced interactions between collectivities" (Phipps 2001:192; Pred 1990). From the perspective of community interpreting and, to a lesser extent, conference interpreting, critiques of structuration theory based on lack of empirical significance for 'actions that might have been otherwise' may be revisited by considering that alternative courses of action are typically part of the trial and error of live communicative (inter)action and cross-cultural meaning-making (Tipton 2008). They are manifest in aspects of pragmatics, physical positioning, repair and interventions to seek clarifications.

In conference interpreting, structuration theory offers scope to further examine the relationship between interpreting practice and globalizing forces, and the ways in which mutually supportive communities of translators and interpreters are created and sustained. At the institutional level, it presents a potential framework for examining interactions arising from the structures instantiated by particular language regimes and their (unintended) consequences. Structuration theory can also be applied in the field of interpreter education, to examine the relation between the acquisition of skills and the development of reflective frameworks that support enhanced understandings of the role and responsibility of the conference interpreter in contemporary society, building on existing applications of narrative theoretical approaches and socio-critical approaches to pedagogy (Boéri 2008/2009; Boéri and de Manuel Jerez 2011).

The potential applications of adaptive structuration theory (AST) are also worth exploring, especially in the context of increased attention to technology and globalization in translation studies. Adaptive structuration theory emerged from the work of de Sanctis and Poole (1994), who attempt to capture the complexity of advanced technology use and apply the theory to study the interplay between advanced information technologies, social structure and human interaction. A central contention is that the incorporation of technology in work practices creates

perceptions about its role and utility, and these perceptions – whether individually or interactionally generated – in turn influence the way in which it is used, opening up the possibility to investigate technology-triggered change at multiple levels. One potential avenue of future research thus concerns the extent to which AST might complement other approaches to the study of participatory forms of translation and how it might help to interrogate the relationship between translation and technology. O'Hagan (2016b), for example, draws on critical theory of technology in her study of Massive Open Translation (MOT) in order to highlight technology as a key factor in transforming social practices and attend to matters of the constitution of technology, that is, how it develops over time, and user experiences of it. AST could offer additional support for the analysis of the relationship between technology and behavioural change. It could also usefully be extended to uses of malleable IT (Schmitz et al. 2016), for example in the context of crowdsourced translation in humanitarian crises, where it might offer insight into the connections between the role of key actors in the aid system, aid recipients and the wider social structures of recovery and development.

See also:

ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY; FIELD THEORY;
SOCIAL SYSTEMS; SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Further reading

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the theory of structuration*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

A seminal work of social theory that brings together ideas Giddens developed in previous works in an integrated manner. Concerned with human being, human doing, social reproduction and social transformation, Giddens reconceptualizes the dualism between objectivism and subjectivism traditionally found in social theory as a duality, in an attempt to provide a coherent account of human agency and structure.

Sewell, W.F. (1992) 'A Theory of Structure: Duality, agency and transformation', *American Journal of Sociology* 98(1): 1–29.

Provides a contrastive analysis of the theoretical approaches to agency and structure developed by Giddens and Bourdieu.

Tipton, R. (2008) 'Reflexivity and the Social Construction of Identity in Interpreter-mediated Asylum Interviews', *The Translator* 14(1): 1–19.

Examines Giddens's notion of reflexivity in human conduct in the context of interpreter-mediated asylum interviews to ascertain the extent to which reflexive practices employed by all parties to the interaction impact on the asylum applicant's ability to assert her or his status as a knowledgeable agent.

REBECCA TIPTON

Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing

Subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH), known as captions in the US, Canada and Australia, may take the form of intralingual or interlingual translation. They may be "burnt in (open) or superimposed (closed)", "prepared beforehand or delivered live", "provided in an edited or (near) verbatim form", and provide access to verbal as well as non-verbal (acoustic) information (Neves 2018:83). SDH is primarily intended to assist viewers with hearing loss, "although it is equally useful for people with intellectual or learning difficulties or with a lesser command of the spoken language" (ibid.).

Initially proposed by Ross Hamilton in a PhD thesis published in the late 1940s (Stewart 1984), the idea of captioning was first implemented in 1950 by the non-profit association Captioned Films for the Deaf, which produced open captions for entertainment films to be distributed to deaf clubs in the US (Parlato 1977). The first TV captions, produced for *ABC News*, *Zoom* and *French Chef*, were also open. In 1971, the National Bureau of Standards, in cooperation with ABC Television Network, introduced a pioneering system to insert closed captions into line 21 on regular TV sets, thus making them only visible with decoding devices. Following the success of this method, the National Captioning Institute was set up in 1979, and on 16

March 1980 the three national networks – PBS, ABC and NBC – began broadcasting a total of 16 hours of close-captioned programmes per week.

In Europe, the beginning of SDH is closely linked with TV, the teletext and the experiments conducted in the early 1970s by Oracle+, the University of Southampton and the BBC, which presented its Ceefax Teletext service in 1972 and started providing SDH in 1979 (Remael 2007). France 2 followed the trend in 1979, subtitling a weather forecast programme with the ANTIOPE system, which was also teletext based. Germany, Belgium and Flanders followed suit in 1980, 1983 and 1986, respectively, and Spain and Portugal soon after in the 1990s.

Research on SDH

Research on SDH started in the US in the early 1970s with a series of reception studies, mostly doctoral theses, that explored the benefits of captions for deaf students (Gates 1970; Nix 1971; Fischer 1971; Propp 1972; Davila 1972; Nomeland 1973; Shroyer 1973; Norwood 1976). They provided the first evidence supporting the use of captions over other forms of accessibility and laid the foundation for their adoption on TV and for the ensuing research in the following decades.

Particularly interesting are the early experiments by Shroyer (1973) and Norwood (1976), the first authors to analyze captioning speed and the effectiveness of captions versus that of sign language interpreting. In a reception study involving 185 deaf and hearing students, Shroyer (1973) recommended 120 words per minute (wpm) as an optimum speed for children. This recommendation informed Norwood's caption scales (1980), possibly the first formula ever designed to calculate caption speed for children and adults. Norwood had compared the effectiveness of captions to that of sign language interpreting and found that 90% of the participants, regardless of their background, preferred captions over sign language, and that the former provided significantly more information than the latter.

The introduction of closed captions on US TV in the 1980s prompted the first large-scale studies on user habits and preferences (Blatt and

Sulzer 1981; Jensema and Fitzgerald 1981; Liss and Price 1981). The results showed that the viewers were satisfied with the quality of captions on TV but also demanded more captions for news, movies and the most popular series (Fitzgerald and Jensema 1981). Further evidence for the educational value of captions and their positive impact on comprehension was provided by Murphy-Berman and Jorgensen (1980), Braverman (1981), Nugent (1983), Stewart (1984) and Hertzog et al. (1989). In the UK, Robert Baker and Andrew Lambourne were asked by the Independent Broadcasting Authority and Oracle Teletext Limited to undertake a series of projects from 1978 to 1981 aimed at the introduction of SDH on TV (Baker 1985). The results of this research may be found in Baker (1981, 1982, 1985), Baker and Lambourne (1982) and especially Baker et al. (1984), the first handbook on SDH to be published in Europe.

Subtitling speed became a core area of research in the 1990s, thanks to the research carried out amongst others by Meyer and Lee (1995), and especially Carl Jensema and his team. In an initial study involving 205 TV programmes, Jensema et al. (1996) identified an average speed of 141 wpm. Building on this data, Jensema (1998) showed videos captioned at different speeds to 578 deaf, hard-of-hearing and hearing participants, who found 145 wpm to be the preferred speed. In 1999, Jensema and Burch conducted the largest reception study to date on this topic, involving 1,102 deaf, hard-of-hearing and hearing participants. The results showed that viewers are able to obtain information from captions displayed as fast as 220 wpm but, as noted by the authors, only "for short periods of time" (1999:30). This points to one of the limitations of the study, which used 30-second videos with no audio and did not include questions about the images. Useful as they are, its findings cannot be extrapolated to a real-life scenario where viewers watch entire programmes expecting to be able to process not only the captions but also the images.

The 1990s also saw the first reception studies on specific SDH parameters other than speed and editing: King et al. (1994) on character identification, Harkins et al. (1996) on non-speech information, and the National Center for Accessible Media (1998) on captioning format. The findings of these studies informed the

official captioning guidelines in the US and go some way towards explaining why, for example, name tags and chevrons are used for character identification in that country instead of colours, the latter being the method used in many European countries. Later reception studies focused on SDH for children: they included PhD theses (Zárate 2014; Porteiro 2012; Tamayo 2015; Sala Robert 2016) and published case studies (Lorenzo 2010; Cambra et al. 2010, 2015), most of which propose alternative subtitling formats for children or the use of SDH for the treatment of speech-language disorders (Porteiro 2012). Other aspects explored include the use of name tags and displacement for character identification in the US (Vy and Fels 2010), the comparison between standard SDH and expanded subtitles including keywords with definitions (Stinson and Stevenson 2013), the use of SDH in multilingual films (Szarkowska et al. 2013, 2014) and the effect of SDH exposure speed on comprehension (Miquel Iriarte 2017).

The largest reception study on SDH so far was conducted as part of the EU-funded project DTV4ALL (Romero-Fresco 2015a), which analyzed the reception of SDH in Denmark, Poland, the UK, Spain, Italy, France and Germany. As well as national findings, the DTV4ALL project also yielded pan-European data on the way different types of viewers process and understand SDH in different countries and languages (Romero-Fresco 2015b). Although deaf viewers manage to locate the subtitles on screen 10% faster than hearing viewers and spend 8% more time reading them, their comprehension of subtitles is 15% worse. This may be a sign of reading difficulties. However, despite having less time left to look at the images on the screen, deaf viewers' visual comprehension is just as good as, and sometimes even better than that of hearing viewers. In other words, deaf viewers seem to make up for their sometimes sub-standard reading skills with a particularly good visual perception and comprehension. Finally, the eye-tracking studies conducted as part of the DTV4ALL project also yielded data about viewing speed, regarded as the speed at which a given viewer watches a piece of audiovisual material, which includes accessing the subtitle, the accompanying images and the sound, if available (Romero-Fresco 2015c). The traditional recommendation of 150 wpm triggers an

equal distribution of attention between subtitles and images, whereas the more modern guidelines of approximately 180 wpm allow less time for the images.

Later reception research on SDH has started to look at the viewers' sense of presence or immersion and at different display devices. Whereas comprehension has traditionally been used as a yardstick to assess the effectiveness of subtitles, many scholars believe that the extent to which the subtitles enable viewers to suspend disbelief and be transported into the audiovisual fiction is just as important. Romero-Fresco and Fryer's (2016) study of the reception of SDH (preferences, eye movements and sense of presence) on LED screens (open subtitles) and tablets (closed subtitles) by deaf, hard-of-hearing and hearing viewers in the theatre demonstrates a preference for LED screens but also a dynamic scenario where different devices may perform effectively depending on the viewers, the type of play and the venue. As far as immersion is concerned, the SDH produced in this experiment enabled participants with hearing loss to be as engaged in the fictional world as hearing participants watching the same play with no captions, thus offering the first statistical evidence to contradict the widely held notion that TV and theatre subtitles draw viewers away from the action on screen, which has often been used as an argument against subtitling.

A related strand of research drew on eye-tracking techniques. The first research monograph on SDH (De Linde and Kay 1999) offered a comprehensive account of SDH in the UK and was one of the first eye-tracking studies of SDH in Europe. The results show that the reading process is affected by the speech rates of the programmes, film editing techniques (shot changes may induce rereading) and the visibility of the speaker, leading the authors to conclude that slow subtitles may be suitable for active "location shots" and faster subtitles for "studio presentations with a static newsreader" (de Linde and Kay 1999:76). De Linde and Kay's study anticipates the two aspects that will characterize SDH research in the first decade of the twenty-first century: the development of eye tracking and the inclusion of SDH within audiovisual translation studies.

In some of the first eye-tracking studies on SDH in the US, Jensema et al. (2000b) found, as

D'Ydewalle and Gielen (1992) had done previously in Europe, that the appearance of captions (or any other type of text) on the screen draws the viewers' attention to them automatically, whether or not they are needed or even understood. Viewers normally start by looking at the centre of the screen, then turn to the captions as soon as they are displayed and finally go back to the images. Jensema et al. (2000a) also found that the higher the caption speed, the more time is spent on the captions, a finding that was later confirmed by Chapdelaine et al. (2007). The effect of caption speed on comprehension was also tested in the US by Ward et al. (2007) and in Australia by Tyler et al. (2009) and Burnham et al. (2008). The latter study highlighted the importance of hearing status and reading level. Proficient hard-of-hearing adults performed best at 180 wpm, whereas proficient deaf readers were best at 130 wpm. Research on captions conducted in the US during the first decade of the twenty-first century also included studies on the educational value of captions for elderly hearing aid users (Jelinek et al. 2001) and for deaf and hearing children (Linebarger 2001), as well as research on emotive captions (graphical representations of the emotive information that is normally represented with non-verbal sound) by Fels et al. (2005) and Lee et al. (2007).

Eye tracking has now become one of the most common methods to analyze SDH, especially to corroborate or refute with objective data commonly held assumptions that have traditionally informed SDH guidelines. Bisson et al. (2012) confirm D'Ydewalle and Gielen's (1992) and Jensema et al.'s view (2000b) that most participants read the subtitles even if they do not need them or cannot understand them. Testing the perception of verbatim, standard and edited subtitles, Szarkowska et al. (2011, 2016) show that verbatim subtitles displayed at 15 characters per second trigger better comprehension scores and are skipped less often than subtitles edited at a lower speed, which result in lower comprehension and slightly more disruptive reading patterns. Challenging the content of most subtitling guidelines, which warn that subtitles left over a shot change normally induce rereading, Krejtz et al. (2013) found that most of the participants in their study did not reread the subtitles. In a further study, Krejtz et al. (2015) show that for hearing viewers, function words and short con-

tent words receive less visual attention than longer content words; in contrast, deaf participants dwell significantly longer on function words than other participants, which may be a further indication of reading difficulties.

Research on SDH reached a turning point in Neves's doctoral dissertation (Neves 2005), which contributed decisively to contextualizing and giving visibility to SDH as an area of research within translation studies, and more specifically as a modality of media accessibility within AVT. Neves adopted an action research approach in an empirical study of SDH in Portugal and a series of reception studies that culminated in the publication of a set of official SDH guidelines (Neves 2007). Finally, the first decade of the twenty-first century also brought about the first reception studies in other countries such as Brazil (Franco and Araújo 2003 on the importance of condensation and editing for the comprehension of SDH) and Spain (Cambra et al. 2008, 2009 on the need to adapt subtitling criteria to children depending on their reading ability).

Research on live SDH

Live subtitling is "the real-time transcription of spoken words, sound effects, relevant musical cues, and other relevant audio information" to enable deaf or hard-of-hearing persons to follow a live audiovisual programme (ITU 2015:5). Since their introduction in the US and Europe in the early 1980s, live subtitles have been produced through different methods: standard QWERTY keyboards, dual keyboard, Velotype and the two most common approaches, namely stenography and respeaking (Lambourne 2006). Stenography, the preferred method for producing live subtitles in the US and Canada, uses a system of machine shorthand in which letters or groups of letters phonetically represent syllables, words, phrases and punctuation marks. Respeaking, or real-time voice writing as it is also known in the US, is

a technique in which a respeaker listens to the original sound of a (live) programme or event and respeaks it, including punctuation marks and some specific features for the deaf and hard-of-hearing audience,

to a speech-recognition software, which turns the recognized utterances into subtitles displayed on the screen with the shortest possible delay.

(Romero-Fresco 2011:1)

Research on live subtitling is still relatively scarce, despite the popularity and widespread use of this technique in the industry and its social impact. So far, research has focused on the respeaking process, the training of respeakers, the analysis of respoken subtitles (including quality assessment) and their reception by users. Early publications proposed general descriptions of respeaking (Eugeni 2006, Lambourne 2006, Romero-Fresco 2008) and of how live subtitling and more specifically respeaking was first implemented in countries such as Italy (de Serriis 2006), Denmark (Baaring 2006), Taiwan (Chen 2006), Spain (Orero 2006), the Netherlands (de Korte 2006), Belgium (Remael and van der Veer 2006) and the UK (Marsh 2006). The process of respeaking has also attracted the attention of researchers such as Remael et al. (2014), who have investigated the reduction strategies used by live subtitlers.

The first reflections on how to train respeakers can be found in Muzii (2006) and especially Remael and van der Veer (2006), who outline the main skills and exercises from subtitling and interpreting that are needed to train respeakers in higher education. This was the starting point of the first comprehensive pedagogical model for the training of respeakers, developed by Arumí and Romero-Fresco (2008), which was applied in the respeaking courses taught at Universitat de Vigo, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain) and the University of Roehampton (UK). This model has been updated on the basis of feedback obtained from students (Romero-Fresco 2012a), which has led to the discussion of whether interpreting or subtitling students are better suited to respeaking (Eugeni 2008a), given that multitasking and split-attention are required in both disciplines.

An area that has been explored more thoroughly is the analysis of live subtitles and their main features, including accuracy, delay, speed, edition rate and display mode. The analyses appear not only in academic outlets (Jensema et al. 1996; Eugeni 2009; Romero-Fresco 2009b; Luyckx et al. 2013) but also in official reports

compiled by user associations (Apone et al. 2010), broadcasters (EBG 2014) and regulators (Ofcom 2015). Although the aim of these studies was initially to describe the main characteristics of live subtitles, the focus is now being placed on the assessment of live subtitling quality. Traditional Word Error Rate methods have been adapted to the specificities of respeaking with models such as that developed by CRIM in Canada (Dumouchel et al. 2011) and the NER model (Romero-Fresco and Martínez 2015), which is being used by researchers, governmental regulators and broadcasters in different countries around the world (Ofcom 2013; MAA 2014). In 2013, the British regulator Ofcom commissioned a two-year research project to assess the quality of live subtitles on UK TV with the NER model. This resulted in the largest analysis of live subtitling quality available to date, providing data on the accuracy, speed, delay and edition rate of the live subtitles produced for 50 hours of live TV material, including 507,000 words and 78,000 subtitles (Romero-Fresco 2016).

Some research has also focused on the reception of respoken subtitles by viewers. Eugeni (2008b) conducted the largest reception study on live subtitling to date, including data from 197 signing deaf viewers on their reception of live subtitles for the news in Italy. The study proposes a set of subtitles mirroring the grammar of Italian sign language while respecting Italian grammatical rules. The first reception studies conducted in the UK (Romero-Fresco 2010, 2011, 2012b) analyzed reception on the basis of users' views, comprehension and perception of live subtitling. Users' concerns about the accuracy and delay of live subtitles, although partly determined by their unrealistic expectations about the accuracy of speech recognition technology, proved justified by the low scores obtained in an experiment testing the comprehension of live subtitled news programmes. Eye-tracking-based perception tests showed two potential reasons for these poor comprehension scores: the high speed of the subtitles and their scrolling mode, since, as corroborated by Rajendran et al. (2013), scrolling subtitles cause viewers to spend significantly more time on the subtitles (and less on the images) than block subtitles. These findings have been used by countries such as Switzerland to replace their scrolling subtitles by block subtitles

and by regulators such as Ofcom to require broadcasters to use block subtitles for many of their live programmes.

Future directions

Recent developments in technology and the audiovisual media landscape and concomitant changes in viewing habits suggest that some of the terms and approaches used so far in this area may need to be updated. Although subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing have so far been produced mostly intralingually, they are now beginning to be produced interlingually and are viewed by many other user groups, such as the elderly, people with learning disabilities and foreign hearing viewers, hence Neves's proposal to replace SDH with the term "enriched (responsive) subtitling" (Neves 2018:83). Likewise, SDH are no longer only produced as an add-on once the audiovisual products have been finished and are ready for distribution. Alongside the emergence of accessible filmmaking (Romero-Fresco 2013, 2019), translation and accessibility are being integrated in some films as part of the filmmaking process through close collaboration between translators and filmmakers, who take into consideration not only the domestic viewers of their films, but also the foreign, deaf and blind audiences. A wider notion of SDH is thus called for (Romero-Fresco 2018b), one where SDH is no longer aimed only at viewers with hearing loss and where media accessibility is not confined within the realm of translation studies, but rather regarded as a tool for social integration under the wider umbrella of accessibility studies (Greco 2016).

See also:

AUDIO DESCRIPTION; AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; DUBBING; MEDIA INTERPRETING; SUBTITLING, INTERLINGUAL; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; MUSIC

Further reading

De Linde, Z. and N. Kay (1999) *The Semiotics of Subtitling*, Manchester, UK: St. Jerome Publishing.

The first research-based monograph on SDH, which it positions within AVT studies. Offers both a descriptive analysis of subtitles on UK

TV and one of the first eye-tracking studies on SDH in Europe.

Neves, J. (2018) 'Subtitling for Deaf and Hard of Hearing Audiences: Moving forward', in L. Pérez-González (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Audiovisual Translation*, London & New York: Routledge, 82–95.

Provides a thorough account of the current state of affairs in the field, including sections on historical background, the latest developments in the industry and academia, and discussions on quality; also introduces the term 'enriched (responsive) subtitles' to encompass deaf and hard-of-hearing viewers as well as people with learning disabilities, the elderly and foreign viewers.

Romero-Fresco, P. (ed.) (2015) *The Reception of Subtitles for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing*, Bern: Peter Lang.

The largest series of reception studies on SDH published so far. Includes an assessment of deaf, hard-of-hearing and hearing viewers' preferences, comprehension and perception of SDH in Denmark, Poland, the UK, Spain, Italy, France and Germany.

PABLO ROMERO-FRESCO

Subtitling, interlingual

Subtitling has its origins in the practice of inserting intertitles in silent cinema. Intertitles were displayed between film shots and used to facilitate the narrative through continuity titles, which provided information about the events displayed, such as date and location, and to represent human speech through spoken titles, i.e. titles that represented spoken dialogue. These intertitles were burned into print and were substituted by their translation into other languages for the needs of international distribution (Nornes 2007:91ff.).

Soon after the advent of synchronized sound in 1929, subtitling became the preferred modality of audiovisual translation in many countries, mostly due to its lower production cost compared to other modes (Media Consulting

Group 2007:38). Although the choice of audiovisual modality involves other criteria and is not necessarily stable across different time periods (Chiaro 2009a:143–144; Pedersen 2011:3–8), subtitling has been gaining momentum since the turn of the century (Gambier 2013). As Díaz Cintas puts it, “[S]ubtitling is fast, inexpensive, flexible and easy to produce, qualities that make it the perfect translation ally of globalization and the preferred mode of AVT on the world wide web” (2012a:288).

While the technologies of production and projection of subtitles have advanced over the years, most notably with the transition to digital cinema and broadcasting, the principles and basic format of interlingual subtitles have remained broadly the same. Díaz Cintas and Remael define subtitles as

written text, generally at the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image. . . , and the information that is contained in the soundtrack.

(2007:8–9)

Their definition reflects the enduring perception of interlingual subtitles as communicative texts that supplement the audiovisual product, but it also suggests that a subtitled product should be perceived as a new and different artefact “made of three main components: the spoken word, the image and the subtitles” (ibid.:9). On the one hand, then, subtitling is conceptualized as a mimetic process that aims to reproduce the semantics, style and other verbal elements of the audiovisual material within the confined space of the screen, while maintaining synchrony with the film editing rhythm and the actors’ speech (Ivarsson and Carroll 1998; Karamitroglou 1998; Georgakopoulou 2006). On the other hand, this mimetic process results in the creation of a new audiovisual text which differs from the source text in terms of both form (subtitles are added) and function (different audiences are targeted). The interplay of creation and imitation is central to any act of translation, but in the case of interlingual subtitling it is visible and constitutive of the final text. Unlike most other forms of translation, viewers of subtitled audiovisual texts are

necessarily aware of the mediating role of subtitles, a fact which adds a level of self-reflectivity to the experience of viewing subtitled material. For this reason, the significance of interlingual subtitling as a cultural phenomenon reaches beyond its function as a means of representation, registering the multiple social, political, aesthetic and psychological dynamics at play as audiovisual texts travel across linguistic and national borders.

Pérez-González (2012a, 2014b) draws a distinction between representational and non-representational practices in audiovisual translation that is useful to adopt here. The former aim “to deliver ‘accurate’ representations of the source text meaning” (2012a:335) and “contribute to the construction of selected aspects of reality – including ethnicity, nationhood, social class, gender, etc.” (2014b:311). On the other hand, he argues, “[r]ather than seeking to convey pre-encoded linguistic messages or communicative intentions, non-representational translation is a platform for the expression of subjective spectatorial experiences” (2014b:230) and is best exemplified by interventionist and disruptive subtitling practices that are typically associated with politically motivated fansubbing.

Interlingual subtitling as representational practice

Research on interlingual subtitling began in the 1980s and intensified in the mid-1990s. The bulk of published research in this area aims to describe and assess the representational function of subtitles, namely, how the content and features of film dialogue have been conveyed, how the cultures and identities featured in a programme or film have been portrayed through the subtitles, and whether the perceived intentions of the filmmakers have been served. In his overview of developments in interlingual subtitling research, Gambier (2008a:17–19) identified some prominent topics which include types of dialogue, slang and swear words, dialects and sociolects; features of orality and discourse markers, expressions of politeness, coherence, and degrees of explicitation; cultural references and allusions; irony and humour; and psycholinguistic aspects of subtitling, including

the time taken to read subtitles, the strategies involved, the legibility of subtitles on screen as well as their comprehension and visual perception. This list continues to be relevant, although other important areas and topics have received attention in the meantime, such as the subtitling of multilingualism in films and TV programmes (Beseghi 2017; Krämer and Eppler 2018), quality in interlingual subtitling (Kuo 2015; Pedersen 2017), creative subtitling (McClarty 2014; Fox 2016) and theatre and opera subtitling (Minors 2013; Secară 2018).

Translation strategies constitute one of the main research topics in this field and an integral part of curricula in AVT university courses. Strategies for the translation of cultural references in subtitling are a case in point. Cultural references are a popular area of interest for students, practitioners and researchers alike, given the constant and rapid negotiations between source and target cultures involved in subtitling. In his *Subtitling Norms for Television* (2011), a detailed study of the subtitling of extralinguistic cultural references, Pedersen focuses on the identification of recurrent strategies adopted by subtitlers, in an attempt to capture translation norms that are specific to interlingual subtitling. The strategies identified in Pedersen's empirical analysis are familiar in other types of translation and include, for instance, retention, specification, generalization, substitution and omission. However, the frequency with which specific strategies occur in his data allow Pedersen to speculate on "prototypical norms of subtitling" (ibid.:209).

Emphasis on the subtitling of cultural references reflects a broader interest in translation studies in issues of identity, including aspects of social, ethnic, sexual and gender identity whose representation in various media has important cultural and social implications. Ellender (2015) is a particularly relevant contribution: it focuses on the interlingual subtitling of linguistic variation, such as dialect, sociolect and accent. The study offers micro-level analyses of English-French subtitling pairs, broadly using Bakhtin's narratological theory of heteroglossia as a theoretical basis to gesture towards the ideological and identitarian implications of particular linguistic choices. Like most studies in subtitling as representational practice, Ellender's work is evaluative, offering judgements on the quality of

subtitles examined, but does not necessarily take visual and cinematic parameters into account. This is equally the case with most other research on linguistic alterity in subtitling, as evident in a number of edited volumes such as Federici (2009) and Díaz Cintas (2009b), and the two thematic issues of the online translation journal *InTRAlinea* (Marrano et al. 2009; Nadiani and Rundle 2012). Studies that focus on gender and queer representations in subtitling, such as de Marco (2012) and Asimakoulas (2012), also adopt an evaluative approach but tend to be more sensitive to visual aspects of filmic narratives and to consider interlingual subtitles as active sites of gender performativity, engaging with both linguistic and non-linguistic codes in films.

Other studies have addressed broader issues of representation through interlingual subtitling that engage with policy decisions regarding what gets subtitled, by whom and in what language. Gottlieb (2018b:324) suggests that policy questions arise at every stage of the film and media distribution process, "from programme planning to audience reception". He formulates these questions as follows (ibid.):

- 1 Which films and TV programmes to show/broadcast (representing which languages)?
- 2 Whether to translate at all?
- 3 Which method to use (subtitling, dubbing or voice-over)?
- 4 What to translate ('known' foreign languages; dialects)?
- 5 How to translate, given the selected method(s)?
- 6 Who to use as translators (professionals, fan communities, students)?
- 7 Which choices to offer for the audience (several language versions/exposure rates)?

Examining each question separately, Gottlieb shows how policies at both national and company levels codetermine the shape of local audiovisual translation landscapes. With regard to interlingual subtitling, he suggests that questions of policy concern above all the predominance of English as source language and the potential exploitation of fansubbing and crowdsourcing practices by subtitling companies (ibid.:334–335). O'Sullivan (2016) examines the implications of policy for audiovisual

translation research and adds another important dimension to the discussion, that of different broadcast media. She suggests that technological advances, especially video streaming and smart TV technology, require the deployment of new research methodologies in order to investigate the choice and uses of interlingual subtitling (ibid.:269).

At the level of the interlingual subtitling process, questions of politics, manipulation and censorship may interfere with strategic decisions concerning how the dialogue is reduced within specific time and space constraints (Fawcett 2003). Research in this area has focused on historical and contemporary case studies, with relatively more emphasis on non-European contexts. The collection edited by Díaz Cintas (2012b), for instance, features articles on the manipulation of subtitling involving Arabic, Brazilian Portuguese, Korean and the official languages of South Africa. These studies generally examine textual and discursive shifts during the subtitling process that can be attributed to political, ideological or institutional pressures. For example, Kang uses as a case study the subtitling of interviews and footage in English shown as part of a South Korean television news programme which led to public allegations of “intentional mistranslation” (2012:441) on the part of the production team. She observes translational shifts at the micro-textual level and explains them with reference to Bauman and Briggs’s concept of entextualization, a “process in which discourse is extricated from its original context and transferred into a different context for a new audience” (ibid.:443). Entextualization is employed in this case as a translation strategy aimed at aligning the subtitle text to the main storyline of the report – namely, the supposed risk to which South Koreans were exposed by consuming imported meat. Kang is thus able to argue that “translation can be used in strategic and manipulative ways to create a discursive and intellectual environment that may lead to or accentuate an ideological conflict” (ibid.:458).

Ideological issues of a different nature are implicated in the increasing demand for more creativity in subtitling, to counter the invisibility of the translator and the translation. Foerster (2010:82) and McClarty (2014:598) have stressed the paradox of subtitling being a form of translation that must be prominently visible

while simultaneously aiming for maximum inconspicuousness. Creative subtitling thus aims to produce subtitles that reflect the creative intentions of the filmmakers by responding aesthetically and stylistically to the *mise-en-scène*, characterization and the overall rhythm of the film through the inventive use of subtitle positioning, colour, fonts and other possibilities afforded by the available technology, and by exploiting non-conventional linguistic and translation techniques (McClarty 2014:593–594). At the same time, creative subtitling does not aim to foreground foreignness in film translation, but rather to allow viewers to immerse themselves in a foreign film in a non-alienating way. By achieving a kind of “stylistic synchronicity with the film”, as McClarty concedes (2014:599), creative subtitles ultimately reproduce the paradox of invisibility.

The representational paradigm in subtitling research is reflected in the focus on describing or assessing how audiovisual content is communicated in and through subtitles. For example, some studies have sought to assess the validity of long-established technical guidelines in subtitling, such as those determining acceptable subtitle layouts, positioning, duration and synchrony with shot changes. While no consensus has been reached on this issue (Szarkowska et al. 2015; Fox 2016), psycholinguistic research that measures cognitive activity as viewers watch subtitled films provides important insights into how they read non-static texts such as subtitles. Eye-tracking tools, in particular, have allowed researchers to analyze the cognitive strain involved in processing images and subtitles, and has helped assess the impact of interlingual subtitles on the comprehension of film narratives (J.-L. Kruger 2016). One example is Ghia’s (2012) comparison of visual activity involved in watching television subtitles that offer literal translation and television subtitles that offer non-literal translation of dialogue. Ghia’s experiment was limited in scope but it did conclude that translation strategies have a measurable effect on viewers’ perception of audiovisual content.

Physiological studies involving eye tracking are often combined with other methodologies, such as interviews and questionnaires, to examine reception. Increased interest in issues of reception constitutes an important development in AVT research, inasmuch as it marks a

shift from speculative descriptive analysis of source and target pairs to systematic investigation of the impact of translation strategies and translated texts on viewers (Di Giovanni and Gambier 2018). The particular topics investigated vary but include general audiences' attitudes to interlingual subtitles (Di Giovanni 2016), the reception of pragmatic meaning in subtitled film (Desilla 2014) and politeness in Chinese-English subtitling (Yuan 2012).

Subtitling beyond the paradigm of representation

Non-representational approaches to the study of interlingual subtitling and other modes of audiovisual translation draw on insights from critical theory, affect theory and post-structuralism. They shed light on subtitling as a space of performativity and experimentation, on intensities of engagement required on the part of the viewer, and on the act of reading subtitles as a means of questioning the asymmetric power dynamics at work in the global circulation of media and film.

Egoyan and Balfour's edited volume *Subtitles: On the Foreignness of Film* (2004) opened up new perspectives for understanding subtitles as markers of what Naficy (2004:133), in the same volume, called "accented cinema", that is, cinema that emerges from "the displacement of the filmmakers and their artisanal and collective production modes". While most contributors to the volume use subtitles metaphorically to refer to non-hegemonic perceptions of cinema, other scholars have engaged with interlingual subtitling as a phenomenon with specific cultural and political significations. Shohat and Stam refer to subtitles as pointers of linguistic difference that draw attention to the fact that "all film experience involves a kind of translation" (1985:41). They further speculated at the time that subtitles mitigate the affective import of a film, making film viewing more of a cerebral experience than originally intended (*ibid.*) This claim is picked up by Minh-Ha (1992:207), who criticizes professional subtitle synchronization techniques on the grounds that they reduce film viewing to an experience of reading at the expense of seeing and hearing. Nornes (2007:177), drawing on the work of Venuti (1995b/2008) and Lewis

(1985/2012), also stresses the need to reclaim the cinematic experience as an experience of translation. Nornes's concept of abusive subtitling, designating a practice that involves textual and graphic experimentation in the composition of subtitles, aims to frustrate expectations of fluency and passive immersion in the film narrative, and to foreground the linguistic violence inherent in all acts of translation. Nornes's argument has been influential in discussions of creative subtitling, subtitlers' visibility and status, and the interface between film studies and studies of audiovisual translation.

Interlingual subtitling in education and policy

Subtitling has been considered a tool for the promotion of linguistic diversity and foreign language learning. This is recognized institutionally by supranational multilingual entities such as the European Union (Danan 2014), as well as by multilingual countries such as South Africa (Kruger et al. 2007). Although interlingual subtitling supports languages of lesser diffusion by providing their speakers with access to foreign language content in their tongue, some scholars have argued that it ultimately cements the dominance of 'major' languages through added exposure to them (Gottlieb 2004). Unsurprisingly, comprehension of English in pro-subtitling countries is reported to be generally higher compared to pro-dubbing countries (Nikolić 2018:191).

Within educational contexts, subtitling is extensively used to facilitate formal, informal and incidental language learning. Research included in one of the first collections of articles dedicated on this issue, Gambier et al. (2014), provides evidence that both intralingual and interlingual subtitling enhance language learners' motivation and have a positive impact on reading, listening, cultural and audiovisual skills. Following the revival of translation as a pedagogical tool in foreign language learning, interlingual subtitling, including reverse subtitling into the foreign language, has entered the classroom in secondary and tertiary education. Among other available interlingual subtitling tools, ClipFlair, funded by the European Commission, is an educational web platform that

simulates the professional environment of an audiovisual translator and proposes subtitling and revoicing activities for language learners, specifically targeting European languages of lesser diffusion (Sokoli 2014; Clancy and Murray 2016).

Future directions

Interlingual subtitling is a vast area of practice and research whose specific features and cultural significations are difficult to capture, not least because they constantly evolve in response to social change and advances in technology and the media. Originating in the discipline of translation studies as an area of research and constituting a core modality of audiovisual translation, interlingual subtitling is increasingly expanding the conceptual boundaries and methodological paradigms of these disciplines. In the context of political activism, for example, it has been shown that “subtitling departs from . . . emphasis on semantic content and functions as a political space in its own right” (Baker 2016a:13). Baker focuses on the work of volunteer subtitlers as participants in the broader political project of the Egyptian Revolution. In such contexts, traditional notions of equivalence are secondary to other, more urgent objectives.

With interlingual subtitling now understood as transcending its conventional role of conveying the verbal elements of audiovisual texts and extending access to communities other than those originally addressed (Gottlieb 2001b:3), new conceptual tools are needed to understand the myriad purposes it serves in different contexts. This requires adopting interdisciplinary approaches and sharing critical insights with film studies and media studies in the first instance. However, little interest in subtitling has been observed so far in areas outside audiovisual translation. Eleftheriotis (2010:178–193) points out the reluctance of film scholars to engage with the question of subtitling, even though subtitles are undoubtedly crucial to their film education. Scholars of audiovisual translation, on the other hand, are becoming increasingly aware of the need for interdisciplinary work. For example, in *Translating Popular Film*, O’Sullivan (2011b) examines the multiple uses of subtitling as a cinematic device employed to foreground, dis-

simulate or otherwise manage heterolingualism in film. Drawing on translation studies, narratology, as well as film theory and history, O’Sullivan’s work shows how a focus on translation can enrich our understanding of film. Pérez-González (2014b) advocates the introduction of multimodal analysis to AVT research to counterbalance the traditional primacy of language over other semiotic codes. The contributions to Abend-David (2014) outline various interactions and confluences between AVT and adaptation studies, media studies and film studies, among other areas. Raine, in the same volume, argues that the particularity of film as a fluid and somatically experienced art form effectively releases film subtitling from the duty “to represent” with which conventional text translation is usually charged (2014:108). Equivalence to the original is technically beyond subtitling’s reach. Nevertheless, Raine argues that “subtitles are not only *in* the way; they *are* the way” (ibid.:167; emphasis in original). At a time of proliferation of both audience expectations and technological capabilities, the use of interlingual subtitling is also set to expand significantly. This demands critical approaches that could go well beyond the conceptual frameworks of traditional translation studies.

See also:

AUDIO DESCRIPTION; AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; DUBBING; FAN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; MULTIMODALITY; SUBTITLING FOR THE DEAF AND HARD OF HEARING; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Further reading

Nornes, M.A. (2007) *Cinema Babel: Translating global cinema*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Contextualizes film translation in terms of asymmetrical cultural flows between global centres and peripheries, and advocates abusive subtitling, a textual practice that aims to counter market pressures.

O’Sullivan, C. (2011) *Translating Popular Film*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

A book-length study which contains a wealth of information about the translation of foreign speech in Anglophone cinema and demonstrates how subtitles have been variously used to convey or to conceal linguistic

difference in film, and to enhance the perception of narrative authenticity among cinema audiences.

Pérez-González, L. (2014) *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, methods and issues*, London and New York: Routledge.

A robust and comprehensive introduction to all aspects of audiovisual translation, Pérez-González analyzes various theoretical and methodological issues relating to interlingual subtitling and discusses its role and prospects in a rapidly changing social and cultural landscape.

DIONYSIOS KAPSASKIS

Symbolic interactionism

Symbolic interactionism, a theory that attempts to explain the basic mechanisms governing human interaction, was developed by the distinguished US sociologist Erving Goffman in the 1970s and early 1980s. Goffman's writings did not address issues of translation or interpreting, but they have inspired research on both, and since they were mostly focused on the spoken word, they have been especially influential in interpreting studies.

Goffman's starting point is that all social interaction in a community is a type of ritual that follows the rules of that community. In order to make sense of events, human beings use the frameworks – that is, systems of beliefs – available to them and interpret what is going on through the relevant activity-related frame, defined as the “principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them” (Goffman 1974:10–11). Frameworks are static sets of principles, knowledge and expectations that are shared by members of a community, whereas frames emerge in dynamic interaction. Several frames may be activated during the course of a social encounter, and the perception and identification of the appropriate one(s) is not always straightforward. Thus, frame ambiguity may cause doubt in the definition of a situation, while errors in framing may occur when

a situation is misread, as when playful fighting between two friends is interpreted by a passerby as a real fight. Depending on what frame(s) are activated, participants may have certain expectations of the development and final outcome of a social encounter. If participants ‘read’ the situation differently, their expectations will be different and this will influence their behaviour. Participants’ behaviour will also be shaped by an awareness of what is generally deemed acceptable in relation to the specific activity being carried out, including talk.

Goffman distinguishes between the participation framework and production format of an encounter, although he stresses that “the character of the production format of a discourse can shift markedly from moment to moment, so, too, can its participation framework, and in fact, the two elements often shift simultaneously” (1981:226–227). In terms of participation framework, he explains that any social encounter may feature ratified and unratified participants: the former are official participants, while the latter are occasional witnesses to the communicative event (bystanders) who receive messages not meant for their ears – either inadvertently, in which case they are overhearers, or on purpose, as eavesdroppers. Speakers may address their remarks to a specific recipient or to everyone, and hence participants may be addressed or unaddressed at any given time; at the same time, however, addressees may choose not to attend to the unfolding communicative event. Ultimately, as Goffman puts it, “a ratified participant may not be listening, and someone listening may not be a ratified participant” (ibid.:132). In other words, participants’ roles are defined on a moment-by-moment basis, depending on their status and level of involvement in interaction. For example, in conversational dialogue both interlocutors are alternatively speakers and hearers and compete for speaking turns, whereas in platform monologues such as lectures and stand-up shows, one speaker is given the floor to address an essentially passive audience for a relatively long stretch of time. In terms of production format, Goffman suggests that the ‘speaker’ label is too simplistic and details three different speaking roles: “*animator*, that is, the sounding box from which utterances come . . . *author*, the agent who puts together, composes or scripts the lines

that are uttered . . . [and] *principal*, the party to whose position, stand and belief the words attest" (ibid.:226; original emphasis). All three roles may be embodied by the same person, as usually happens in spontaneous conversation; however, a message may be produced and delivered through the involvement of several people, as when a presidential spokesman (animator) reads a declaration drafted by a ghostwriter (author) who conveys the president's ideas (principal). Thus, speakers have a number of opportunities available to them:

The various production formats provide a speaker with different relationships to the words he utters, providing, thus, a set of interpretive frameworks in terms of which his words can be understood. . . . These different possibilities in conjunction with the participation statuses he could enjoy comprise what might be called his *frame space*.

(ibid.:230; original emphasis)

Participation framework may vary depending on the participants' alignment to each other and the utterance being produced and/or heard; Goffman refers to this as a change in footing, which "implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (1981:128). He uses the concept of footing to demonstrate the presence of interactional mechanisms not only in conversational dialogue, but also in monologic communication, including writing. A lecturer, who may be drawing on a written text, can signal his or her alignment by means of mechanisms such as text brackets (opening and closing sentences), keyings (passages in which the speaker removes him- or herself from the literal meaning of the text, for example via the use of irony) and text parenthetical remarks such as hedges and digressions. In written communication, the use of footnotes constitutes another mechanism for signalling alignment. Goffman's view of social encounters thus suggests that participants' contributions constantly transform the participation framework via shifts in footing, and their subsequent realignments determine the unfolding of the communicative event and shape other participants' understanding of it.

Finally, Goffman also points out that every participant in a social encounter has a face, defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (1999:300). There is usually a tendency to maintain both one's face and the other participants' face, out of self-respect and considerateness for others. This is achieved through facework, which may include the avoidance of certain topics, the use of tactful expressions when conveying potentially offensive messages, and various kinds of remedial actions to counteract any face-threatening incidents.

Goffman's interaction model has served as a significant source of inspiration in sociolinguistics, with several scholars putting forward their own definitions of frame and framing; Metzger (1999) offers a comprehensive overview of these alternative definitions. Others have developed the notions of participation framework and face in more detail. Bell's (1984) concept of audience design has been particularly influential and has been taken up in translation and interpreting studies, for example by Mason (2000b). The model postulates that all speakers take account of their audience when shaping a message: their style choices are influenced by their addressees – but not by eavesdroppers, whose presence is unknown. This idea of speakers accommodating to their audience is also related to the concepts of face, facework and face-threatening acts (FTAs), used by Brown and Levinson (1987) to develop their politeness theory, which has also informed much work in translation and interpreting studies. Goffman's key notions have further been used to define the translator's role in terms of authorship. Edmondson (1986) and Pym (2011a) have argued that translators may be considered as animators and authors, but not as principals, since the ideas expressed in the target text are conceived by the source text producer. According to Boyden (2013), this even applies to cases of self-translation: although the writer and the translator are the same person, their relationship with the original text is not the same as their relationship with the translated text. This is not to suggest that translators are neutral language transfer machines: research has now clearly demonstrated that they exercise significant impact on the social encounters they mediate.

Research themes and findings

Goffman's model has inspired a wide range of studies in written translation, audiovisual translation and interpreting.

Baker (2006b, 2010b) combines the notions of frame and framing with narrative theory to analyze a wide range of examples involving the translation and interpreting of political narratives in situations of conflict. She details various strategies of reframing, including temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation of textual material, labelling and repositioning of participants, for example through the choice of pronouns (*we, them*) and shifts in tense and levels of formality. Along similar lines, Al Sharif (2009) demonstrates how the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), which translates Arab and Iranian news sources into a variety of languages, systematically reframes narratives of Palestinians as terrorists and of Palestinian women as fanatic supporters of terrorists. This is achieved by highlighting certain aspects of the narratives and modifying others to re-create a new narrative in the target language, one that serves specific political purposes. Luo (2014) draws on Baker's categories of reframing to examine the role of translation in reconstructing national identity in the sports domain, focusing on narratives of Chinese athletes taking part in the 2012 London Olympics, as elaborated in the translations published on the Chinese community translation website Yeyan.

The Goffmanian participation framework and Bell's model of audience design have been applied to written translation to show that translational shifts may be determined by differences between the audience design of the source text producers and the target-language translators (Mason 2000b). This is especially relevant in audiovisual translation, where dialogue is always conceived for a primary and a secondary audience:

characters on screen treat each other as addressees within a fictional world in which the cinema audience is like an eavesdropper . . . in reality the screen-writer intends the dialogue for a set of known, ratified but not directly addressed receivers – i.e. the cinema audience, who then . . . may be considered to be auditors. (Hatim and Mason 1997:83)

Although only verbal components such as dialogue and written texts that are visible on the screen are translated, the translation must be consistent with the other elements of the film – such as images, sound, actors' gestures and movements – in order to make sense for the target audience. Hatim and Mason demonstrate that spatial and temporal constraints lead subtitlers to focus on semantic content and assume that this would preserve overall coherence for the film viewers. Subtitlers tend to ignore pragmatic devices which convey the relationship between the fictional characters, resulting in "a systematic loss in subtitling of indications of interlocutors accommodating to each other's 'facewants'" (ibid.:84), which are important for reproducing authentic communication. Goffman himself noted that "[e]ach person, subculture and society seems to have its own characteristic repertoire of face-saving practices" (1999:302), further complicating the role of the (audiovisual) translator.

Turning from the prefabricated orality of film dialogue to actual face-to-face interaction, Goffman's model has found its widest application in interpreting studies, where the research focus shifted in the 1990s from monologic communication in conference interpreting settings to dialogic communication in a variety of face-to-face encounters (Merlini 2015a; Pöchhacker 2016). In the first study of interpreter-mediated interaction to apply Goffman's work to authentic data from police interrogations and immigration hearings, Wadensjö (1998b) demonstrated that the interpreter's role in interaction is highly complex. Interpreters do not simply produce renditions, i.e. translations of primary participants' talk, but also non-renditions, i.e. verbal material with no correspondence to any source language item, as part of coordinating dialogue. Wadensjö applied Goffman's tripartite production format to the interpreter as speaker (animator, author and principal) and developed a parallel reception format for the interpreter as hearer (reporter, recapitulator and responder). When interpreters relay dialogue and produce a rendition, she demonstrated, they speak for another; when they produce non-renditions, they speak for themselves. Wadensjö's analysis demonstrated that turn-taking is rarely linear, since such encounters often include monolingual dyadic sequences between the interpreter

and one of the two primary participants, initiated either by the interpreter – to ask for an explanation or repetition before translating, or to alert one of the two parties to a potential cultural problem – or by one of the clients, for example to ask the interpreter to repeat or rephrase key information. Similar work has been conducted on sign language interpreting by Metzger (1999), who used the concept of frame to analyze a professional interpreted encounter and a mock role play. Once again, interpreters are seen to effect frequent shifts in footing as they realign to different aspects of the unfolding encounter. Metzger further notes that the main difficulty in interpreting is that “the interpreter might bring one frame to the event, while the primary participants bring others” (ibid.:49).

Goffman’s interaction model has been applied to the study of dialogue interpreting in a variety of institutional settings, often in combination with other theoretical tools. These settings include asylum hearings (Merlini 2009), court trials (Jacobsen 2010; J. Lee 2013a; Leung and Gibbons 2008), healthcare consultations (Merlini and Favaron 2003, 2005, 2007; Valero Garcés 2007), parent-teacher meetings (Vargas Urpi 2015), social services (Merlini 2013) and talk shows (Katan and Straniero Sergio 2001; Straniero Sergio 1999, 2007; Wadensjö 2008a, 2008b). Studies that apply the model to a wide range of settings also feature in the collections edited by Mason (1999b, 2001b), Baraldi and Gavioli (2012b) and Dal Fovo and Niemants (2015). These studies have shown that the interpreter’s presence has a significant impact on shaping the participation framework and on the development of talk between the primary parties. Interpreters, moreover, have been shown to engage in facework not only to protect the other parties’ face, but also their own (Jacobsen 2010; Straniero Sergio 2007). Similar conclusions have been reached in relation to conference interpreting by Diriker (2004) and Monacelli (2009), who found that simultaneous interpreters of monologic speeches occasionally shifted their footing and modified their textual alignment in order to address the audience directly, for a variety of reasons, including defending themselves against accusations of incompetence – as when a speaker attributes the failure of the audience to understand what he or she meant in the Q&A session to errors in the interpretation.

Future directions

Goffman’s work has inspired research on a diverse range of themes and in a variety of settings. The common thread running across this work has been a focus on translators’ and interpreters’ agency, thus highlighting their social responsibility rather than pursuing the traditional theme of invisibility. The focus on agency requires greater engagement with questions of ethics, especially in relation to the implications of acknowledging the interpreter as a full participant in a triadic exchange. Given the importance of dialogue in conveying the nature of on-screen relationships and the projection of values on off-screen communities and social milieus, there is scope for more systematic investigations of interactional aspects of all translation modes and related technical constraints, including not only subtitling but also other modes such as dubbing, voice-over and respeaking, as well as different film and TV genres.

Research on interpreting has so far focused on triadic exchanges in face-to-face dialogue interpreting in the spoken or sign language modality, where interlocutors physically share the same space. This does not seem to account for the multilayered nature of dialogic scenarios in which interpreters work today. Goffman himself noted that in communicative events “the terms ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ imply that sound alone is at issue, when, in fact, it is obvious that sight is organizationally very significant too, sometimes even touch” (1981:129). An interesting research strand that is increasingly being pursued enriches the discourse-based interaction paradigm with a multimodal framework that can support the analysis of how participants employ resources such as gaze, gesture, posture and positioning, proxemics, touch and the manipulation of objects and artefacts to co-construct different participation frameworks in encounters (Davitti and Pasquandrea 2017; Mason 2009a, 2012; Pasquandrea 2011; Ticca and Traverso 2017). Settings in which communication takes place in a virtual shared space are also attracting some research attention; these settings include telephone interpreting and remote interpreting. Some scholars have begun to examine the impact of limited access to multimodal resources on interaction and on the way interpreters perform their task (Braun 2017; Licoppe and Vey-

rier 2017). Settings that feature a more complex constellation of participants are also being investigated; they include business meetings involving a large number of negotiators (Takimoto 2009; Takimoto and Koshiba 2009) and press conferences (Sandrelli 2015, 2017). Much of this research aims to achieve a better understanding of communication dynamics in order to improve translator and interpreter training.

See also:

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING; CONVERSATION ANALYSIS; DIALOGUE INTERPRETING; POSITIONING; PRAGMATICS

Further reading

Baker, M. (2006) *Translation and Conflict. A narrative account*, London & New York: Routledge.

Applies the Goffmanian notions of frame and framing to the analysis of various examples of translation and interpreting that involve

the reframing of political narratives in situations of conflict.

Goffman, E. (1981) *Forms of Talk*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

A collection of lectures in which Goffman presents and discusses the key notions of his interaction model, namely frames, participation framework and footing, with many practical examples from lectures, radio talk and ordinary conversation.

Wadensjö, C. (1998) *Interpreting as Interaction*, London & New York: Longman.

A key text which has inspired a very influential research strand in interpreting studies and constitutes the first application of Goffman's interaction model to a large-scale empirical study of face-to-face dialogue interpreting in police interrogations and asylum hearings.

ANNALISA SANDRELLI



Technology, audiovisual translation

Audiovisual translation (AVT) and technology are increasingly becoming intertwined in today's dynamic mediascape, which encompasses global audiences through increased channels of communication and interaction, with a diverse range of media products disseminated across the globe. Digitization has made the production and delivery of audiovisual material much more efficient than in the analogue age; it has, for example, improved accessibility for hearing- and vision-impaired users. A case in point for the former is respeaking, which enables real-time live production of subtitles for the deaf and hard of hearing with the use of a speaker-dependent speech recognition system (Romero-Fresco 2011). Furthermore, the interest in machine translation (MT) for use in automatic subtitling has been on the increase in response to faster, more efficient, cheaper and personalized AVT services (Díaz Cintas 2015). New technological environments and changing viewer preferences have also given rise to norm-breaking subtitles in the professional as well as non-professional spheres. In the professional sphere, technological developments and concomitant changes in viewer preferences have given rise to authorial titles that appear on different parts of the screen "without a translational function" and allow viewers to become "privy to information that is unavailable to diegetic characters" (Pérez-González 2013a:13–14). In the non-professional sphere, technology has enabled fans to create and distribute subtitles for their chosen content that break with commercial conventions, often in breach of copyright. Given the scale and

the visibility of such practices, fansubbing has become a major area of research within AVT.

These broad transformations shaping today's media production and consumption are conceptualized as a by-product of "media convergence", a term used to signify the contemporary mediascape in which "multiple media systems coexist and where media content flows fluidly across them" (Jenkins 2006:282). Ongoing convergence, Jenkins argues, has led to "a cultural shift" that involves both top-down controls by media companies and consumer-driven, bottom-up processes (ibid.:3). These developments have far-reaching implications for AVT, which is ultimately situated in the wider context of media ecology (Strate 2016), and are reflected in the types of research being conducted in the field. AVT scholars have now had to address new issues such as digital media ethics (Ess 2009), copyright infringement and user participation in AVT practices (Pérez-González 2014b), among others.

AVT technology in the post-analogue era

An early illustration of the impact of the digitization of media texts on AVT can be seen with the emergence of DVDs during the 1990s. DVDs rapidly became the mechanism through which to distribute packaged AV content in digital format. The expanded capacity afforded by DVDs in turn called for a new, faster and more economic method of producing subtitles in multilingual versions. This resulted in an approach to producing subtitles in multiple languages based on a template that contained the source language subtitles already timed and segmented. The new approach was controversial among professional subtitlers as it forced them to conform to the predetermined timing

and segmentation set in the source language, which was mostly English (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007:35–37). Furthermore, subtitlers were sometimes asked to translate on the basis of the master file without reference to the actual content of the audiovisual product. Unsurprisingly, such approaches pushed down not only the price but also the quality of subtitles. The increased capacity to provide multiple language versions in DVD coincided with a measure taken to combat cinema piracy by releasing official DVDs in as many languages as possible soon after the theatrical release of feature films. However, the very portability and malleability of digital formats have made audiovisual products more vulnerable to piracy and appropriation due to the ease of copying and manipulating the original content, at the same time boosting user-driven AVT activities such as fansubbing and fandubbing.

In the new millennium, ongoing expansion of electronic connectivity has fostered a participatory culture (Delwiche and Henderson 2012) and led to rapid growth of user-generated content circulating on the Internet. Of particular relevance to AVT has been the increasing engagement of self-appointed translators such as fans (Dwyer 2012; Massidda 2015; Wang and Zhang 2017) and activists (Pérez-González 2010; Baker 2016a, 2018a), as well as everyday Internet users translating films, TV series, video games and other content of personal interest. Their activities are typically facilitated by online collaborative platforms on which like-minded contributors come together to produce and circulate their translations. This has led to the increased visibility of non-professional translation, including the technically demanding translation hacking, as in the case of fan localization of video games (O'Hagan 2017a:185). Fan translation communities operate as self-sufficient translation work units, exploiting free tools with work divisions clearly set up to meet their own priority targets, be they time or quality related. The widespread uptake of social networking supported by cloud computing has further boosted the development of such networks, providing community members with a technical platform to critique and theorize translations, and hence generating distinct translation discourses (*ibid.*:184). Members of such communities are knowledgeable about the text genres they translate and know how to maximize the collec-

tive knowledge available across their group, even where they lack formal training in translation. Such fan and activist practices existed prior to the arrival of the Internet, but they only became a global phenomenon once the technological infrastructure to support them became available, which in turn allowed for the emergence of mass markets for a wide range of fan output, including translations that can be freely circulated online. User-driven practices in AVT, fansubbing in particular, began to influence some areas of professional practice that were previously closely regulated by professional norms – for instance, in relation to the positioning of subtitles – and gave rise to new modes of collaborative translation (Dwyer 2012; Pérez-González 2014b). These include “translation crowdsourcing” in which a diverse Internet crowd engages in translation by responding to a call for participation (Jiménez-Crespo 2017a:13).

A high-profile early implementation of crowdsourcing in the context of AVT was the TED Open Translation Project, which engaged highly motivated volunteers to participate in subtitling TED talks (Olohan 2014c). These largely non-professional AVT practices targeting a large number of participants are supported by the use of cloud-based translation platforms to provide lay translators with a user-friendly translation environment, often offering resources such as glossaries and a functionality similar to that of Translation Memory systems, as well as access to machine translation in some cases. The justification for the use of free labour in such contexts, often given by the organizers of crowdsourcing initiatives, is to encourage and solidify user community engagement, with a view to generating a self-repair, self-learning environment aimed at producing high-quality translation through collaboration and interaction among a large number of volunteers, aided by new technologies.

Computer-aided AVT on the cloud

Technology also continued to impact the professional sphere of audiovisual translation, in particular the shift to computer-aided AVT, in some cases combining CAT and MT, in line with similar developments in mainstream com-

mercial translation in the twenty-first century (Díaz Cintas 2015). While the absolute translation quality achieved by any MT system is likely to be inferior to the human gold standard if tested across a broad range of texts, van der Meer (2006) argues that advances in machine learning combined with the increasing volume of human translation data could provide scope for fully automatic useful translation (FAUT), which is likely to apply also in the context of AVT in future.

The research landscape in audiovisual translation reflects the nature of the expanding boundary of AVT scholarship intersecting with the high-stakes business context of media globalization in a dynamic industry environment. Advances in corpus-based MT made it possible to exploit translation data in digital format. As a result, a number of high profile, publicly funded projects focused on subtitle translation using MT, and a suite of related technologies were launched, including *eTITLE* (2003–2004; Melero et al. 2006) and *MUSA* (*Multilingual Subtitling of Multimedia Content*; 2002–2004; Piperidis et al. 2004). As represented by the project *SUMAT* (*Subtitling by Machine Translation* 2011–2014; Etchegoyhen et al. 2014), the main impetus was to use human-produced subtitles to train state-of-the-art statistical MT to boost the productivity of the subtitling process. To date, the results that have come out of such projects are uncertain in terms of viable commercial implementation because of the “fine line between the time taken to check and edit automated content and the time taken to translate each subtitle in turn” (Díaz Cintas 2015:639). Related fields of research and development in the commercial arena include speaker-independent speech recognition and automatic transcription and captioning, as already implemented in the public domain, most notably by Google through the YouTube platform (Díaz Cintas 2015:640). Notwithstanding their limitations, these applications are providing a valuable test-bed to gauge user behaviour and feedback in real use cases for live, automatic intra- and interlingual subtitling. With the emergence of the Neural MT (NMT) paradigm, the application of MT in audiovisual translation contexts is likely to grow, thus introducing a new area of research for AVT scholars, who can offer new insights into MT applications based on an understanding of specific AVT constraints and norms (Ortiz-Boix

and Matamala 2017; Matamala and Ortiz-Boix 2016). These technologies are designed for cloud computing, which has opened up new possibilities for data collection and analysis. However, developments in corpus-based MT are built on the broadly held assumption by MT developers and scientists alike that human translations offer a readily deployable resource for improving automatic translation systems through machine learning techniques. Scholars are increasingly concerned about the lack of transparency in relation to the use of alleged human translations, whose sources are sometimes unknown (Kenny 2017a), and the ethical implications of such developments.

Ethics in AVT technology

One of the emerging research interests at the junction of AVT and technology relates to the ethical questions raised by the use of human translation data in developing new technological systems. Researchers such as Kenny (2012) question the ethics of the often unacknowledged use of human translation data in developing such systems. While publicly funded large-scale projects such as those mentioned above tend to include translation companies as project partners who can supply translation data, such practice is not necessarily common across all technology research and development contexts (Doherty 2017). Furthermore, the inclusion of these companies does not necessarily safeguard the rights of individual translators. Such broad implications of the use of technology have resulted in an increasing interest by translation scholars in the sociology of technology as a lens through which they can critically analyze the nature of the partnership between technology and human entities working in concert in the context of translation (Kenny 2017b; Olohan 2017). Kenny (2016) further highlights the importance of awareness raising among translators, who need to be alert to the subsequent use of their translations as data to enrich an MT system. Similarly, there is a need to raise awareness of research ethics among AVT scholars, for instance in relation to downloading fan translations which breach copyright law.

Copyright issues are expected to attract more attention with the ongoing digitization of media texts and their global distribution, sometimes

outside the official channels. Ethical decisions in this context are impacted by the lack of fit between an evolving digital landscape and the existing legal framework on copyright based on the pre-digital era. The copyright implications of practices such as fansubbing constitute a critical issue that is also connected to the inherent value of translation as both “an independent creation and a derivative work” (Hemmungs Wirtén 2013:131). Attempts to find a legal compromise that can accommodate fan work are evident in some instances, as in the case of ViKi, a video streaming platform that adopts a different approach to the content subtitled by members of its community. As Dwyer explains, “ViKi’s model involves buying copyright licenses (often featuring exclusivity windows) from content providers with whom it shares advertising revenue, and establishing partnerships with online video services like Hulu and YouTube” (2012:236). Nevertheless, media industries are generally still grappling with the legality of the heavy traffic of copyright-protected media text that is freely circulated in peer-to-peer networks, while the principle of net neutrality, the equal treatment by Internet Service Providers of content regardless of its nature (Havens and Lotz 2017:76), continues to be a hot topic of debate. The legal concept of fair use seems to have different scopes of application, depending on the jurisdiction of the given nation state and its understanding of copyright protection (Muscar 2006), with implications for AVT research that involves downloading and citing images from the Internet, including screenshots. Alternative copyright licencing arrangements such as Creative Commons (Lessig 2004) are also in flux. These were proposed as a legal mechanism to allow some limited non-commercial use of content made available on the Internet without seeking explicit permission from the original creator (*ibid.*). AVT research will increasingly need to engage with such legal issues with the advent of new industry models such as streaming TV and growing consumer appropriation of digital content.

Future directions

Future research in AVT will need to engage with expanding areas of development such as commercial applications of artificial

intelligence, particularly through machine learning as already prevalent in machine translation. Natural Language Processing remains a challenge within AI, yet fast-paced research through open AI by large IT companies seems to be speeding up the rate of progress by allowing collaboration among researchers (Mahon 2017). Although it is too early to specify a timeframe for NMT to make a qualitative difference in the AVT sphere, AI applications in translation will continue to put pressure on human translation productivity and cost. In the shorter-term future, the use of mobile devices to provide more personalized AVT, especially in its accessible, assistive modes, is also capturing the interest of researchers, for instance in relation to the use of smart glasses projecting SDH (Díaz Cintas 2015:641). New commercial applications continue to proliferate: for example, in opera (Beavis 2016) and theatre settings, as in the case of trials undertaken at the National Theatre in London to cater for the needs of hard-of-hearing viewers by projecting subtitles into their visual field (Pablo Romero-Fresco, personal communication). Applications of augmented reality, as in the case of head-mounted units used to project accessibility subtitles in theatres or in game scenarios, provide both practically and intellectually exciting opportunities to develop new theoretical perspectives on AVT in connection with new technologies (O’Hagan 2018a).

These areas of research and development intersect with discussions on post-humanism and the idea that humans coevolve with technologies (Braidotti 2013; Mahon 2017). The materialist post-humanist thinking offers fresh theoretical potential to conceptualize emerging technological capabilities in relation to enhanced human capacity and allows us to reevaluate AVT theory and practice by forging links between audiovisual translation research and a variety of cross-disciplinary debates. Such a perspective allows AVT research to explore the far-reaching implications for translation of developing technological advances, in terms of the interaction between human bodies and physical environments. It also allows AVT scholars to reflect on a variety of ethical and ecological questions that are increasingly being raised in the context of translation studies at large (Cronin 2016).

See also:

FAN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; FAN TRANSLATION; MACHINE TRANSLATION; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS; TECHNOLOGY, INTERPRETING; TECHNOLOGY, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Dunter, D., R. Lobato, M. Richardson and J. Thomas (eds) (2013) *Amateur Media: Social, cultural and legal perspectives*, Oxtan & New York: Routledge.

Explores the far-reaching impact and implications of amateur participation in media production before and after Web 2.0 from an interdisciplinary perspective, highlighting the significant role played by amateurs.

Dwyer, T. (2017) *Speaking in Subtitles: Revaluing screen translation*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Examines translation from a screen studies perspective, treating TV, film and video as translational media, and discusses contemporary AVT practices, including fansubs and crowdsourcing, in addition to copyright and piracy issues.

Havens, T. and A. D. Lotz (2017) *Understanding Media Industries*, second edition, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Offers critical insight into the fundamental issues that shape the complex contemporary media industry, and a basis for understanding the broader contexts in which AVT is embedded.

Pérez-González, L. (2014) *Audiovisual Translation*, London & New York: Routledge.

Provides an in-depth theoretical account of evolving practices in audiovisual translation and demonstrates how contemporary AVT phenomena can be researched by outlining a range of relevant methodologies and analytical frameworks.

MINAKO O'HAGAN

Technology, interpreting

The spread of communication technologies has generated a demand for interpreting services

in situations where participants are in different locations. Examples include virtual meetings, online conferences, video links between courts and prisons for pretrial hearings, and phone calls between doctors and patients in tele-healthcare. Whilst interpreters working in these situations are often colocated with one of the participants, the same technologies have also enabled the rise of remote interpreting, where the interpreters are physically separated from all other participants in the communication. The different configurations of technology-mediated interpreting all share an element of remote working for the interpreter but differ with regard to a range of parameters, including: the location and distribution of participants; the modes of interpreting supported (consecutive, simultaneous or both); the medium of communication (audio-only or audio-video); the technological basis or platform (hardware-based, i.e. telephone or videoconferencing systems, or software-based, i.e. cloud-based conferencing applications); and the connection type (satellite, ISDN, broadband Internet, mobile network).

In terms of the technology, telephone- and video-mediated interpreting are the two established modalities at the time of writing. They are mainly used for consecutive/dialogue interpreting, catering for bilingual public service and business settings. In settings where simultaneous interpreting is needed, telephone- and video-mediated solutions require additional equipment and/or functionality. Such solutions have been developed for conference interpreting and, to a lesser extent, court interpreting. They were initially hardware based, using videoconferencing systems, but more recently, interpreting delivery platforms using cloud-based web conferencing applications have begun to emerge. These platforms focus on simultaneous interpreting for multilingual events. The modality of interpreting associated with them has become known as webcast interpreting or remote simultaneous interpreting.

The terminology used to refer to different modalities and configurations of technology-mediated interpreting is not yet standardized. This entry uses distance interpreting as an umbrella term; telephone-mediated, video-mediated and webcast interpreting for its different modalities; and remote and teleconference interpreting for the two main configurations

arising from the distribution of participants and interpreters.

Historical overview and current practice

The systematic use of distance interpreting started in the 1970s in public service settings and has taken a different path from the development of distance interpreting in conference settings.

The introduction of distance interpreting in public service settings is associated with improving access to public services and with reducing the cost of language support. Initial efforts focused on telephone-mediated interpreting. The first telephone-mediated interpreting service was established by the Australian immigration service in 1973. By the 1980s and 1990s, it had become commonplace in the US and Europe, especially in healthcare settings (Mikkelsen 2003). Despite its gradual replacement by video-mediated services, telephone-mediated interpreting has a large market, especially in the context of remote interpreting where the interlocutors are in the same room and the interpreter works offsite (Ozolins 2011). With reference to the situation in the US in the mid-2000s, Rosenberg (2007) showed that demand for telephone-mediated remote interpreting mainly arose from migration and was most widely used in healthcare settings, while interpreter-mediated telephone conversations were more common in the business sector.

Telephone-mediated remote interpreting has seen technological improvements, particularly through a move towards using dual-headset phones as opposed to passing the receiver between the interlocutors or using speaker phones (Kelly 2008). A perceived advantage of telephone-mediated interpreting is anonymity (J. Lee 2007). However, Ko (2006) and J. Lee (2007) found high levels of dissatisfaction with telephone interpreting among interpreters, although both authors argue that this could be linked to the working conditions of telephone interpreters, including low remuneration, rather than to the use of the technology as such.

The shift towards video-mediated interpreting began in the 1990s with the arrival of ISDN-

based videoconferencing. At the time of writing, video links are mainly used to deliver remote interpreting for doctors and patients in hospitals, especially in the US and Europe (Azarmina and Wallace 2005; Koller and Pöchhacker 2018; Locatis et al. 2010; Price et al. 2012), but recent developments in tele-healthcare, leading to video links between doctors and home-based patients, will also require the integration of interpreters into such new settings. In legal settings, the main reason for the occurrence of video-mediated interpreting was initially the spread of videoconferencing technology in the justice sector in many Anglophone countries, especially for links between courts and remote parties since the 1990s (Braun and Taylor 2012a; Braun et al. 2018; Ellis 2004; Fowler 2018). Initially, the interpreter was either in court or colocated with the remote participant; since the late 2000s however, remote interpreting has been introduced by courts and police to improve access to interpreters and to reduce interpreter travel time and cost (Braun 2013; Braun and Taylor 2012b).

As with telephone-mediated interpreting, the technology for video-mediated interpreting has improved over time. ISDN videoconferencing technology offered low bandwidth and led to problems with sound and image quality (Böcker and Anderson 1993; Braun 2007; Mouzourakis 2006). Research suggests that technical problems such as these are partly responsible for negative attitudes among interpreters towards video-mediated interpreting, especially in the justice sector, where ISDN-based systems were particularly common (Braun and Taylor 2012c; Braun et al. 2018; Devaux 2016). Broadband Internet provides better and more stable audio and video quality, making video-mediated interpreting more reliable and improving acceptance among interpreters and primary participants (Braun et al. 2018; Koller and Pöchhacker 2018). However, recent practices that involve using smart phones and mobile networks create new challenges, although, as Locatis et al. (2011) argue, they also further improve access to interpreting services. This is particularly relevant for interpreting in medical emergencies and humanitarian crises.

Because videoconferencing solutions used in public service interpreting normally only support consecutive interpreting, interpreters'

working practices in court proceedings need to adapt accordingly, confining whispered interpreting to configurations where the interpreter is colocated with the other-language speaker (Braun et al. 2018). However, some videoconferencing systems used in US courts support a combination of consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, replicating the combination of modes in traditional (i.e. face-to-face) interpreter-mediated court proceedings, and likening the solution to those developed for remote simultaneous interpreting in conference settings.

The earliest experiments with distance interpreting in simultaneous mode as used in conference settings also date back to the 1970s; however, the uptake of distance interpreting in conference settings has been slower and more controlled than in public service interpreting. Supranational institutions were interested in distance interpreting as a means of meeting linguistic demand and mitigating logistical difficulties associated with displacing large teams of interpreters. Early experiments used satellite technology for the transmission of video links and telephone lines, and tested different configurations of participant distribution (Mouzourakis 1996). From the 1990s onwards, the interest focused on video-mediated remote interpreting. Physical building constraints, i.e. insufficient space for interpreting booths in major international venues, became an important driver (Mouzourakis 2006). Several feasibility studies were organized by the European Telecommunications Standard Institute (Böcker and Anderson 1993), the European Commission in 1995–2000, the United Nations in 1999–2001, the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) in collaboration with the University of Geneva in 1999 (Moser-Mercer 2003), the European Council in 2001 and the European Parliament in 2001 and 2004 (reported in Roziner and Shlesinger 2010).

In the experiments from the 1990s, satellite technology was replaced first by ISDN-based videoconferencing solutions (Böcker and Anderson 1993; Moser-Mercer 2003) and subsequently by high-quality custom video links (Mouzourakis 2006). However, regardless of the technological parameters, the participating interpreters consistently reported physiological and psychological discomfort. The International Association of Conference Interpreters

(AIIC) has been sceptical of distance interpreting, as evidenced by its original code of practice for the use of communication technologies in conference interpreting. The code stated that “the temptation to divert certain technologies from their primary purpose e.g. by putting interpreters in front of monitors or screens to interpret at a distance a meeting attended by participants assembled in one place is unacceptable” (AIIC 2000:3). However, at the time of writing, the code is being revised. Moreover, a new international standard, ISO 20108, which specifies technical requirements for distance interpreting in conference settings, is under preparation.

There are differences in the way distance interpreting has affected the working environment of public service and conference interpreters. In public service interpreting, the use of technologies has entailed a shift from direct (face-to-face) interaction with the participants to indirect interaction through a screen, camera and microphone. In conference settings, distance interpreting still involves working in the traditional environment in this setting, i.e. an interpreting booth, even though the audio feed may come from the remote participants and the direct view of the audience may be replaced by one or several video feeds. However, a new generation of cloud-based interpreting delivery platforms for remote simultaneous interpreting aims to re-create the interpreter’s work environment as a virtual booth, i.e. as a software-based solution. Some platforms currently offer the interpreter only an audio feed from the remote delegates, whilst others provide an audio and video feed. The platforms support team work between interpreters, who can themselves be remote from each other. Under the term webcast interpreting, this emerging modality was included as a new category in AIIC’s 2012 conference interpreter survey (AIIC 2014).

Alongside these developments, the way in which audiences receive the interpretation has also evolved. Traditional headsets with infrared/radio transmitters have been complemented by smart phone apps to listen to the interpretation. The same apps also allow remote speakers to speak offsite and have their speech interpreted for the audience. These developments have led to hybrid solutions which combine *inter alia* on-site and offsite speakers, audiences and

interpreters, as well as traditional and web-/app-based conferencing technology.

Research themes

The gradual replacement of telephone-mediated interpreting with video links in healthcare settings triggered research comparing telephone-mediated, video-mediated and on-site interpreting. Several surveys of medical interpreters, physicians and patients show that interpreters and physicians generally prefer on-site interpreting, and that among the technology-mediated modalities, video is preferred to telephone (Azarmina and Wallace 2005; Locatis et al. 2010; Price et al. 2012). Notably, the interpreters surveyed by Price et al. (2012) found all three modalities satisfactory for conveying information, but they rated the technology-mediated modalities as less satisfactory for interpersonal aspects of communication, due to greater difficulties in establishing a rapport with remote participants.

Based on survey participants' perceptions, some authors furthermore suggest that levels of accuracy in on-site and distance interpreting are similar (Azarmina and Wallace 2005). However, self-perception alone is not a reliable indicator of performance quality. More objective measures of interpreting quality, such as the analysis of problems, have also been used, but because the different studies are not directly comparable, it is still currently difficult to assess how quality in distance interpreting compares to that in on-site interpreting. An early study in the healthcare setting compared on-site consecutive and remote simultaneous interpreting using an audio-only link and found higher accuracy levels in the latter (Hornberger et al. 1996), although the use of a different mode of interpreting in each test condition may have skewed the results. Both the ITU/Geneva study (Moser-Mercer 2003) and the European Parliament study (reported in Roziner and Shlesinger 2010) compared the quality of on-site and video-mediated remote simultaneous interpreting in conference settings. The interpreters in the EU Parliament study rated their own performance in remote interpreting as inferior, although statistical analyses of interpreting problems in the two studies revealed few differences between the

two modalities, with the significant exception of an earlier onset of fatigue in remote interpreting in the ITU/Geneva study.

By contrast, the studies conducted by Braun and her colleagues in the European AVIDICUS projects, comparing different configurations of video-mediated interpreting in legal settings, revealed that video-mediated interpreting tends to magnify interpreting problems (Braun and Taylor 2012a; Braun et al. 2013). A comparison specifically between on-site and video-mediated remote interpreting showed a significantly higher number of problems in remote interpreting, along with a faster onset of fatigue (Braun 2013, 2014). These findings are corroborated by qualitative analyses of the remote interpreting data which highlight, for example, lexical activation problems (Braun 2013) and over-elaboration tendencies on the part of the interpreters as a way of coping with problems (Braun 2017).

The ITU/Geneva study and the European Parliament study also show that the interpreters perceived remote interpreting as more stressful than on-site interpreting. In the ITU study, the difference reached statistical significance. Although not corroborated by stress hormone measures, this result coincides with other problems repeatedly reported by interpreters in relation to remote interpreting, including a sense of discomfort, fatigue, eye strain and nausea. Mouzourakis (2006) contends that these problems are caused by the overarching condition of remoteness, i.e. a reduced sense of presence or togetherness.

Research suggests that technology-mediated communication disrupts the sense of presence because the non-verbal embodied cues that interlocutors normally use become invisible or less effective (Luff et al. 2003), resulting in a latent uncertainty about what 'the other side' does (Braun 2004, 2007). Based on these insights, Moser-Mercer (2005) argues that remote interpreting makes it more difficult for interpreters to process information and build mental representations of the situation, causing stress and fatigue. However, research in the medical setting also highlights possible benefits of remoteness, including, for example, the removal of distractions that interpreters normally experience in hospital environments, enabling them to focus better on the interpreting task (Gracia-Garcia 2002).

The physical separation of the interpreter from some or all participants has also been observed to affect turn-taking patterns and to reduce the interpreter's ability to engage with the participants. Two studies comparing interpreter-mediated telephone conversations with monolingual conversations (Oviatt and Cohen 1992) and with face-to-face communication (Wadensjö 1999) revealed that interpreters exerted considerable effort coordinating the conversation in telephone-mediated interpreting. With regard to video-mediated interpreting, Licoppe and Verdier (2013) show how changes in turn-taking patterns in interpreter-mediated immigration hearings with remote applicants lead to a fragmentation of the communication. Licoppe et al. (2018) suggest that these changes may prevent applicants from telling their story in full and discuss moral and ethical implications of this. Patterns of interaction in distance interpreting have also been investigated in sign language interpreting (Napier et al. 2018; Warnicke and Plejert 2012). These studies highlight the risk that deaf people may not be able to participate fully in the communication when they are on a video link. However, these studies also identify strategies that interpreters use to mitigate this risk.

Ethnographic research points to the negative impact of imbalanced participant distributions, especially isolation of remote defendants in court hearings and their difficulty in following the communication and being able to intervene when all but the defendant are located in court (BiD 2008; Braun et al. 2018; Ellis 2004; Fowler 2018). Some of this research also highlights the importance of the positioning of all participants in relation to the equipment and to each other, and the skills and training required for effective communication management in technology-mediated settings (Braun et al. 2018; Fowler 2018).

Research relating to sign-language interpreting highlights negative impacts of working in technology-mediated settings, such as burnout (Bower 2015). However, interviews with spoken-language interpreters working via video links in healthcare settings (Koller and Pöchhacker 2018) highlight the ability to adapt to this environment and the perceived benefits of working remotely, especially the ability to work from home without the need to travel or to wait

in situ for an assignment. Devaux (2016) concludes from surveying spoken-language legal interpreters who work via video link that they have mixed feelings about this modality. They cite their own safety and the contribution to reducing procedural costs as advantages, and the changes in the communicative dynamics and dependence on technology as drawbacks.

Adaptation to technology-mediated interpreting, which was mentioned in some of the above studies, has also been studied in its own right. Braun (2004, 2007) investigates monitoring and adaptation processes employed by interpreters in video-mediated interpreting. She shows that adaptation to the use of technology is possible, as evidenced by adapted strategies for coordinating the interaction; however, system design flaws such as poor sound quality still lead to greater processing effort and poorer performance. Braun (2017) furthermore demonstrates that interpreters use additions and expansions strategically to increase their social presence in video links and to prevent anticipated misunderstandings. However, Braun's analysis also shows that the selected strategies are not always successful or efficient. Moser-Mercer (2005) argues that experienced interpreters may find it more difficult to adapt to remote interpreting because they rely on automated processes, whilst novice interpreters, especially when exposed to new modalities of interpreting during their training, may have a greater potential for adaptation.

Future directions

The use of communication technologies to deliver interpreting services has improved access to language support and, arguably, the sustainability of the interpreting profession, but it has also added a further layer of complexity to interpreter-mediated communication. The shift from interpreting as a situated social practice, whereby the primary participants and the interpreter(s) are copresent, to interpreting as a socio-technological practice in which physical/geographical distance forms part of a new type of situatedness, requires careful consideration. Equally important, the most recent developments, such as the evolution of remote simultaneous interpreting owing to a new generation of

cloud-based interpreting platforms, have yet to be investigated systematically.

Given the rapid evolution of communication technologies, the future is likely to bring an increase and diversification of distance interpreting. In more diversified configurations of tele-, video- and web-conferencing, questions regarding system design, working conditions, skills and training for all stakeholders will become more pertinent (Braun et al. 2018). One of the underlying questions is whether technology-mediated multilingual communication will work best when it replicates traditional configurations as closely as possible or whether adaptation will lead to more effective solutions. If the notion of presence is key to explaining the many problems that have been observed in distance interpreting, it will be important to identify the elements that increase the sense of presence for all involved. However, the research methods that have been applied to distance interpreting to date, mostly survey-based methods and/or experimental studies relying on small samples, have limitations in this respect. A combination of experimental studies and observational studies using authentic interpreter-mediated events will be required to consolidate current insights and to ensure that apparent discrepancies in current research findings can be resolved. These studies will need to be based on large, multilingual samples and use multi-method designs drawn from the social, cognitive and neurosciences.

See also:

HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING; LEGAL INTERPRETING; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; TECHNOLOGY, TRANSLATION

Further reading

Braun, S. and J. Taylor (eds) (2012) *Videoconference and Remote Interpreting in Legal Proceedings*, Cambridge/Antwerp: Intersentia.

Covers different configurations of video-mediated interpreting in legal proceedings and offers suggestions for training and recommendations for best practice as well as an overview of practice and research.

Napier, J., R. Skinner and S. Braun (2018) *Here or There: Research on interpreting via video link*, Washington: Gallaudet.

Brings together research on spoken- and signed language interpreting and provides a

good overview of research on distance interpreting.

Roziner, I. and M. Shlesinger (2010) 'Much Ado about Something Remote: Stress and performance in remote interpreting', *Interpreting* 12(2): 214–247.

Discusses the aims, methods, conclusions and recommendations of the large-scale study into videoconference-based remote interpreting conducted at the European Parliament in 2005 and compares the findings to those of other studies into remote conference interpreting.

SABINE BRAUN

Technology, translation

Critical engagement with the role of technologies in translation has been slow in emerging within translation studies but has been gathering pace since the second decade of this century. As translation becomes more fully understood as social practice and is increasingly studied through sociological lenses, the materials and tools involved in that practice are also beginning to come to the fore. The practice of translating, like writing, has always involved technologies, and those technologies have emerged and evolved over time in relation to a society's cultural and socioeconomic needs. Gabriel (2008) traces the development of manual, mechanical and electric/electronic writing technologies, from stone inscriptions to ink quills on parchment, from printing presses to typewriters, from Morse code to desktop publishing. Many of these developments depended, in turn, on other technologies, including paper production, universal postal systems, the personal computer and the Internet. Much of the history of translation technologies could be narrated along similar lines. However, when translation technologies are discussed by translation scholars, the focus tends to be limited to digital technologies and, even more specifically, to translation memory (TM) and machine translation (MT) software. For instance, Chan's (2015) overview of the history of translation technology starts in 1967.

Other narratives typically begin in the 1950s, with the development of machine translation systems (Hutchins 2015). A notable exception is Cronin's (2013) *Translation in the Digital Age*, one of the few examples of scholarship that engages profoundly with notions of technology and translation through their long histories, into present-day contexts and beyond.

Research themes and findings

Recent research contributions on questions pertaining to digital technology and translation offer a range of specific areas of foci, broadly organized here as uses, emotions, ergonomics, interfaces, construction and power. Empirical studies employ a range of methods, including surveys, interviews, screen recording, video recording, eye tracking and discourse analysis, to study translation in both real-life and experimental settings. Scholars draw explanatory concepts and frameworks principally from cognitive science, usability studies, ergonomics, social constructivism, science and technology studies, actor-network theory, post-Marxist critical theory and post-humanism.

Early research into the use of digital technologies by translators (Lommel 2002, 2004; Fulford and Granell-Zafra 2005; Lagoudaki 2006; Dillon and Fraser 2006) employs survey methods, typically to elicit information about which tools are used by respondents and how they use them, often combined with questions about attitudes to technology. Even when populations of translators are being surveyed for other purposes, questions about technologies tend to feature prominently. One such survey, the *UK Translator Survey*, conducted jointly by the European Commission Representation in the UK, the Chartered Institute of Linguists and the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (2017), focuses on tools or technology in more than half of the questions posed. In addition to finding out what the most widely used tools are, the survey also asks translators how important specific tools were for their work, whether they thought technology gave them a competitive edge and whether they predicted that technology would make human translators less important in the future. Offering a snapshot of tool use and potentially some indicators of attitudes to

technology, surveys of this kind may also give some insight into developments over time, notwithstanding variations in survey design and question formulations.

Persistent circulation of untested assumptions about translators' aversions to technology prompt Koskinen and Ruokonen (2017) to research emotional responses to technology using a method adopted from usability studies, as an alternative to surveys. They analyze 106 love letters or break-up letters written by translators to a tool of their choice. Although participants had a choice as to what tool they would focus on, 70% of letters written are directed at translation technology, principally to search tools and databases rather than TM or MT. For the authors this highlights the centrality of translation technologies in the working lives of the translators. Noting that positive comments slightly outweigh the negative ones, they conclude that translators are not "anti-technology" (ibid.:15). Mapping translators' comments on to widely used dimensions of usability – learnability, efficiency, memorability, errors and satisfaction – Koskinen and Ruokonen observe that positive affect is linked to either efficiency or user satisfaction, while negative affect is also linked to efficiency (i.e. lack of it) but more strongly to system errors. The analysis of translators' narratives provides an example of how this method can be fruitfully employed to gain insights into technology usability but also to focus on the generally neglected dimension of affect or emotional response.

The *UK Translator Survey* asks respondents whether they have been affected by any computer-related health problems, and a quarter of those surveyed reply that they have suffered from a range of aches, pains and strains. This question directs attention to one aspect of ergonomics, an area of study that is establishing itself in translation research and is closely related to technology. Drawing on the International Ergonomics Association's definition of ergonomics as the "physical, cognitive, social, organizational and environmental and other relevant factors of work", Ehrensberger-Dow and O'Brien (2015:99) and Ehrensberger-Dow et al. (2016) use surveys to research the physical, cognitive and organizational aspects of translation workplaces. Their analyses focus on the notion of cognitive friction, i.e. "the resistance encountered by a human

intellect when it engages with a complex system of rules that change as the problem changes” (Cooper 2004:19, cited in Ehrensberger-Dow and O’Brien 2015:102). The authors argue that raising awareness of the potential for cognitive friction among translators may encourage adjustments that are relatively easy to make, for example, switching to a dual-monitor set-up. In further investigations of the ergonomics of translators’ workplaces, Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb (2016) combine screen and video recordings, interviews and ergonomic assessments to analyze how disturbances such as incoming emails can disrupt a translator’s work and reduce efficiency. They also observe that the translator does not use available display settings to minimize eye strain, or fine-tune TM settings to make the tool’s suggestions more relevant. They conclude that translators probably become very good at devising routines and workarounds for workflows that are not ergonomically optimized but that optimized systems could free up those cognitive resources to deal with more novel or complex problems in the translation process (*ibid.*:85).

Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb (2016:76) highlight how occupational therapy research classifications might underspecify translation work as work with a computer; they find that a more granular approach is essential if we are to account for the complexities of the translation workplace, translation tasks and the use of translation memory tools. While ergonomic concerns extend beyond translation technology to many other aspects of the workplace, some research focuses specifically on the computer’s user interface (UI) and the needs of users in relation to the UI. Moorkens and O’Brien (2013, 2017), for example, survey posteditors to find out what they would like to see in their ideal user interface. One of their findings was that most of the features that posteditors deemed desirable were not related specifically to the postediting process but to the translation environment more generally – for example, a clean, uncluttered and customizable user interface, concordancing features, global find-and-replace functions and interoperable quality assurance tools. For the authors this indicates that translation UIs have many shortcomings to be addressed, even before the post-editing user interface is considered (2013:24).

A theme underlying or emerging from many of the studies mentioned thus far is that input or feedback from end users of translation technologies is not elicited or used, or carries little weight, in product design. This lack of user-centred design is the impetus for Moorkens and O’Brien’s longer-term aim to create user-focused specifications for editing interfaces that will provide better support for the postediting task. With that aim in mind, they follow up on their survey by interviewing experienced posteditors (Moorkens and O’Brien 2017) to elicit more user input to inform future UI design. A major source of frustration among posteditors, for example, is the need to make the same changes, again and again, to a segment of MT output. To alleviate this, MT and UI developers would need to focus on implementing on the fly improvements to MT output. Another key point for posteditors is knowing the provenance of data; this would require tracing and retention of metadata for TM and MT, which is technically challenging. These research projects highlight the importance of end-user input in the design of translation tools; an example of how this is being achieved in the development of a terminology tool is described in García-Aragón and López-Rodríguez (2017). Moreover, Moorkens and O’Brien (2017) conclude that input from experts in human-computer interaction is also needed to address long-standing issues with current TM interfaces.

The issue of user input into product design, particularly for leading commercial software products for the global market, raises important questions that expand the horizons of our studies of technology beyond the user interface and the workplaces or other settings in which the technology is deployed. It also invites engagement with other disciplines for which the relationships between technology and society are centre stage. For researchers in science and technology studies (STS), the place of science and technology in the world has been the focus of attention for several decades. STS developed in the second half of the twentieth century, with seminal contributions, including Merton’s (1973) sociology of science and Latour’s actor-network theory (ANT) (Latour 1987, 2005). A significant contribution was the development of the approach known as social constructivism of technology (SCOT). Led by

Bijker and colleagues (Bijker et al. 1987; Bijker 1995; Bijker et al. 2012), SCOT offers a rebuff to technological determinism, arguing that the meaning of a technology does not reside in the technology itself but is rather acquired and shaped in social interaction. Through case studies, SCOT researchers identify the “relevant social groups” who describe and attribute meanings to a technological artefact (Bijker 2010:68). The range of meanings circulating are indicative of the “interpretive flexibility” of the artefact, and this interpretive flexibility diminishes as some artefacts gain dominance over others and meanings converge (*ibid.*). The process whereby the meaning of a technology is thus constructed and stabilized is explained in terms of the understandings, knowledge, practices and values of the relevant social groups.

Olohan (2017) proposes this framework for studies in which questions are raised about where, how and by whom decisions are taken about the design of translation technologies, who the relevant social groups are, what the competing interests are, how groups come to have dominance, and whether their decision-making is exposed or obscured behind illusions of technological obligation. While these questions direct our attention to the technology developers, a SCOT analysis also casts light on the take-up of technologies by relevant social groups, bringing into focus the discourses and practices of translators and translation service providers but also actors such as translator associations, industry think tanks, translation researchers, trainers and educators.

LeBlanc (2017) examines how the availability of TMs has prompted translation service providers to change their business and administrative practices. Using ethnographic methods he studies the reactions of translators to these changes, focusing on the establishing of productivity requirements and the enforced recycling of translations. Reflecting on changes experienced over time, the translators almost unanimously bemoan a loss of autonomy, the industrialization of translation and the threat to their professional status. A similar loss of control is reported by Marshman (2012). Although not using a SCOT framework, LeBlanc’s study highlights the importance of studying the perceived meanings and purposes of technologies among relevant social groups, as decisions are

made and technologies are implemented in the workplace.

Drawing on actor-network theory rather than SCOT, O’Hagan’s (2017b) case study of Facebook’s translation crowdsourcing also addresses questions about translator autonomy and trust in such a technology-mediated translation network. As in Ehrensberger-Dow and Hunziker Heeb (2016), translators continually adapt themselves to technology rather than the other way around, and O’Hagan argues that this limits translator autonomy. Her ANT analysis identifies actors and the relationships that emerge between them in Facebook’s crowdsourced translation network, and highlights how translator autonomy, projected through the establishment of the crowdsourcing network, is only an illusion because network members have no control over the governing and constraining technology, i.e. the translation module set up by Facebook and its algorithmic approach to quality control. With little possibility of interaction between the network of translators and the Facebook team, the crowdsourcing model emerges as a “one-way, top-down structure, not unlike proprietary CAT environments” (*ibid.*:39). Trust is damaged by a lack of reciprocity, and O’Hagan concludes that this one-sided approach to technology puts translators at risk of becoming “passive automata” under instruction to use a particular tool (*ibid.*:40). O’Hagan calls for translators to be more actively involved in shaping technology and for technology developers to take account of how human translators work with technology (*ibid.*).

SCOT studies are sometimes criticized for their focus on local interactions and negotiations of meaning; it is argued that they thereby neglect the macro-institutional perspectives that can account for relations of production and distributions of power (Leonardi and Barley 2010). Feenberg’s (1992, 1999) critical theory of technology adds an analytical layer that considers the power structures and struggles in which technology is implicated. Hegemonic values are inscribed in the development and selection of technological artefacts; in other words, power is exercised by dominant social groups who use technology to reproduce their own hegemonic status. This technological hegemony is a form of control without coercion that is “so deeply rooted in social life that it seems natural

to those it dominates” (Feenberg 1992:309). It is all the more successful because the dominated are promised continued technological and economic growth, and because of an assumption that technologies are morally and politically neutral or innocent (Hornborg 2014).

Critical theory encourages us to examine the cultural-political horizons of technology design and expose hegemonic values. Drawing on this approach, Olohan (2017) calls for the study of the discursive choices and practices of the full range of actors in translation, including those who dominate, in order to gain a deeper understanding of such power dynamics. This approach requires analysis of the socioeconomic and political conditions and configurations that bring about the technologies and normalize them. An understanding of how technologies are inscribed with hegemonic values also opens up the possibility of inscribing them with new values. A pertinent example is offered by O’Thomas (2017), who uses the Global Voices network to argue that technology and translation, as facilitators of global capitalism, can also be manipulated to challenge traditional power structures and hegemonic forces. Questions of technology and power pervade Cronin’s (2013) work, and critical approaches to technology or materiality are also in evidence in other contributions, in addition to those already mentioned, including Garcia (2007), Kenny (2011, 2017), Olohan (2011), O’Brien (2012), O’Hagan (2016a), Littau (2016a) and Moorkens et al. (2016).

Future directions

When the translators in Koskinen and Ruokonen’s study make reference to technological developments over time, they generally consider present conditions as superior to past ones and are “mildly optimistic” about the future (2017:16). Ehrensberger-Dow and O’Brien (2015) also optimistically posit that using speech as input for translating and for postediting MT may help to ease physical discomfort and reduce cognitive friction. This suggestion reflects the general move in computing to what is called a natural user interface (NUI), as an alternative to the graphical user interface (GUI) made ubiquitous by the personal

computer and Microsoft Windows. Users now interact with smart phones, tablets and other touch-screen or voice-controlled devices using gesture, touch and voice. This ‘natural’ approach gives an illusion of control and direct manipulation of data. However, as McCorkle (2017) argues, NUI users are removed yet further away from the underlying computer code, and thus from control. NUI, like all technological design, is inscribed with ideological values. Its prescriptiveness, for example, constrains users to gesture or enunciate in particular ways, thus excluding and marginalizing human behaviours and bodies that fall outside of the norm. NUIs for translation technologies are being developed, for example, in a mobile MT postediting app (Torres-Hostench et al. 2017). Such developments will necessitate more attention to the relationship between translation technologies and the body.

Finally, the futures of translation and translation technology are inevitably intertwined with current and future developments in artificial intelligence. It is realistic to expect that AI will continue to facilitate certain translation and translation-related tasks, as already evidenced by some machine translation and business automation applications. O’Thomas (2017) pushes our thinking yet further, into a transhuman and biotech age in which translation will be carried out by machines and software applications that are themselves embodied. Following Braidotti’s post-humanism (2013), he posits that we will need then a redefinition of translation, just as we will need a redefinition of the human subject. In the meantime, it remains imperative that translation scholars investigate the interests, motivations and decisions relating to the design and implementation of translation technology, in order to contribute to a critical, socio-technical understanding of translation contexts. At the same time, translation is just one of many areas of professional activity to be affected by AI and related developments. Our scholarship may therefore benefit from closer alignment and collaboration with disciplines that are concerned with the changing nature of work and organizations, the sociocultural and ethical implications of automation, the evolving needs of education and competence development, and the empowerment of professionals to deal with these emerging challenges.

See also:

COMICS, MANGA AND GRAPHIC NOVELS; CORPORA; ETHNOGRAPHY; LOCALIZATION; MACHINE TRANSLATION; ONLINE AND DIGITAL CONTEXTS; TECHNOLOGY, AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION; TECHNOLOGY, INTERPRETING

Further reading

Baumgarten, S. and J. Cornellà-Detrell (eds) (2017) *Translation in Times of Technocapitalism*, Special issue of *Target* 29(2).

Not all contributions are technology-focused but offers useful conceptual tools for considering the role of translation in neoliberalist societies dominated by capital and technology.

Cronin, M. (2013) *Translation in a Digital Age*, London & New York: Routledge.

Examines representations and evolutions of translation and translation practices and offers critical reflection on questions of power, agency, identity and communication.

Kenny, D. (ed.) (2017) *Human Issues in Translation Technology*, London & New York: Routledge.

Contributors employ diverse research methods, including ethnographic, experimental and discursive analytical, to address research questions pertaining to a range of technologies and settings.

MAEVE OLOHAN

Terminology

A widely accepted description of terminology is that it refers to “the study of and field of activity concerned with the collection, description, processing and presentation of terms, i.e. lexical items belonging to specialised areas of usage of one or more languages” (Sager 1990:2). Key notions associated with terminology include concept, definition and term. A concept is a unit of thought that is used to organize people’s knowledge and perception of the world around them. Concepts tend to be understood not in isolation but rather in relation to other concepts, in a sort of structured system. A definition provides a bridge between a concept and the term that is used to designate it, and it differentiates

the concept and its associated term from other concept-term units. Finally, a term is the linguistic designation assigned to a concept. Because terminology deals with specialized domains of knowledge, terms refer to the discrete conceptual entities, properties, activities or relations that constitute the knowledge of a particular domain. Ideally, for terminologists, behind each term there should be a clearly defined concept which is systematically related to the other concepts that make up the knowledge structure of the domain. Moreover, the choice of the term should reflect this concept effectively and the form of the term should be generally acceptable within the linguistic system in question.

Theories and applications

Concepts, definitions and terms provide the foundation for terminology theory, knowledge of which is important for translators because they need to apply it in order to carry out tasks such as establishing identity among concepts, dealing with instances where concepts are similar rather than identical, creating target-language terms for new concepts and finding terms that correspond to the same concept in two languages; the latter sometimes involves selecting one term from among a number of possible alternative expressions. As is the case in translation, there are a number of different theoretical approaches to terminology.

A number of key theories are discussed in detail in Kageura and L’Homme (1998). The classical approach to terminology, known as the General Theory of Terminology (GTT), grew out of the work of Eugen Wüster (1931), an Austrian engineer working in the mid-twentieth century. Wüster’s overriding aim in developing the GTT was to facilitate communication in scientific and technical fields through standardization. In other words, he sought to eliminate ambiguity through the establishment and use of precisely defined concept-term units. The GTT’s main principles include onomasiology, which involves beginning with the concept and working towards the term; assuming the clear-cut nature of concepts, meaning that concepts can be delineated and have a fixed place in a system of concepts; univocity, or the assumption of a one-to-one relationship between concept and

term; and synchrony, which means focusing on current use of concepts and terms rather than on their evolution.

While the GTT has been successfully applied in contexts where standardization is beneficial, there are contexts where this is less desirable. The GTT cannot therefore function as an all-embracing theory of terminology. To fill the gap and account for other situations, a number of additional theories have been developed. For instance, socio-terminology adopts a more descriptive approach to terminology, incorporates the study of synonymy and polysemy, and encourages a more diachronic study of the history of conceptualization and naming (Gaudin 2003). Meanwhile, the socio-cognitive theory of terminology argues that terms are more likely to represent fuzzy and dynamic categories, whose members may exhibit differing degrees of prototypicality, rather than clear-cut concepts (Temmerman 2000). The communicative theory of terminology takes into account the linguistic, cognitive and communicative dimensions, insisting that terms be studied in texts rather than considered as context-independent labels (Cabr  2003). And finally, frame-based terminology focuses on conceptual organization and the multidimensional nature of concept-term units, taking as a premise the notion that the conceptualization of any specialized domain is goal oriented and depends to some degree on the task to be accomplished (Faber 2015).

It is also worth noting that different regions, each with their own sociopolitical contexts, have given rise to different schools or approaches to terminology. A number of such regional perspectives, along with a comparative study, are summarized in Picht (2006). For instance, in the Nordic countries, special attention has been paid to the nature of concepts in terms of whether they are dynamic or static; some Anglo-Saxon areas have shown interest in text-conditioned concept variations; some Romance language regions have emphasized socio-terminology and linguistic/semantic analysis; the Russian approach to terminology is strong in cognitive aspects; and some African regions consider knowledge organization and representation as central for terminology theory and applications. Alsulaiman and Allaithy (2019) review the historical and ongoing importance of terminology

in the Arab world, including its cultural and economic ramifications.

Terminology work, sometimes known as applied terminology or terminography, refers to activities associated with identifying and describing concept-term units in a specialized field. Although it can be practised in a monolingual setting, for example in the context of technical writing, terminology has a long-standing close association with translation. As part of any translation project, translators must identify suitable equivalents for the specialized terms that are found in a source text. In some instances, they must also take into account a client's specific terminological preferences. Researching the terminology needed to carry out any given translation can be labour-intensive and time-consuming, and it does not make sense to repeat this research with every translation assignment. Terminologists and translators therefore compile glossaries or terminology databases in which they record the results of their terminological research for future reference. Handbooks such as Kockaert and Steurs (2015) explain various aspects of how terminology work can be carried out. While the general principle of recording terminological information for future reuse remains important, the field has nonetheless continued to develop beyond this issue.

Interpreters, too, have a need for specialized terminology and terminology products (Jiang 2013b; Fantinuoli 2017). In the past, they often had to make use of terminological glossaries and specialized corpora prepared with translators in mind, but these reference materials do not always meet interpreters' needs given that some terminology is primarily used orally, and thus does not appear in written texts. Accordingly, corpora containing transcribed oral data are becoming valuable as input for building glossaries for interpreters (Ginezi 2013; Orozco-Jutor n 2018).

Research themes and trajectories

One overarching development that has begun to emerge is that terminology appears to be aligning more closely with lexicography. Work on

general language dictionaries dates back to the sixteenth century, but serious discussions about the need for a field of activity dealing with specialized terms did not surface until the 1930s, when Wüster began to emphasize the need for clarity and precision in technical communication. In the decades that followed, as terminology sought to establish itself as an independent field, it became commonplace for terminology to be described in opposition to lexicography. For example, Kageura (2015) states that lexicography and terminology were regularly characterized as differing with regard to practitioners (lexicographer vs terminologist), object of investigation (word vs term), domain (general language vs specialized language), orientation (descriptive vs prescriptive), product (dictionary vs glossary or term bank), approach (semasiological or word-oriented vs onomasiological or concept-oriented), organization (alphabetic vs thematic), and intended users (lay people vs subject experts and language professionals). While such binary distinctions may have seemed necessary or desirable in the early days of terminology, when the field was establishing its identity, the supposed boundaries appear to have become fuzzier over time. One factor that has brought the two fields closer together is technology, while another is the desire of both lexicographers and terminologists to better respond to their users' sometimes overlapping needs (Bowker 2018).

Technology has been a driving force behind what can be considered as the greatest methodological revolution witnessed to date in terminology: the adoption of a corpus-based approach. If a corpus is understood simply as a body of text to be consulted as a source of linguistic (and extralinguistic) information, then terminology has always been corpus based to a large degree. However, computer technology has greatly expanded the possibilities associated with corpus construction and analysis. Today, using electronic corpora and associated corpus analysis tools has become so widespread and so firmly established that undertaking a credible terminology project that does not have a corpus-based approach at its centre is scarcely imaginable.

In the two decades since criteria for designing and compiling terminological corpora were

first outlined (Bowker 1996; Meyer and Mackintosh 1996), considerable strides have been made with regard to automating elements of both corpus construction and corpus interrogation. For example, while identifying and gathering together corpus documents used to be extremely labour-intensive, researchers have developed techniques to help terminologists construct corpora in a largely automatic fashion. Baroni and Bernardini's (2004) BootCaT toolkit uses an iterative procedure to bootstrap specialized corpora and terms from the web, requiring the terminologist to provide only a small list of seed terms, that is, terms that are expected to be typical of the domain of interest. Using the seed terms, BootCaT searches the web for relevant documents, extracts new terms from these documents, uses both sets of terms to find more documents and so on. Meanwhile, Barrière's (2006) tool SeRT uses an inventory of lexical knowledge patterns that represent underlying semantic relations to identify texts on the web that contain knowledge-rich contexts (KRCs). KRCs are sentences containing information that is particularly relevant to terminological research, for example definitions. SeRT identifies web documents that contain KRCs and presents these to the user in decreasing order of density.

In addition to developing tools to alleviate the burden of corpus construction, researchers have also explored ways of automating the interrogation of these corpora; however, given that the entry point into a corpus is via a lexical item, rather than via a concept, the underlying approach used is now more semasiological than onomasiological. One area that has attracted significant attention is automatic term extraction (Kilgarrieff 2014; Xu and Sharoff 2014; Costa et al. 2016). The general goal of term extraction is to identify the core vocabulary of a specialized domain, but when carried out manually, this is a time consuming process. As summarized by both Korkontzelos et al. (2008) and Heylen and De Hertog (2015), a number of different techniques have been used for automatic term extraction. The earliest methods used only linguistic information such as morpho-syntactic patterns, but increasingly sophisticated statistical methods that use various types of frequency and collocational measures have since been

developed. Most state-of-the-art systems are hybrids, combining both types of information.

Moving beyond the automatic recognition of single and multiword terms, researchers have also made inroads into automatically identifying other types of information that are valuable to terminologists, such as the knowledge-rich contexts (KRCs) already mentioned. Corpora provide access to a vast wealth of examples, but this can be both an advantage and a disadvantage. On the one hand, more information about a term and how it is used can lead to a deeper understanding and more effective communication. On the other hand, terminologists may be overwhelmed if they have to sift through large quantities of text in the hope of identifying pertinent nuggets of information. Not all contexts provide equally useful information, and researchers are thus looking for ways to automatically identify KRCs. One way of doing this has been to try to identify lexical patterns that represent underlying knowledge patterns. For example, a potential type of context that could be very helpful to a terminologist is one that defines or explains a specialized concept. Definitions often take a form such as 'An X is a Y that has characteristics A, B and C'. Therefore, instead of searching only for a context that contains term X, it could be more productive to search for a context that contains term X along with a knowledge pattern such as 'is a', 'kind of' and 'sort of' and 'type of' that signals a defining context. Indeed, as researchers began to investigate knowledge patterns, it became clear that this is an exceedingly complex subject. There are different patterns that signal different types of conceptual relations – generic-specific relations, part-whole relations, functional relations, causal relations – and there are different patterns present in different subject fields, different text genres and different languages. Other challenges to contend with include interrupted or non-contiguous patterns, hedges and noisy patterns such as 'A car is a vehicle' vs 'A car is a fantastic graduation gift'. While contexts that contain definitions are one type of useful context, they are not the only type. Researchers are investing significant effort into developing inventories of knowledge patterns and encoding this information into systems that will allow terminologists to create and consult corpora that have a high KRC density, rather than sifting laboriously through vast

volumes of less relevant data (Auger and Barrière 2010; Condamines et al. 2013; Marshman 2014; Schumann 2014).

Other strands of research have attempted to respond to user needs, spurring changes to terminology practice and inspiring new avenues of research. The availability of corpora and corpus analysis tools has made it easier for terminologists to investigate and record a wider range of linguistic phenomena that occur in specialized text. For instance, terminology work traditionally focused on nouns as the principal means of designating concepts. However, translators and other users of terminology products need help to understand other elements of specialized texts, thus stimulating interest in the role played by other parts of speech such as verbs and adjectives in representing concepts (Pimentel 2015; Caballero 2017). Users also need support for determining how to use terms in target texts. Consequently, more information regarding term usage, including collocations and variants, is being included in term records.

Term variation, in particular, has garnered much research attention (Daille 2017; Drouin et al. 2017). Historically, a principal goal of terminology was to achieve univocity, or one-to-one correspondence between a concept and a term. Synonymy and polysemy were considered to be impediments to specialized communication. However, it has been increasingly recognized that variation and synonymy are a necessary, inevitable and functional aspect of terminology, and knowledge about variants is becoming important for a wide range of applications such as controlled authoring, computer-aided translation and other forms of natural language processing. There has also been a surge of investigations into various aspects of terminological variation, such as determining whether concepts have a terminological saturation point (Freixa and Fernández-Silva 2017), the role of metaphor in terminological variation (Rossi 2017), how term variation is affected by the translation process (Kerremans and Temmerman 2016) and techniques for automating the discovery of terminological variants (Cram and Daille 2016).

As is the case in lexicography, users of terminology products are becoming more involved in the production of terminology resources. Crowdsourcing, especially a model that uses a

closed crowd whose membership is limited to vetted members such as subject field experts, is starting to gain traction (Karsch 2015; Bowker 2018). Terminological activities that can be outsourced to a crowd include suggesting or validating candidate terms, or voting on a preferred term from among a group of synonyms. Crowd members can provide feedback on a range of terminology-related issues, such as outdated terms, unclear definitions or preferred foreign-language equivalents. By leveraging the expertise of subject matter experts and giving them a voice, product uptake can be increased and user satisfaction improved. In a related area, research into terminometrics – the study of term implantation patterns – has evolved along similar lines. The focus has shifted away from language planning institutions and towards the community, aligning with the global shift in content production and distribution. Terminological decision-making can thus be informed by user behaviour, and the reception of translated content may be improved through this adaptation to users' terminological expectations (DePalma and Kelly 2011; Bilgen 2016).

A desire for one-stop shopping is regularly expressed by users of terminological and lexicographical products (Durán-Muñoz 2010; Bowker 2012; Gough 2017). As a result, it is becoming more common to see blended resources that contain a variety of general language and specialized language content. In the past, only terms were considered appropriate for inclusion in resources used by translators, but other criteria are now being used too, such as frequency of occurrence, translation difficulty, visibility (how prominently a linguistic expression appears in source materials) and embeddedness (a lexical item's productivity in forming longer multiword units) (Warburton 2015). Moreover, in cases where the termbase is integrated with other tools, such as a word processor or translation memory system, language professionals may even include items simply because it will be easier to have them inserted into the text automatically, rather than having to type out or edit this information.

Another example of the growing rapprochement of lexicography and terminology, and one that has also been facilitated by corpora, is the interest in de-terminologization, which is the

phenomenon that occurs when large numbers of non-specialists start using a given term from a specialized domain. In such a case, new collocations may be formed and the term may begin to acquire new general language senses (Renouf 2017).

Finally, for many years, terminology has focused almost exclusively on linguistic designators; however at least one major term bank – the *Grand dictionnaire terminologique* maintained by the *Office québécoise de la langue française* – has now begun to incorporate a greater amount of visual content into its term records (Francœur 2015). Other specialized terminology resources, such as the EcoLexicon environmental knowledge base, are also integrating images (Reimerink et al. 2016).

See also:

CORPORA

Further reading

Kockaert, H.J. and F. Steurs (eds) (2015) *Handbook of Terminology*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A wide-ranging and up-to-date resource containing 34 chapters that provide students, professionals and researchers with easy access to discussions on terminology-related topics, traditions, best practices and methods.

Picht, H. (ed.) (2006) *Modern Approaches to Terminological Theories and Applications*, Bern: Peter Lang.

Places a strong emphasis on the use of corpora and electronic tools for conducting terminological research and provides insights into approaches taken in various corners of the globe, including Africa, Anglo-Saxon countries, Canada, China, Nordic countries and Russia.

Thelen, M. and F. Steurs (eds) (2010) *Terminology in Everyday Life*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

A collection that brings together theory and practice and strives to demonstrate that terminology is of everyday importance and of relevance to everyone, from terminologists to translators, from computer specialists to policy makers, from medical experts to politicians, and from instructors to students.

Theatre translation

Theatre translation is distinguished from drama translation principally by its ultimate objective to create a product destined for performance rather than for reading; a performed play-text in translation is intended to be the object of spectatorship and, increasingly, participation. Aaltonen (2000) notes the points of intersection and overlap, as well as the differences, between theatre and drama literary systems. The process of theatre translation, as distinct from the literary translation of dramatic texts, creates a targeted product – the performance text – for active users (theatre practitioners: directors, actors, the creative team) who apply an additional interpretive process to bring a translated play to the stage. Theatre translation thus offers research avenues in a creative process that includes both the generation of a translated text and the methodology of bringing it to performance. The international circulation of performed texts brings into focus a further feature of theatre translation: texts and performances developed with the intention of crossing multiple boundaries, spatially, geographically and linguistically. In such circumstances, the constantly shifting nature of translation emerges more fully into view.

The research potential of the concept of performativity has been widely discussed in the wake of a series of interventions by Bassnett (1991, 1998a); a key response is provided by Espasa, who argues for the location of “theatre ideology and power negotiation at the heart of performativity”, with other factors such as speakability and playability relatively positioned (2000:58). Translating for performance acknowledges the integral function, as part of the *mise-en-scène* (Pavis 2013), of non-verbal elements such as lighting, music and set design and, above all, the tone and physicality of acting and their role in conveying the translated text to the audience. Research focusing on translation for performance is therefore interdisciplinary and has synergies with disciplines such as adaptation studies, film studies and theatre and drama studies.

Collaboration in theatre translation

The collaborative nature of theatre, and the variety of agents involved in commissioning,

developing and presenting a performed translation, places the translator within a group of theatre practitioners with a wide spectrum of professional competences. Mapping theatre translation processes reveals a range of language and physical interpretive practices that feed into the performed product along with linguistic and translation competences (Perteghella 2004). Less visible participants who nevertheless have significant impact on the translation process include theatre producers and artistic directors, who commission productions and assemble the creative team, and theatre directors, who take ultimate responsibility for artistic performance decisions (Brodie 2018). Dramaturgs may also engage with translation activity, either in an advisory or practical capacity, and influence the production as critical collaborators in the architecture of the theatrical event (Turner and Behrndt 2008:101; Versényi 2010:176). The dramaturgical role is increasingly viewed as a component of bringing translated texts to the stage, both practically (Trencsényi 2015:51–66) and in relation to the international circulation of performance practices and the production of meaning (Radosavljević 2013; Trencsényi and Cochrane 2014).

The positioning of the translator within a collaborative group of practitioners raises issues of ethics, visibility, ownership, ideology, and affects social and cultural narratives around the procedural aspects of theatre translation. One area of debate concerns the practice whereby an expert linguist is commissioned to prepare a literal translation which is then used by a theatre practitioner to create a performance text. Literal translators may remain entirely invisible, or may receive only limited recognition. Marinetti, discussing the use of literal translation in British theatre, argues that “unlike in many other countries in Europe, the literal translator in the UK is considered a technician at best” (2013:30), concluding that the “widespread use of monolingual playwrights as translators in British theatres. . . [and] a focus on performativity . . . has led to a marginalization of drama translation in practice” (ibid.:32). Marinetti argues for the study of translation in the theatre from the perspective of the wider context of cultural production, including transnational, multilingual and post-dramatic theatre practices in order to focus on the value of translation and translators and the study of language difference. Bigliuzzi et al. (2013) and Graham-Jones (2017) prefer

to discuss theatre translation only in relation to performance texts directly created by translators. However, theoretical engagement with the indirect procedure through a literal translation is important not only because it reflects actual practice, but also because it raises issues of visibility, linguistic competence, and the definitions and parameters of translation theory and practice (Brodie 2018; Brodie and Cole 2017). Furthermore, this indirect theatre translation process, particularly prevalent in Anglophone theatre, is symptomatic of wider confrontations of the global and the local in contemporary intercultural theatrical activity. It falls to translation theory to investigate this area, as international theatre research focuses on the social and cultural implications of travelling and cross-border performance (Kelleher and Ridout 2006); in other words, the product of translation but not the practice.

Terminology and taxonomies

The multiple-agency involved in the theatre translation process leads to substantial debate concerning the terminology and definitions for the range of practices and participants. In English, the theatrical production of a text that has resulted from an interpretive process that includes translation is not consistently identified as a translation; this term is more likely to be applied only when a text is performed in translation for the first time. The retranslation of canonical texts features largely in professional theatre, with an accompanying tendency to apply labels such as version or adaptation to the resulting production. Attempting to associate this terminology with distinct theoretical models demonstrates the porosity of translation boundaries (Hardwick 2000, 2010). The shifting terminology applied to the practice and product of translation for the theatre provokes discussion around the power imbalances between specialist translators and theatre practitioners, and between source and target text, as well as issues of language expertise and acquisition, the theatrical systems for commissioning translations and the wider social contexts of theatre practice.

A continuing debate explores where and whether theatre translation might be located within a definition of adaptation. Perteghella (2008:63) sees adaptation as expanding on translation where it “critically supplements the

source with subjective and cultural interpretations”. Krebs argues for a “focus on similarities between both translational and adaptational processes and products, to investigate each other’s methodologies and assumptions” (2012:50), and theorizes the relationship between translation and adaptation in theatre performance (2013). Laera’s (2014a) taxonomy of theatre adaptation situates translation among a variety of intertextual elements pertaining to the appropriative qualities of adaptation, concluding that the “different mediums, genres, cultures, and historical periods that are involved in the act of stage transposition” thwart attempts to delineate the various modalities of adaptation. Ultimately, the multiagency, multimodal nature of theatrical performance demands a broad definition of the translational process and product.

Intercultural theatre and the politics of translation

Terminological debates, especially where adaptive procedures also raise discussions around fidelity to the source text and culture, have provoked an examination of Venuti’s poles of domestication and foreignization (1995b/2008) in relation to theatre practices. Laera (2014a:9) formulates an expanded definition of theatre adaptation which includes translation to investigate the phenomenon whereby “transferring pre-existing material into another language, culture, or medium involves an exercise in self-definition through an act of appropriation of the foreign, which raises issues around a given society’s self-representation and the reiteration of ideological exclusions”. This examination of the juxtaposition of cultures in theatre, and the language processes whereby such encounters take place, forms part of an extended discussion of the role of intercultural performance within local, national and global systems and the attendant politics of translation and language, especially the English language. Delgado (2014:104) notes the increasing range of international performance phenomena under investigation by researchers, but highlights the dominance of Anglo-American parameters and critical discourses which create “particular colonialist assumptions around the availability and ‘ownership’ of the performance event”. Translation is crucial, therefore, not only for the circulation of theatrical texts but also for the dissemination

of research and critical examinations of the process of intercultural transfer.

The politics of translation must therefore be taken into account when reflecting on intercultural theatrical exchange, textual dissemination through translation and performance, and scholarly research into these phenomena. The circulation of canonical dramatic texts via translation and adaptation is increasingly under examination. Scholarly engagements with modern translations of classical Greek tragedy approach theatrical translation issues from the perspective of contemporary reception and performance, acknowledging the instability of the originary source text and focusing on cultural interpretation and social relevance (Hall and Harrop 2010; Cole 2017; Rodosthenous 2017). The University of Łódź's journal *Multicultural Shakespeare: Translation, Appropriation and Performance*, created in 2004, is one example of the extensive reach of international Shakespeare studies. The 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's death in 2016 and the preceding Cultural Olympiad supplementing the Olympic Games in London in 2012 also contributed to generating awareness of the global reach of Shakespeare's texts. The Cultural Olympiad included the staging of Shakespeare's complete plays, each performed in the language of a different culture, and was subsequently examined and critiqued as global production (Bennett and Carson 2013). These plays, presented at the reconstructed Shakespeare's Globe theatre in London, were performed in accordance with conventional staging techniques. However, cutting-edge digital theatre technologies, which can include the incorporation of intermedial translation for international productions, are increasingly adopted on contemporary stages, including in the interpretation of Shakespeare's plays for modern audiences (Mancewicz 2014), prompting further reflection on questions of appropriation and adaptation. These questions are pursued by studies of the international iterations of more recent canonical playwrights; the interplay of global and local in contemporary productions of plays by Ibsen (Fischer-Lichte et al. 2011) and the mutations of Chekhov's works in translation (Clayton and Meerzon 2013).

Thus canonical theatre is constantly updated through translation and performance, with scholarly enquiry interrogating the ethical and

political issues of these intercultural retellings. The interlingual element is generally discussed as part of the wider cultural exchange taking place, examined by means of one unifying agency. This can be a playwright, as in the work discussed above, or a particular directorial stance, for example Boenisch's (2015, 2016) studies of the performance-led Regie (director's theatre) approach of contemporary European directors to the international staging of predominantly canonical texts. However, ethical issues arise when examining the distribution of widely recognized and lesser-known theatrical voices, including languages that are infrequently staged (de Martino et al. 2013). Furthermore, studies of the renarration of canonical texts for new audiences – for example, Shakespeare in China (Wong 2012), Japan (Oki-Siekierczak 2013), India (Panja and Saraf 2016) and Egypt (Hanna 2016) – reveal the extent to which theatre translation is seen through the prism of the English language and literature. Aston and O'Thomas (2015) examine one departure from the ubiquitous transmission of the European and Anglophone canon through translation in their study of the international playwrighting outreach programmes and initiatives of the Royal Court theatre in London, whereby contemporary playwrights engage in intercontinental workshops to create new theatre writing for local cultures and in translation for British audiences. The English language nevertheless remains part of the equation in these circumstances. The investigation of non-European performance traditions from a translational perspective permits a degree of examination of further forms of exchange between theatrical cultures, as in the studies of Egyptian theatre (Aaltonen and Ibrahim 2016), performance traditions of the Maghreb (Armine and Carlson 2012), contemporary performance exchanges in Japan (Curran 2014) and translation of performance in Asia (Lindsay 2006b).

The relevance of the field of performance studies for the interrogation of intercultural and interlingual theatrical exchange is advocated by Carlson (2006) and Pavis (1992). Fischer-Lichte, on the other hand, argues that the concept of intercultural theatre is based on two contentious assumptions: firstly, "that it is possible to separate one's 'own' theatre from 'other' theatres" (2014b:129); and secondly, that "cultures

are sealed entities" (ibid.:130). Furthermore, she notes that intercultural theatre and performance workshops teach theatre practices under circumstances in which the "dichotomy between 'self' and 'other' is overcome in the learning process" (ibid.:131). Fischer-Lichte considers the concept of intercultural theatre to be "deeply contradictory" (2014a:9) but finds substituting the term intercultural performance for intercultural theatre equally problematic (ibid.:9). "Questions of interweaving performance cultures are always linked to debates on the politics of globalization" (ibid.:14), she continues, concluding that a new theory that would leave behind the implicit postcolonialism of intercultural theatre and performance requires substantial further research into performances that aim to interweave cultures, along with their political, economic and legal contexts (2014a:15).

Alternative and new theatrical forms

A consideration of performance in its wider contexts permits an engagement with broader dramatic activity, which in turn generates fresh implications for research in theatre translation. Contemporary concepts of performance modes include innovative and reimagined theatrical forms, connecting practitioners and audiences in dramatic engagements that present new challenges for translation and accessibility methodologies. In some cases, pre-traditional theatrical forms, such as site-specific, promenade and street performance, have been reinvigorated, with contemporary digital technologies as catalysts for new artistic imaginings and performance techniques. To the extent that text has been translated in advance of performance, theoretical issues surrounding the translation process of such performance types remain relevant. The live, and often necessarily improvisational, qualities of alternative theatrical forms render translation problematic; deviation from the written text in recognition of the singular circumstances of each performance introduces further agents into the translation process, again blurring the boundaries between translation and adaptation. The improvisational and collaborative techniques of devised theatre can, however, be used within the translation development

process, testing translations through a series of rehearsals and workshops (Eaton 2012).

The multimodal and intermedial theatre techniques which tend to be a feature of alternative theatrical forms also invite a revised assessment of the practicalities of translation for theatre, in the development of multimedia surtitles and in other practices that address theatre accessibility and, by extension, translation (Espasa 2017). Audiovisual translation theories and methodologies are applicable to theatrical performances presented with translated surtitles, sharing many characteristics with opera supertitles. New theatrical forms and performance spaces, and the challenges of live theatre, pose new problems for translation and accessibility captioning (Oncins 2015); the practice of surtitling, which combines the constraints of film subtitling with the exigencies of live performance and an unstable text for translation, is a hybrid of translation and interpreting (Griesel 2009). Translated captions tend to be employed for visiting productions in theatre festivals, or in touring productions, and are now more widely used due to improvements in titling technologies, although variances of technological provision between venues raises issues for accessibility and consistency of performance (Oncins 2015:10).

Theatre companies such as Robert Lepage's *Ex Machina* or Ivo van Hove's *Toneelgroep Amsterdam*, who engage regularly in international tours of their productions, include a dedicated surtitle operator in their team, particularly as sophisticated digital capabilities permit the integration of surtitles within other intermedial elements of the *mise-en-scène*. Such companies opt for captioned translations because the languages of their audiences change between venues, although the touring production may itself be a translation; Thomas Ostermeier's production of *Hamlet* for the Schaubühne theatre in Berlin, for example, was performed in a German translation by Marius von Mayenburg in international venues between 2008–2016, including when it appeared at the Barbican theatre in London in 2011. The interplay of *mise-en-scène* and surtitling underlined the potentiality of strangeness for an audience accustomed to a canonical text and treatment (Brodie 2013).

The phenomenon of manipulating surtitles to "[challenge] the hegemony of monolingualism" is explored by Ladouceur (2013:126) in her

discussion of surtitling translation strategies for bilingual texts in performance for minority Francophone communities in Western Canada. For bilingual and multilingual audiences, surtitles provide translation solutions, but also, by their very visibility, contribute to the foregrounding of translation itself. Surtitles therefore possess the capacity to play a complex role in theatre translation, addressing the tensions between accessibility and performability, and, on occasion, between translation and non-translation, and the power of the latter to destabilize the former. Nina Raine demonstrates this power of surtitles and non-translation in her play *Tribes* (2010), in which she depicts the conflicting pressures on a deaf character, Billy, born into a hearing family. Billy's sign language interactions with other deaf and hearing characters are sporadically surtitled, an indicator to a hearing audience of the significance of sign language as an independent language, and of their dependence on translation for understanding. Raine's play is a manifestation of a growing interest in sign language performance and its interactions with translation. Turner and Pollitt (2002:1) argue that "the interpreter's role in facilitating access for Deaf people to the cultural heritage of the majority-language community can be directly at odds with the desire to promote Deaf arts". In her discussion of sign language interpretations of theatrical texts, Rocks (2011:85) finds that "it becomes incumbent on the makers of theatre to treat the interpreter-mediated performance with the same artistic integrity as any other performance". Integration in a production from an early point in planning and development enhances accessibility to performance, whether through translation or other interpretive modes; this constitutes a further illustration of the significance of collaboration in theatre translation.

Theatre translation engages with a wide range of performance, interpretation, multiagency and multilingualistic issues. Lindsay considers translation as verbal and "beyond the verbal" (2006a:14) in her discussion of how "multilingualism, bilingualism, diglossia and polyglossia" (ibid.:10) are performed in Asia, advocating an element of "resistance to globalized experience" (ibid.:32), and seeing multilingualism and translation not only as modes but also as subjects of performance. Interrogating translation as an applied theatrical activity opens up avenues for the

consideration of how translation acts, and interacts, within disciplines, cultures and societies.

See also:

ADAPTATION; CANONIZATION; LITERARY TRANSLATION

Further reading

Aaltonen, S. (2000) *Time-sharing on Stage: Drama translation in theatre and society*, Cleveland: Multilingual Matters.

A seminal text which locates theatre translation within translation theory and provides an accessible and so far unparalleled introduction to the theory of theatre translation.

Brodie, G. (2018) *The Translator on Stage*, New York: Bloomsbury.

Offers a detailed snapshot of the commissioning and production of translated works for the London stage, positing the significance of literal translation for translation, adaptation and dramaturgy.

Laera, M. (ed.) (2014) *Theatre and Adaptation: Return, rewrite, repeat*, London: Bloomsbury.

A collection of interviews between theatre scholars and practitioners, which covers a wide range of performance cultures and is prefaced by a rigorous theoretical introduction that discusses the theory and politics of adaptation, including translation, in the theatre.

GERALDINE BRODIE

Thick translation

The notion of thick translation addresses the question of understanding and representing, in one's own language, texts that derive from a culture and language significantly different from one's own. In particular, it deals with the fact that utterances depend on context for their meaning. If translation is taken to involve not only the representation in one language of something that was said in another but also the selection of something to be represented in the first place, then it is not hard to see that translation brings with it a certain decontextualization of the original utterance. In the process of translation, the original utterance is lifted from its surroundings; the representation, which is deployed in a

different language and a different environment, must do without the wealth of shared knowledge that gave the original utterance its meaning in its original context. The question is how to counter the reductive effect of decontextualization if the aim is to arrive at a translation that will be deemed adequate, or proper, or respectful with regard to its source. As the terms of the question already suggest, the issue is less a matter of meaning than of ethics. Thick translation is concerned less with recontextualizing translations in their new environment than with respecting the integrity of the original utterance and its context.

Background

The Ghanaian-American philosopher and cultural theorist Kwame Anthony Appiah proposed the notion of thick translation in an essay with the same title which first appeared in 1993 (Appiah 1993/2012). Appiah's essay begins with questions of meaning and ends with a reflection on ethics and politics, as discussed below. First, it is useful to recall the provenance of the phrase thick translation itself. Although Appiah's essay makes no mention of it, the phrase echoes the 'thick description' explored by the philosopher Gilbert Ryle (1900–1976) and subsequently championed by the ethnographer Clifford Geertz (1926–2006). Both Ryle and Geertz were, in different ways, concerned with the question of how to understand and represent other people's behaviour. Indeed, well before the terms thick description and thick translation were launched, theorists of translation had given thought to the kind of issues in question, even though they did not use the terms. For the sake of brevity, two names will suffice here.

In the early nineteenth century, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), whose hermeneutics laid the foundations of modern translation theory, was preoccupied with questions of language and meaning. He held that understanding another person's meaning requires conscious effort. The process of understanding, he argued, begins with having the fullest available knowledge of the language being spoken, because there is a correlation between a language and what can be thought or said in it; from there, understanding proceeds to an assessment of the person who speaks, on the assumption that individuals are

also able to shape the language they use. These two connected moves provide a broad context for utterances. Schleiermacher also realized, however, that understanding a discourse produced in a language or at a time very different from one's own presented formidable problems. In these cases, he conceded, understanding was bound to remain partial and fragmentary. Translating, conceived as the verbalization of cross-lingual and cross-cultural understanding, was therefore an extremely challenging task. The utopian aim of translation, Schleiermacher noted in his lectures on psychology, was to convey "the totality of thought" at work in a foreign language, even if individual translations only marked the distance separating us from this ideal (Schleiermacher 1862:180–181).

Around the middle of the twentieth century the literary critic I.A. Richards (1893–1979) developed what he called a 'technique of multiple definition' as a way of auditing alien meaning. The technique probed the uses to which a term in a particular language had been put and then examined how these meanings might be represented in another language. In his *Mencius on the Mind* (1932), Richards presented some of the writings of the ancient Chinese thinker Mengzi together with a host of interlinear English cribs and glosses which, in their multiplicity, refrained from proposing fixed equivalents for the Chinese characters. In his *Speculative Instruments* of 1955 Richards included an essay, 'Toward a Theory of Comprehending', which had first been published under the title 'Toward a Theory of Translating' and in which he gave his approach a pragmatic and self-reflexive twist. When we study the concepts of a different culture, Richards observed, we compare them to our own in certain respects, depending on our purpose. By pragmatically trying out different angles or 'respects' we gain a sense of their effectiveness as instruments to achieve an understanding of what is foreign to us. This method of trial and error allows us, as he put it, to "develop our comprehending of what it is with which we seek to explore comprehending" (Richards 1955:22). In other words, in seeking to understand something that lies beyond our familiar intellectual horizon, we necessarily adopt a certain angle of approach, and varying the angle enables us to reflect critically on the opportunities and limitations inherent in each.

Gilbert Ryle tackled these issues from a more philosophical perspective in two essays, 'Thinking and Reflecting' and 'The Thinking of Thoughts' (Ryle 1971a, 1971b). In the latter essay Ryle described watching two boys rapidly contracting the eyelids of their right eyes, and wondering: is one of them, or are they both, deliberately winking or involuntarily twitching? Could they be parodying a wink or a twitch, or just rehearsing winks for later use? How can we know what is going on? Establishing which is wink and which is twitch, Ryle argued, requires detailed engagement with the phenomenon and its context, as well as interpretive effort, because, culturally speaking, the two concepts are interdependent: a twitch is as much a non-wink as a wink is a non-twitch. Winks and twitches define each other in ways that are at once complex and unphotographable. Thick description is Ryle's term for the patient engagement with and contextualization of complex meaning.

In a programmatic essay entitled 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', which served as the introduction to his 1973 collection *The Interpretation of Cultures*, the ethnographer Clifford Geertz embraced Ryle's idea to champion detailed and personalized descriptions of other cultures by a participant observer. For Geertz, thick description was a tool to counter the reductiveness of a structuralist type of anthropology that squeezed complex lifeworlds into binary oppositions and abstract diagrams. The aim of thick description as Geertz saw it was not to achieve a full or accurate account of a foreign culture but to reach an appreciation of similarities and differences, and of the ways in which things might appear similar or different from this or that angle. Geertz also followed Ryle in stressing that it was the description that was meant to acquire thickness, not the reality being described. Among historians this point would be taken up by the New Historicists who also referenced thick description and who revelled in the minute analysis and contextualization of significant historical detail (Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000:15).

Thick translation in theory and practice

When Kwame Anthony Appiah coined the term thick translation on the model of thick

description, he applied it in ways comparable to those Geertz had envisaged. Appiah's particular concern was with genre-bound utterances such as proverbs or literary texts. Understanding texts of this kind across linguistic and cultural divides requires a grasp of the relevant conventions in the source culture. When a culturally embedded text of this type is taught in a school or university on the basis of another language, the most useful translation may be one that is 'academic' (the quotation marks are Appiah's 1993/2012:341), a translation that "seeks with its annotations and its accompanying glosses to locate the text in a rich cultural and linguistic context" and that reveals "the rich differences of human life in culture" (ibid.). Such a contextualizing translation will open up the source text to a fuller understanding. The aim of the exercise, however, is ultimately ethical in nature. In Appiah's words,

A thick description of the context of literary production, a translation that draws on and creates that sort of understanding, meets the need to challenge ourselves and our students to go further, to undertake the harder project of a genuinely informed respect for others.

(ibid.)

The programme has a political edge as well. Appiah invokes North American perceptions of African oral culture and concludes his essay with what he calls the "final challenge" (ibid.:342), a challenge to the assumption of western cultural superiority, thus drawing thick translation into the postcolonial sphere.

As to how exactly thick translation is to be put into practice, Appiah merely says this is "highly context-dependent" (ibid.), a matter of the particular situation and the preexisting knowledge the intended audience is deemed to possess. This makes it hard to point to concrete examples to illustrate thick translation. Extensive prefaces and towering footnotes may not be enough to qualify a version as a thick translation. Vladimir Nabokov's rendering of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* into English famously comprised four volumes, one of which contained a literal translation of the Russian original while the other three featured introductions and annotations, but Nabokov's frequent sneers at fellow

translators do not sit comfortably with Appiah's ethical imperative. A more congenial example, and one that explicitly references thick translation, might be Te-hsin Shan's Chinese version of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* in 2004, in which, as with Nabokov, the introduction and annotations outweigh the actual rendering of the novel; but this is a scholarly rather than a polemical version, for which the criteria had been set by the National Science Council of Taiwan (Shan 2012).

There have been other approaches, some of which are very much academic in that they concern the study of concepts of translation across languages and cultures. This type of study necessarily involves translation. In an essay on 'Cross-Cultural Translation Studies as Thick Translation', Hermans (2003) suggested that, if researchers are to respect the integrity of concepts of translation in another culture, they should avoid rendering them in their own language by means of the routine jargon of translation studies. As an alternative Hermans pointed to John Jones's translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, first published in 1961, in which Jones had prevented the assimilation of Aristotle's concepts into the prevailing discourse in English by opting for some deliberately unusual and even clumsy terms to match the Greek (Hermans 2003:380–382; 2007:138–141).

Thick translation as a way of representing concepts of translation across cultures is also at work in Martha Cheung's two-volume *Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation* (2006a, 2017). Anthologies routinely decontextualize the texts they present, a risk Cheung was determined to avoid in her presentation, in English, of Chinese discourses on translation from the earliest times to 1800. She had reservations about Hermans's proposal to wrench the existing language of Anglophone translation studies out of its shape (Cheung 2007:26) and instead devised alternative means to lend the anthology depth, complexity and nuance. She provides a layered paratextual apparatus of general and specific introductions as well as footnotes to and comments on individual extracts. She includes texts that are not about translation but throw light on the tradition from which subsequent translation concepts derived. She inserts Chinese key terms into the English translations to enable the Anglophone reader to trace their recurrence

despite variation in the translations. The anthology has a political edge too, as Cheung had been keen for the project to be driven by Chinese scholars at home in both English and Chinese (2006a:2). The reader, finally, is called upon to collaborate actively, as only curiosity, the willingness to engage with the detail of another world, brings thick translation to life.

See also:

CULTURAL TRANSLATION

Further reading

Appiah, K.A. (1993/2012) 'Thick Translation', *Callaloo* 16(4): 808–819; reprinted in L. Venuti (ed.) *The Translation Studies Reader*, third edition, London & New York: Routledge, 331–343.

A key essay which launched the concept of thick translation and made the case for its use.

Cheung, M.P.Y. (2007) 'On Thick Translation as a Mode of Cultural Representation', in D. Kenny and K. Ryou (eds) *Across Boundaries. International perspectives on translation studies*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 22–36.

A spirited account of some of the key issues involved in cross-cultural representation, with suggestions on how thick translation might be applied in practice.

Hermans, T. (2007) *The Conference of the Tongues*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

Chapter 6, 'The Thickness of Translation Studies', discusses the idea of thick translation and its background, and suggests that rendering culturally diverse concepts of translation into English requires dislocating the prevailing vocabulary of Anglophone translation studies.

THEO HERMANS

Training and education, curriculum

The terms training and education reflect some of the diversity of ideological approaches to the subject. Training tends to be preferred by those

who adopt a more vocational or market-driven approach to curricular development, while education is favoured by those who situate the acquisition of these skills in the broader social context of higher or tertiary education, although this split is not entirely clear-cut. Bernardini (2005) discusses the issue in detail.

Historical overview

Unlike other professions, such as law or medicine, no long-standing tradition of institutional interpreter and translator education existed before the mid-twentieth century. Historical antecedents tend to point to specific responses to concrete social or political needs at particular points in time, such as the 1669 Colbert decree in France, which set up formal training for interpreters between French and Turkish, Arabic and Persian (Caminade and Pym 1998). These exceptions notwithstanding, translators and interpreters tended to be language specialists or bilinguals who were either self-taught or had some form of apprenticeship or mentoring alongside more experienced colleagues. The well-known medieval Toledo School in Spain, for example, rather than a 'school' as such took on the form of a loose grouping of experienced and less-experienced scholars who learned together from collaborative work over time, but in no way involved any formal training (Pym 2000). Self-teaching and apprentice approaches still survive today, both coexisting with institutional programmes, especially in contexts where the latter do not (yet) exist. Self-taught and informally trained interpreters and translators are likely to continue to join the ranks of the professions, given the nature of the activities and the sectors in which they are carried out. However, they now account for a much smaller proportion of practitioners as the institutionalization of training has proved to be a powerful and irreversible movement.

The oldest of the university institutions devoted to generalist translator and/or interpreter training in Europe are the Moscow State Linguistic University (formerly the Maurice Thorez Institute, founded in 1930), the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg (1933), the Université de Genève (1941) and the Universität Wien (1943), with a second

group appearing after the Second World War, namely the Universität Innsbruck (1945), the Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz (1946), the Universität Johannes Gutenberg Mainz in Germerheim (1947) and the Universität des Saarlandes in Saarbrücken (1948). Two French institutions, the École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs (ESIT) and the Institut Supérieur d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs (ISIT), followed in the fifties. During that decade the CIUTI, or Conférence Internationale Permanente d'Instituts Universitaires de Traducteurs et d'Interprètes, was formed in order to

ensure the quality of professional translation and interpretation and thus meet the needs of the ever changing global professional environment for highly qualified translators and interpreters, [and] to contribute to . . . the continued development of the training of professional translators and interpreters across the world,

as explained on its website.

The growing need for professional translators and interpreters has since led to the founding or expansion of programmes in an increasing number of countries, often in waves corresponding to grand societal or geopolitical changes such as the fall of the Berlin Wall or the opening up of the People's Republic of China to the wider world. The Intercultural Studies Group, now under the auspices of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST) and the Training and Qualification Committee of the Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs (FIT), offers a catalogue of existing translator training institutions (EST, undated). This catalogue contained some 250 references in 1998 (Caminade and Pym 1998); by 2018 it featured entries for some 500 institutions, some of which have more than one programme. The resource itself admits nonetheless that it is "seriously out of date" for many countries. The boom in translator and interpreter programmes in the People's Republic of China alone under the government-endorsed BTI/MTI initiative has added well over 300 new undergraduate and postgraduate programmes since the turn of the century (Tao 2016). The enormous complexity of compiling and constantly updating a list of this kind bears witness to the tremendous impetus maintained by

institutional training and education for translators and interpreters today, despite apparent saturation and subsequent concerns for the survival of programmes in some countries.

Stakeholders setting the agenda

Of special interest in identifying the received wisdom underlying much curricular design over the years is the leading role played by two major stakeholders in translation and interpreting: professional bodies and major employers. The strong influence exercised by the large international organizations who provided if not the first, certainly the most highly structured, professional employment opportunities for translators and interpreters has meant that their vision of professional practice has long tacitly informed curricular design, at least in Europe where, for example, it is almost always automatically assumed that students should all work with at least two acquired languages, or that the canonical direction of translation is into the translator's native language, despite much evidence pointing to single-language-combination professionals working in both directions in many settings.

CIUTI and its founding members have exercised a strong influence on translation curricula, across Europe initially and beyond it in later years. But for conference interpreter training, the predominant model in Europe and the Anglophone world is strongly influenced by AIIC's training recommendations (AIIC 1990). The training criteria sanctioned by these pillars of the European conference interpreting world were developed at successive conferences held under the auspices of AIIC from 1969 onwards (AIIC 1979). The association's Training Committee continues to exercise a strong influence through the organization of workshops for interpreters and interpreter trainers, the publication of best practice guides for interpreter training, and a listing of interpreter training institutions graded according to compliance with the association's criteria. Although AIIC is nominally an international organization, 70% of its members are domiciled in Europe. In line with the Eurocentric tendencies evident throughout the discipline, training practices in non-European and non-Anglophone contexts have often been

difficult to access, the prime example being the Soviet Union before 1989, with clearly defined high-quality interpreting research and training activity that did not filter through to the outside world. The burgeoning of new programmes in Asia, particularly Greater China, since the turn of the century has further brought into question many of the givens of the discipline regarding curriculum.

In the private sector, larger translation companies run short staff induction and development courses to complement full-length university programmes. Many of these essentially cover technological aspects of professional translation and localization, areas where universities are assumed not to prepare their graduates sufficiently. The debate over the degree to which university programmes are fit for professional purpose is a constant in all fora where academia and employers come together, with universities defending a more long-term knowledge- and competence-based approach to preparing for the profession, and the industry on the whole focusing on a more short-term demand for graduates trained to use the software of the moment.

In the public sector, international and supranational organizations such as the European Union have a particularly strong interest in promoting specific training trends. The European Commission's interpreter training programme, which began in 1964 (van-Hoof/Haferkamp 1989) and ran until 1997, is a good example. The role played by this programme is now covered by the European Master's in Conference Interpreting (EMCI) consortium, with the Directorate General for Interpreting (DG-SCIC) working hand in hand with consortium universities to offer training assistance. Such assistance is also open to other universities through the Training Assistance Programme, which offers an increasingly wide variety of services to interpreter training institutions, reflecting the strong commitment of DG-SCIC to collaborating with interpreter training institutions, and their continued influence on the curriculum. The European Union has also played a major role in promoting harmonization of legal interpreting practices in order to guarantee access to justice across member states, notably through Directive 2010/64 on the Right to Interpretation and Translation in Criminal Proceedings (EU 2010). Although this directive does

not refer to training as such, the fact that it provides for mandatory services will no doubt lead to more training and certification programmes being offered (Sawyer and Roy 2015).

The main initiators of training in public service interpreting in many countries are the public institutions themselves, motivated by the need to solve their own urgent communication problems, in collaboration with NGOs and interpreter recruitment agencies (Abril 2006; Graham and Corradini 2012). They often use novel formulas underexploited by universities in general: courses given in one common language, distance learning, adult education, part-time courses, itinerant courses offered on contract and creation of networks that share resources and programmes. Some courses do not cover interpreting techniques but rather focus on information about the functioning of the public service concerned, and/or intercultural mediation techniques.

China set up its own World Interpreter and Translator Training Association (WITTA) in 2016. This initiative is destined to counteract the long-standing Eurocentrism of the field and, according to its website, aims to “promote the progress and innovation of global translation in education and education in translation, and interpreters and translators training with governmental, industrial, higher education and research institutes”.

Research on curriculum

In a bibliographic study on the evolution of shifts in research interests and foci over the years, Zanettin et al. (2015) claim that translator and interpreter training as a research category is in decline, although still an important area in the field. By contrast, in a series of bibliometric studies Yan et al. (2015, 2018) offer data indicating an underlying increase, albeit uneven, in the number of articles published on translator and interpreter training between 2000 and 2012; the field represents 323 of a total of 2,274 papers in the ten journals they studied in 2015, that is 14% of total research output in these media. Of these, 199 addressed translator training, 86 interpreter training and 38 both translator and interpreter training, reflecting a general

tendency to emphasize the differences rather than the similarities between the two broad professional activities. The birth and subsequent consolidation of the *Interpreter and Translator Trainer (ITT)* journal at St. Jerome, and since 2014 at Routledge, also point to interest and research activity not having waned to any great extent. Yan et al. also analyze the thematic distribution of the articles published during this period, assigning 72% to Teaching, 18% to Learning and 10% to Assessment. Within their broad category of Teaching, they assign 44% to what they term training philosophies, subdivided into theoretical concerns/framework, disciplinary typology and training elements; a further 18% to training methods and models, subdivided into institutional training models and classroom training approaches; and a final 12% to competence development. Clearly, the curriculum as an object of research could and should be present in several of these categories, drawing on the broad Education Science definition that Kearns (2012:13) offers of the concept: “the totality (planned or unplanned) of ideas and activities in an educational programme and their transmission to meet learning needs and achieve desired aims within a specified educational system”. Yet it is rare for authors to concentrate specifically on curriculum, especially if understood in this broad contextualized sense.

Kearns is one of the few to centre his work on curricular approaches to translator education, drawing heavily on education as an academic discipline. Kearns (2006, 2012) laments the lack of interdisciplinary links between translation/interpreting studies and education science, despite the large number of interdisciplinary bridges established with other fields. Similarly, he identifies the paucity of research on curriculum and finds it “somewhat surprising that the recent growth in literature on translator training has tended to by-pass the issue of curriculum development” (2006:13). Kearns (2012) argues that programme structures reflect the curricular ideologies behind their design, and that many of these ideologies are implicit and unspoken (a hidden curriculum), originating in local, national, regional, professional and academic givens which often go unquestioned. Research into curricular approaches could and should contribute to making these tenets explicit and

critiquing them within their own contexts. Calvo (2009, 2011) adopts a similar perspective, questioning the value of one-size-fits-all approaches arising from supposedly universal understandings of translator competence. She also proposes a dynamic and agile model for curricular development as opposed to the static and rigid curricular design adopted in academic systems which are traditionally resistant to change.

Kelly (2017), whose 2005 *Handbook for Translator Trainers* also adopts a curricular design approach, critiques the tendency of the field to isolate itself from mainstream academia by overemphasizing its difference in an attempt to establish itself as an independent discipline, and in so doing underplaying its connections with other areas of study and the influence of general higher education trends on translation and interpreting curricular development. These trends include the growing internationalization of higher education, an area where translation and interpreting should intuitively be well placed, but where some of the disciplinary givens – rigid approaches to directionality not least among them – act as a strong constraint. Another major trend concerns the introduction of technology. Both translator and interpreter training programmes have long incorporated courses on all forms of computer-assisted translation and interpreting tools, reflecting the rapid evolution of professional practice in both professions, where no professional translator today would contemplate working without technological tools and interpreting practitioners are increasingly being called upon to work in remote settings. The new paradigms brought about by this revolution, rather than the technology itself, require attention in the curriculum if it is to help educate reflective practitioners. In this evolving context, translators have to adapt to new roles in a process now much dominated by machine output in one form or another, and interpreters often work alone and interact with technology rather than with physically present speakers and listeners, with the possible alienation this entails.

From the curricular perspective, rather than professional practice, a related issue is that of technology for learning and teaching. In the early 2010s, there was much hyperbole about the role of MOOCs and the demise of the traditional

university (David Robinson 2016). While the initial overenthusiasm seems to have passed, and it has become clear that the physical campus is not about to disappear, it has however also become clear that the institution does need to change its outlook to incorporate technologies into its learning and teaching programmes, and translation and interpreting as a discipline must be part of that paradigm shift. Online learning tools have been developed for both translation and interpreting, and for audiovisual translation (Dorado and Orero 2007), as have smaller-scale initiatives for international tandem or group learning, which could well become the way forward for overcoming the current limitations on formal programme offerings in continents and regions such as Africa, or on the language combinations offered on formal programmes. Graham and Corradini (2012) discuss the latter limitation in relation to community translation and interpreting.

In interpreter training research, little explicit attention was paid to curricular design until the 1980s, when the model that emerged was based on what Pöchhacker (2004/2016, 2010) refers to as the apprenticeship approach propounded by AIIC and afforded a theoretical framework by the Paris school paradigm (Seleskovitch and Lederer 1989/2002). This approach had a significant effect on interpreter training in Europe and the Anglophone world, as well as further afield, despite being criticized by some authors (Pöchhacker 2004/2016). This apprenticeship, experience-based tradition was challenged by a number of more robust, process-oriented and interdisciplinary approaches to interpreter education that developed in the 1990s, leading up to Sawyer's 2004 publication, which marked a watershed in curricular research. Sawyer questions traditional approaches to the interpreter training curriculum, particularly with regard to assessment. He proposes a model grounded in interdisciplinarity and the application of curricular theory to interpreter education. Such a model conceptualizes the curriculum as a process which aims to move beyond the acquisition of interpreting technique and practice, to include issues belonging to reflective practice – such as ethics, ideology and research.

Interpreter education in community and legal settings developed out of a significantly

different tradition from that of conference interpreting. Although the basic skills involved are the same, the way in which the profession has developed, the contexts in which community interpreters work, the different situational and communicative factors involved, the language combinations and many other aspects combine to make specific training desirable, and despite the absence of a recognized profession in most countries universities are increasingly incorporating community interpreter training into their curriculum (Sawyer and Roy 2015). These curricula however do not necessarily always offer the most frequently required language combinations in community settings, and non-mainstream European languages thus continue to be marginalized in many cases.

Finally, ethics is increasingly featuring in the literature on translator and interpreter training, where the consensus is that the topic is conspicuously absent from the curriculum in most training institutions. A special issue of *ITT* (Baker and Maier 2011) has come to serve as a call for this omission to be redressed. Where ethics is addressed in the literature, it is often from the perspective of professional codes of conduct, and rarely from the broader perspective required for reflective and socially responsible practice. Hale (2007) highlights the crucial link between education and ethics, arguing that education enables students to develop the kind of professional judgement which is essential for them to interpret and be guided by these codes of ethics or professional practice, rather than understanding them as static checklists. Donovan (2011b) signals the increased interest in different aspects of ethics in conference interpreter training and attributes it to the influence of concerns raised in community interpreting research. Although Drugan and Megone's (2011) research suggests that very few postgraduate and undergraduate translation and interpreting degrees in the UK include modules in ethics, this is not true of other countries. Indeed, all EMCI consortium universities include modules on ethics (Donovan 2011b). However, as is the case with other elements of translator and interpreter education, the mere presence of a module on a programme is far from sufficient to guarantee true awareness-raising on the depth and breadth of

issues involved, and often the content of such modules may not be oriented towards nuanced concepts of ethics. Baker and Maier (2011) and Baker (2013b) suggest that the accuracy-impartiality-confidentiality paradigm merely reinforces the myth of the translator or interpreter as a neutral and invisible transmitter of dominant discourse and call for an open, supportive space to be created in translator and interpreter classrooms for non-judgemental reflection on wider, and perhaps more complex, aspects of ethics. Both Baker (2013b) and Drugan and Megone (2011) offer interesting proposals for incorporating ethics more systematically in translator and interpreter education.

See also:

DIRECTIONALITY; ETHICS; HISTORY OF INTERPRETING; LINGUA FRANCA, INTERPRETING (ELF); NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; TRAINING AND EDUCATION, THEORY AND PRACTICE

Further reading

Kearns, J. (2012) 'Curriculum Ideologies in Translator and Interpreter Training', in S. Hub-scher-Davidson and M. Borodo (eds) *Global Trends in Translator and Interpreter Training: Mediation and culture*, London: Continuum, 11–29.

Offers a critical theoretical discussion of the implicit and unspoken ideologies which underlie programme structures in translator and interpreter education and calls for more nuanced approaches.

Kelly, D. (2005) *A Handbook for Translator Trainers. A guide to reflective practice*, Manchester: St. Jerome.

A curricular design approach to translator education written to encourage reflective practice on the part of translator trainers on all aspects of their activity, in the macro-context of higher education.

Sawyer, D. (2004) *Fundamental Aspects of Interpreter Education*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Theoretical and novel discussion of curriculum design in interpreter education, marking a change of approach and an emphasis on pedagogy and interdisciplinarity.

DOROTHY KELLY AND ANNE MARTIN

Training and education, theory and practice

Training and education orientations and goals may be broadly distinguished despite considerable overlap. Bernardini contrasts training and education as follows: training involves the application of “acquired” procedures through a cumulative amassing of knowledge, whereas education favours development of cognitive capacities and attitudes in a generative process of “awareness, reflectiveness and resourcefulness”, enabling the use of “finite resources indefinitely” (2004:19–21). Another differential feature lies in training’s privileging of career-specifics versus education’s emphasis on learning to learn and transversal skills over applied knowledge.

Translator and interpreter training and education may be characterized as an interdiscipline, given that its research is informed by such fields as education, educational psychology, sociology, critical theory, cognitive science, creativity studies, network studies and expertise studies. Textbooks such as *Translation: An Advanced Resource Book* (Hatim and Munday 2004) reflect the field’s increasing maturation in that they explore features such as ideology, relevance and pragmatics rather than being restricted to linguistic issues. Some developments reveal a rethinking of disciplinary divergences. Laviosa’s (2014) *Translation and Language Education: Pedagogic Approaches Explored*, for instance, revisits the role of translation in second language acquisition. Interpreting studies is responsive to new directions too, as evident in Setton and Dawrant’s comprehensive and demystifying *Conference Interpreting: A Complete Course* (2016a), which engages with contemporary professionalization issues. The field is further broadening towards pedagogies specific to interpreting in front-line humanitarian contexts (natural disasters, migration and violent conflict), as evident in O’Brien’s work on crisis communication (2016) and Inghilleri’s “socially constructed and culturally situated inter-subjective approach” to the treatment of discourse and communicative ethics (2012:42). Many of these developments have been curricularized.

InZone training, offered through the University of Geneva, for example, prepares students for humanitarian crisis interpreting (Moser-Mercer et al. 2014). The appearance since the turn of the century of specialized journals such as *Current Trends in Translation Teaching and Learning*, *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* and *The International Journal of Interpreter Education*, and a number of conferences dedicated to teaching and learning, further attest to the growing maturation of this interdiscipline. These developments must be considered alongside ongoing broad changes in how learning and the learner are viewed.

Principles and trends in translator and interpreter training

Learner- and learning-centredness, whole-person learning (Tao 2016) and other humanistic education principles have increasingly informed translator and interpreter training and education. The abandonment of instructionist or transmissionist approaches to teaching and learning is axiomatic in the literature, even as some remnants of a traditionalist, teacher-centred ethos persist in practice. In harmony with these progressive education values, educational theory has posited new roles for the instructor, including project coordinator, negotiator, co-learner, collaborator, facilitator and diagnostician (Lawson and Watts 2013; Harden and Lilley 2018). In line with this new focus, traditional teaching methods involving prescriptive and anecdotal content have largely come under question, and many learning environments have harmonized the goals of translation with contemporary thinking on communicative competence, thus recognizing the linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic objectives of texts in context. Such linguistic and text-linguistic approaches have been formalized by the introduction of the functionalist approach (Nord 1997), which emphasizes that translation is a purposeful activity embedded in source- and target-language sets of actions.

The notion of purposefulness accords with the increasingly dynamic conception of the

learner's role. There is increased attention to the role of agency, with the translator and interpreter being viewed as change agents, co-participants or diplomats, as evident in Maier's (2007) characterization of the language mediator as an intervenient being. Given this attention to agency, norms and ethics have become a primary consideration as the translator-in-training's decision-making process is granted more importance. Competence models have offered one means of foregrounding the array of possible decisions adopted by translators, in addition to these models' attempt to account for ever-changing and complex industry requirements. Discussions of competence in the literature include such topics as psychophysiological subcompetence (PACTE 2003; Hurtado Albir 2017), social skills (Krajcso 2011), performance (Bahadır 2011), attitude and motivation (Pöschhacker and Liu 2015), uncertainty management (Angelone 2010), critical awareness of ideology (Pellatt 2012) and negotiating unstable meaning (Arrojo 2012). The various dimensions of intercultural competence have long been intuited but are now increasingly being operationalized. Tomozeiu and Kumpulainen (2016), for instance, seek to align instructors and students' discrepant understandings of intercultural competence and to exemplify different training scenarios.

Defining learning as socially negotiated, participatory meaning-making, and engaging with the contexts and tools that enable it, including distance learning and instructional technologies such as learning management systems, are now commonplace in pedagogy research and practice. A dialogic pedagogy in this vein is propounded by González-Davies (2004), whose task design introduces ludic, playful elements that promote transactional, transformative learning, thus supporting the student's growth toward autonomy, in addition to providing a classroom in which what she refers to as the multiple voices of students, teachers, theorists and researchers are heard. Kiraly has been a leading figure in this conception of teaching and learning. He works towards a postmodern, "relativist ontology and epistemology" (2013:202), arguing that acquisition processes are unknowable through static quantitative competence models alone. From his socioconstructivist work emphasizing meaning as a communal construct to his later

conceptualizations of translation and emergence, a term arising from "complexity theory, where it refers to the autopoietic that is a self-creating and self-sustaining process of becoming" (ibid.:203), Kiraly's evolving work has affirmed the value of teaching and learning informed by qualitative research, without detriment to the role of quantitative studies. It has also contributed or popularized many terms in common currency in the field, such as self-concept and empowerment. The notion of self-concept, for example, minimally includes self-awareness, situational awareness and self-efficacy (Muñoz-Martin 2014:31), and assists translation students in developing self-regulating behaviour such as knowing when to seek help and behaving ethically towards stakeholders. Risku (1998b:258) extends the idea of self-concept to the collective to account for various agents in the learning process.

Quality too has taken on a social definition, despite the pursuit of objective standards, as it is now often considered to involve client specifications or expectations, which may have to be elicited (Dunne and Dunne 2011). Emphasis on professional competence in translator training has come into its own since the turn of the century, and has been accompanied by a departure from linguistic models of translation quality and characterized by notions of adequacy to a brief or commission, that is, fitness for purpose. Assessment increasingly involves translation logs or commentaries in which students must document and justify solutions, with a view to fostering reflective learning. The rise of practices such as eliciting reader-based feedback (Washbourne 2014), and the use of artefacts such as portfolios, foster metacognitive competence and allow learners to maintain the locus of control in their own development. The study of feedback from learners themselves now constitutes a subgenre of pedagogical research, providing another sign of growing student agency.

Team translation and project- and problem-based tasks that root pedagogical inputs in situated practice, now considered a pillar of professional realism for the classroom (Vienne 1994; Diriker 2004; Pan 2016; Olvera Lobo et al. 2007; González Davies and Enríquez Raído 2018; Kearns 2008), characterize developments in curriculum design. Translation assignments today frequently take a role-play format and assign students to roles such as terminologist,

editor, researcher, translator and project manager. These collaborative learning models are not bound by geography: for instance, tandem translation, a kind of telecollaboration, involves bidirectional drafting between native speakers and language learners across national boundaries (Tasker 2016). Different kinds of networking behaviour have influenced teaching and learning, whether through engagement with activism, crowdsourcing and social media (Desjardins 2017) or in terms of theorizing the expert actor in F. Jones's (2011) application of the actor-network theory framework. Interpersonal competence is thus a hallmark of training and education today, and acquisition of knowledge as a reigning epistemology has been supplemented with the ability to participate, at first peripherally and then more centrally, in communities of practice. The introduction of such authentic or semi-authentic learning environments may also be seen as a response to the desire to simulate or replicate working conditions in the industry.

Another defining characteristic of the field is the emphasis on both products and processes. Kußmaul's (1995) components of pragmatic analysis, text-typological conventions and metacognitive awareness (Bnini 2016:113) offer an early model of process goals. Process research methods, including think-aloud protocols, screen recording, keystroke logging and retrospection have opened new horizons not only in terms of informing best practices in teaching but as a means for students to self-monitor. The cognitive load and other processing problems of hitherto-understudied modes, such as text-aided conference interpreting, now benefit from research enquiry, and effort models such as Gile's (2009b), which map the coordination of executive attention to various constraints and capacities in complex tasks, remain influential. Process-oriented studies of translation include Risku et al. (2016a), who examine differences and commonalities between the subprocesses involved in writing and translating and reveal the roles of planning and organizing. In interpreting, memory-building, active listening, anticipation and cloze exercises, dual-task training (divided attention) are all the subject of process research (Strobach et al. 2015; Andres et al. 2015). Work on stress management has revealed affective dimensions of learning in addition to cognitive ones, and suggests that these affective

dimensions are predictors of aptitude (Bon-tempo and Napier 2011). Action research (Cravo and Neves 2007) represents a particularly promising avenue of evidence-based reflective practice for teachers and learners to understand the processes involved in translation and interpreting. The teacher-as-researcher orientation at the core of action research methods involves researchers and practitioners, or researchers and students, undertaking cycles of planning, development implementation and evaluation, working together to solve highly relevant problems (Nicodemus and Swabey 2016:161–162).

Technology has been both a catalytic driver and a focus of pedagogical practice and research. The use of corpora and other computational tools in teaching both translation and interpreting is now widespread. Zanettin (2014c) offer a notable example of learning environments that support discovery learning and involve the use of corpus tools and student-led exploration of translation phenomena, and models have now been proposed for integrating technology and terminology into the curriculum (Bowker and Marshman 2009).

Scholarship and pedagogical materials development have also increasingly addressed special areas such as teaching translation theory, including the issue of what is meant by theory (Ches-terman and Wagner 2002), entrepreneurialism (Gouadec 2007) and problem-solving heuristics (Enríquez Raido 2014). Some impasses remain, such as the questions of whether shadowing is a worthwhile or harmful component in interpreter training (Sawyer 2004:22), who can act as instructor ('practisearchers'? part-time practitioners?), and how to foster subject-area expertise. Diagnostic assessment, which concerns the best predictors of success in assessing aptitude for admission, is also the subject of much debate (Timarová and Ungoed-Thomas 2009). The overarching goal for many programmes remains that of ensuring academic responsiveness to current or future job profiles, and remedying the perceived skills gap in the market. This goal is perennially renewed and exacerbated by the ongoing expansion of job specifications from translation and interpreting towards language services provision. The demands on the emergent translator to be capable of editing, offering language consultancy, technical writing and much more (Ulyrch 2005:21) typify this trend. Market

needs continue to constitute a primary concern of translation and interpreting programmes even as some voices, such as Klimkowski (2015), call for a holistic and less utilitarian educational mission, and others for training and education that does not merely reflect but informs and improves the market (Pym 2002:29).

One of the most dramatic changes since the turn of the century has been the development and professionalization of public service interpreting and translation (PSTI), also known as community interpreting and translation. Unlike conference interpreting or literary translation, PSTI training involves the use of non-expert speech and texts, drawn from highly dialogic contexts. Pedagogical research on role boundaries and role-space (Llewellyn-Jones and Lee 2014) reflects the complexity of the field in this respect. Specific areas that are attracting increased attention include faith-based translation and interpreting and asylum and refugee interview techniques (Tipton and Furmanek 2016). Moreover, the recognition of the vicarious trauma to which interpreters may be subject has drawn scholarly attention to the self-care protocols needed (Crezee et al. 2015).

Future directions

A number of characteristics now define the field of translator and interpreter training and pedagogy. These include the adoption of reflective practice; the democratization of the classroom; attention to cognitive processes; the rise of practice-led research (Orlando 2016) and emphasis on field experience, including experiential learning (Király et al. 2016; Massey et al. 2018); attempts to respond to expanded skill demands; emphasis on marketplace authenticity; a broadened instructional focus to include access to vital public services; and technologization, including new options in distance and blended learning.

Translation and interpreting knowledge, skills, aptitudes and attitudes have not yet been explored in full, despite the career shifts and complex networks in which translators now work and which require attention to long-neglected soft skills. Especially salient in this

connection is the language mediator's identity formation, inasmuch as to be a learner is to be involved in imaginary communities (Kanno and Norton 2003). Studies of emotional intelligence, instinct and experience, empathy, compassion, metacognition, subjectivity, translator biography and embodiedness constitute an important frontier in the field (Hubscher-Davidson 2013; Robinson 2012). Zhang's (2012) call for an adaptive and elastic competence to overcome pragmatic and diplomatic reception issues characterizes the incipient research steps in this direction. Field-dependent contributions to cross-cultural pedagogy and culturally appropriate pedagogy are needed in order to avoid ethnocentric models and to decolonize Eurocentrically valued practices. Such contributions can question, for example, whether autonomy is a universally viable learning goal, or acknowledge the cultural resistances to active learning procedures and role shifts in countries with deeply rooted traditional instructor and learner boundaries.

Secondly, electronic tools can enable us to study practices and textual evidence using corpus stylistics and cognitive poetics, giving access to and further legitimating our intuitions about creativity in translation, and mapping divergent and convergent translational thinking. Technological advancements require constant refinement of best practices for working in new or hybrid modes of interpreting. Examples include simultaneous consecutive, which involves using a note-taking and recording system with a digital pen (Orlando 2016:100–123); video remote interpreting; and virtual conference interpreting, or webcasting. New forms of computer-assisted translation and interpreting also involve sophisticated immersive simulators using avatar-based virtual environments. New tools can provide a basis for rethinking competence models. For example, multiliteracies – multimodal and multimedia navigations rather than reading – can inform a revised competence framework as audiovisual translation training expands and media accessibility requirements, including audio description, become more regulated and more widespread. Finally, online delivery and hybrid forms of training, while already in place, will need enrichment from instructional design as the next generation evolves. Harnessing social

learning spaces outside the physical classroom certainly represents a challenge and a goal for the coming decades.

Thirdly, the conceptual and practical apparatuses of social justice applications, including critical discourse analysis, are in place but have yet to be exploited fully for engaged scholarship or classroom praxis. Critical pedagogy in translator and interpreter training and education holds great promise, particularly as translation and interpreting are increasingly recognized in the literature as both service professions and as activist tools (Bancroft 2015; Boéri and de Manuel Jerez 2011; Koskinen and Kuusi 2017), as public service interpreting and translation are emerging as professions in their own right, and as scholars such as Koskinen (2012:2) call for ‘public translation studies’ – pedagogical “research directed outside the university, and executed in a reflexive manner and in dialogue with the community in question”. One of the earliest of the few theoretical efforts in this direction is Dauzal (2008), who traces translation pedagogy through the influence of thinkers from John Dewey to Paulo Freire. Freire’s legacy, especially his notion of problem-posing education, has obvious intersections with the early work of Kiraly, although the former places more emphasis on political consciousness-raising, freedom and collective response. Translation and interpreting educationalists can look to theorists such as Giroux to provide the basic tenets for a critical pedagogy that

does not transfer knowledge but creates the possibilities for its production, analysis and use . . . educating students in ways that allow them to hold power accountable, learn how to govern and develop a responsibility to others and a respect for civic life.
(Giroux 2012)

Giroux’s conceptualizations of a border pedagogy, of a borderlands where identities and forms of knowledge are renegotiated in light of structures, texts and practices of domination, can inform work in translator and interpreter education. Baumgarten et al. (2010) have broken ground in this connection. In exercising the critical-reflective faculties of the learner,

their transgressionist approach expands on the inheritance of both Kiraly and the dehierarchizing impulse of what Cronin (2005) refers to as the deschooling of translation, aimed at encouraging students to become self-directed. Klimkowski’s engagement with a heutagogy of translator training (2012, 2015), whereby the learner sheds dependence on formal structures of the curriculum altogether and pursues informal and non-formal educational opportunities, characterizes movements toward rethinking educational environments and teachers’ roles. Internships, service-learning, non-formal learning, student mobility, continuing education and other learning contexts challenge not only traditional powers but also the managerialist pressures from institutions to measure outcomes in advance. These strands of research and practice stem from the precept that learning should be planned, but that not all learning comes from planning.

Translator and interpreter training and education has been slow to engage with educational philosophies such as social reconstructionism – the prioritizing of social betterment as an aim of education – or indeed with many breakthrough ideas in educational theory. More work on Schön’s reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action (1983), for instance, may help the field transcend the stale binary between theory and practice and provide a sound foundation for reflexivity. For instructors and curriculum designers to use contemporary learning theory to good effect, however, the typologizing and analysis of collaborative learning techniques need more impetus. Unfinished work aside, translator and interpreter training and education now depend less and less on ad hoc notions of teaching and learning, and more on experiential and data-driven understanding, as well as on accounts that shed light on the roles and decision-making of students as social actors and interculturalists. In this sense, the signs of a pedagogical renaissance are on the horizon.

See also:

ETHICS; FUNCTIONALISM; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; TRAINING AND EDUCATION, CURRICULUM

Further reading

González Davies, M. and V. Enríquez Raído (eds) (2018) *Situated Learning in Translator and Interpreter Training: Bridging research and good practice*, London: Routledge.

Focuses on the design and epistemology behind professionally realistic tasks in and beyond the classroom, and situates learning in activity, context and culture.

Kearns, J. (ed.) (2008) *Translator and Interpreter Training: Issues, methods and debates*, London: Continuum.

Essential readings on professionalization, editing, curriculum, and the pedagogical gap between academe and industry, among other topics. Kearns's contribution engages with the fundamental concept of the hidden curriculum, which is useful for an emancipatory pedagogy in translation and interpreting.

Koskinen, K. and P. Kuusi (2017) 'Translator Training for Language Activists: Agency and empowerment of minority language translators', *trans-kom* 10(2): 188–213. Available at www.trans-kom.eu/bd10nr02/transkom_10_02_04_Koskinen_Kuusi_Activists.20171206.pdf.

A significant contribution to understanding language asymmetry between dominant and minority languages; considers translation as promotion and revitalization, and reports insights into the activist notion of willingness as a component of empowerment.

Massey, G., D. Kiraly and S. Hoffmann (2018) 'Beyond Teaching: Towards co-emergent praxis in translator education', in B. Ahrens, S. Hansen-Schirra, M. Krein-Kühle, M. Schreiber and U. Wienen (eds) *Translation – Didaktik – Kompetenz*, Berlin: Frank & Timme, 11–64.

Develops and exemplifies the paradigm of emergent thinking and learning, connecting the model to organizational learning, curriculum development and simulated project work.

KELLY WASHBOURNE

Translatability

Can anything be translated? The question itself may well be untranslatable in some languages,

depending on the languages involved, on the context and on one's understanding of what translation is. The question as phrased here may challenge translation because it can be read as meaning either 'is it possible to translate anything at all?' or 'is it permissible to translate just anything?', or both. If both meanings are to be kept in play at the same time, it is a matter of luck whether the translating language possesses a grammatical structure that allows the semantic ambiguity to be reproduced with the same formal economy. But this presupposes a concept of translation as the preservation of meaning across languages, with an added formal requirement.

Debates about translatability concern primarily the question of whether translation from one language into another is possible at all, or in what sense or to what degree it is possible. They extend to more social, ideological and ethical issues concerning what should or should not be translated, when and where. Historically, the social issues may well predate the linguistic ones, and be rooted in the belief that sacred texts containing arcane truths must not be profaned by explicating, disseminating or translating them. The debates invariably turn on what one understands by the term translation. Most discussions of translatability and untranslatability appeal to a conception of translation as an integral representation of an anterior utterance across languages. This conception typically assumes not only a notion of relevant resemblance, but also, as hinted above, the expectation of two texts of roughly comparable volume; Derrida (1999/2012:370) speaks of the "quantitative law" of translation in this respect. When translation is taken in the broadest sense as the condition that enables communication in the first place – that is, as the cognitive processing, on the basis of one's own conceptual frame, of that which is being communicated – translatability tends to be accepted more readily. Modern hermeneutics, for example, sees in translation the model of all understanding (Gadamer 1960/1989).

Total translatability and total untranslatability are perhaps best regarded as limiting concepts. Full translatability, in the sense of an integral reproduction of a text's full signification, may be possible only in the case of artificial formal languages, and even then agreement about what this full signification consists of would

have to be reached in natural language. Complete untranslatability would be beyond words, as it would imply the impossibility of communication or even semiosis. At best it would require saying in one's own language what it was in the other language that one's own could not say (Buzzoni 1993:23).

The different approaches to translatability derive from opposing views of the nature of language and meaning. Steiner (1975/1992) has characterized these as universalist versus monadist views. The former affirm the possibility of translation; the latter either deny it or regard translation as highly problematical.

Translatability

The universalist view considers the differences between languages to be no more than surface phenomena. In this view, linguistic differences can cause practical problems for translation, but in principle translatability is guaranteed by biological factors and cultural considerations. All human brains are wired in the same way, hence there is a common human rationality. Moreover, we all inhabit the same physical world, hence there is a common core of human experience. Different languages may package meaning differently, but ultimately all languages are able to convey all possible meanings. In Jakobson's words, "[a]ll cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language" and consequently "[l]anguages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey" (1959:234, 236; emphasis in original). In the universalist perspective, language is typically seen as comprising two layers, a surface and a deep structure. Ideas and meaning are generated at the deeper level and can be represented by a variety of surface linguistic structures. This view was held in the medieval period by Bacon and dominated Early Modern and Enlightenment thinking; it is echoed in Chomsky's transformational grammar of the 1960s.

The idea of language as two-layered promotes a dissociation between form and meaning, or, in the terms used by de Saussure, signifier and signified. Form is material and perceptible, and varies from language to language, while meaning, that which is denoted by the form, remains invisible and constant across languages. The so-called

conduit metaphor (Reddy 1979/1993) neatly captures this duality. This is a frequently used spatial metaphor which holds that communication consists in the transmission of meaning (the signified) on the back of a vehicle (the signifier) along a communication channel or conduit. Translation merely extends this passage. The conduit metaphor promotes translatability: it suggests that meaning can be transferred intact across languages because it is not affected by the substitution of one carrier for another. Different material signifiers can convey the same immaterial signified that remains identical to itself despite the change of vehicle. However, as Derrida (2002) has pointed out, if translation thus constantly practises the separation of signifier and signified, it points up an aporia in de Saussure's concept of language. For de Saussure, signifier and signified are like two sides of a sheet of paper and hence inseparable, whereas translation is predicated on their separability.

Translatability was taken for granted in Roman antiquity. Rome derived its culture in large part from Greek sources. After the collapse of the Roman empire, political power continued to move further west, to Western Europe (a shift known as *translatio imperii*), as did Rome's classical culture (*translatio studii*). These shifts provided little ground to doubt translatability, whether linguistic, cultural or intellectual. In addition, Western Europe read its Christian Bible in Latin and subsequently in vernacular translations, giving rise to the idea that its 'truth' could be expressed in any language and therefore existed independently of its linguistic embodiment.

Untranslatability

The day-to-day practice of translators appears to show overwhelmingly that translation is possible. The argument against translatability does not usually posit absolute untranslatability but rather questions whether fully adequate translation can be achieved. The monadist case may be summed up as follows. In their different grammatical and lexical structures, individual languages embody and therefore impose different conceptualizations of the world. The structural asymmetries between languages prevent conceptual mapping from one language to another

due to the lack of analogues and the absence of a language-independent mapping tool. The way different languages divide up the colour spectrum or organize kinship terms are among the classic examples of such asymmetries, but they affect all aspects of language. Benveniste (1966) even argued that the supposedly universal logical categories of the ancient Greeks were based on features of their language. The consequence, subsequently explored by ethnographers and philosophers, is that different languages may give rise to incommensurable logics (Winch 1964). Languages, that is, are embedded in the cultural environment of which they are a constitutive part. This reciprocity between language and culture and the asymmetries between different lifeworlds, which are also language-worlds, make translation deeply problematical.

The monadist view was articulated towards the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth century by the German Romantics, notably Herder, Humboldt and Schleiermacher, and taken up in the twentieth century by Sapir and Whorf (hence the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). For Herder, all cross-cultural comparison was problematic because each culture, and its language, had to be assessed on its own terms. Humboldt paradoxically asserted the impossibility of translation in the preface to a translation (the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, 1816) and presented untranslatability as a challenge to be taken up. In his famous 1813 lecture on translation, Schleiermacher, too, pointed to the lack of synonymy across languages, asked whether translation was not a foolish undertaking, and went on to outline it as a task as arduous as that of hermeneutic understanding (Schleiermacher 1813/2012).

In doubting the possibility of translation, the monadist view invokes the quantitative measure posited by Derrida. It does not hold that we cannot learn another language or explicate in one language concepts proper to another. It claims that, due to the asymmetries between languages and cultures and the organic link between language, thought and culture, translation – understood as a linear discourse replicating another discourse with regard to both length and meaning – is not possible. Approximate renditions or explanatory paraphrase can be achieved, and texts may be translatable up to a point or in certain limited respects, but that is all.

Untranslatability, then, mostly appears in relative form, as a matter of aspect, kind or degree. There always remains an untranslatable rest, for instance in the shape of connotation, nuance or poetic quality. Among the least translatable texts would be those that consciously exploit the idiomatic resources of a given tongue, or those that are encoded in multiple ways. Poetry is often invoked in this context, as it weaves words into complex and language-specific semantic, metrical, rhyming, intertextual and other patterns. This led Jakobson (1959:238) to claim that poetry is untranslatable and that only “creative transposition” is possible – leaving wide open the question of exactly how creative transposition differs from translation.

Since the case for untranslatability bears both on linguistic structure and on the relation between language and culture, it is often subdivided into two kinds, linguistic and cultural. For Catford (1965), linguistic untranslatability occurs in cases where ambiguity or polysemy is functionally relevant in a text, while cultural untranslatability applies when situational elements referred to in an original (for example, *sauna* or *igloo*) are absent in the culture of the translating language.

If a prohibition against translating certain texts or kinds of text is regarded as instancing untranslatability, then perhaps institutional untranslatability is a species of cultural untranslatability that is not reducible to linguistics. In this sense, the Qur'an is institutionally untranslatable to the extent that the Islamic world will not recognize a version in another language as having religious authority. In a very different way, Hitler's *Mein Kampf* remained untranslatable from 1945 until 1 January 2016 because the copyright holder, the German State of Bavaria, routinely refused permission for it to be translated. Conversely, a language may be deemed incapable of accommodating certain concepts or be regarded as an inappropriate host for them. Christian missionaries in the colonial Philippines or Spanish America reckoned that their key doctrinal terms could or should not be rendered by existing native words because doing so would evoke the wrong kind of cultural associations. Instead, they wanted the natives to use the missionaries' Latin or Spanish words, thus avoiding contamination with pagan beliefs (Rafael 1993).

The colonial context also provides examples of how cultural incommensurability, however radical in theory, may be overridden in practice to enable translation. Colonial settlement sometimes meant that European ideas of property were imposed on native populations so as to allow the colonizers to claim territorial sovereignty and transfer ownership on their terms, regardless of the way the natives related to the land on which they lived (Cheyfitz 1991; Patton 2000). Using the somewhat unfortunate example of an Anglophone linguist encountering a native speaking a 'jungle language', Quine (1959) explored the possibility of translation in situations of radical linguistic and cultural difference from a philosophical angle, suggesting that the construction of meaning across such divides remained hostage to an ineradicable indeterminacy.

Another key

In the twentieth century, both translatability and untranslatability were taken up in unexpected ways by influential thinkers. Benjamin's 1923 essay 'The Task of the Translator' posits translatability as that which resides in the original as mere potential and which translation will adumbrate more fully. Just as the German Romantics held that a work of art is 'criticizable' in that criticism can point up the direction in which the work's latent striving towards pure art might be developed, a text is translatable in that translation can show a glimmer of the 'pure language' lying dormant in it. In developing this potential, translation adds to and liberates something in the original.

Derrida, who more than any other modern philosopher lavished attention on issues of translation, cast untranslatability as both a critical asset and a positive challenge. Making his own writing virtually untranslatable through the insistent use of puns and polysemy, he focused on the double bind of the simultaneous necessity and impossibility of translation. He highlighted instances of untranslatability in texts that draw on more than one language simultaneously (as in Joyce's phrase "and he war", which plays on both English and German), use proper names that double up as common nouns (like the word

Babel, which, confusingly, also means 'confusion'), make self-referential statements which re-mark the language in which they are written (Descartes stresses, in French, that he has written his *Discours de la méthode* in French) or contain words of foreign origin not yet fully integrated into the language in which the text is written (like the word *relevant*, still in the process of migrating from English into French). Since translation theory, like philosophy, has no choice but to translate, the demonstration of untranslatability leaves the discipline in a quandary. However, for Derrida the untranslatable holds out an invigorating challenge: it dares the translator to tackle the impossible and to transgress the limits of the conventional understanding of translation. The more untranslatable a text, the more insistently it demands to be translated. Conversely, a wholly translatable text would not be worth translating.

In recent years untranslatability has received renewed attention due to the publication of the *Dictionary of Untranslatables* edited by Cassin (2004/2014). The *Dictionary* traces a large number of philosophical terms and concepts that have migrated across a range of European languages. The various renderings that have been devised for individual terms and concepts in different languages over time are read as testimony to untranslatability: either the existing translations are open to criticism, or successive translations remain open ended and invite the possibility or desirability of further attempts. The *Dictionary* consequently defines the untranslatable as "what one keeps on (not) translating" (Cassin 2014:vii). In this vision untranslatability is not so much the impossibility of translation as that which inhibits translation or reveals its imperfection. For Apter (2013), who contributed to the English edition of the *Dictionary*, this is a timely reminder, in the current age of rampant globalization, that not everything is readily translatable. Venuti (2016b), for his part, has savaged both the *Dictionary* and Apter's *Against World Literature* for clinging to the idea of mis-translation, which, he argues, not only measures every translation against some chimerical ideal but also denies the right of every translation to be regarded as an interpretation of the original it represents. Contesting the validity of this interpretation implies that another interpretation is

preferred, the validity of which would need to be demonstrated in its turn. The debate stoked by the *Dictionary of Untranslatables* is clearly not over yet.

See also:

CULTURE; DECONSTRUCTION; PHILOSOPHY; PURE LANGUAGE; QUR'AN (KORAN) TRANSLATION

Further reading

Cassin, B. (ed.) (2014) *Dictionary of Untranslatables. A Philosophical Lexicon*, translated by S. Rendall, C. Hubert, J. Mehlman, N. Stein and M. Syrotinski, Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Explores a host of philosophical terms and concepts through time and across a number of European languages. The French original dates from 2004.

Large, D., M. Akashi, W. Józwickowska and E. Rose (eds) 2018 *Untranslatability. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. London & New York: Routledge.

A wide-ranging collection of essays, addressing both theoretical and practical aspects.

Venuti, L. (2016) 'Hijacking Translation: How comp lit continues to suppress translated texts', *Boundary 2* 43(2): 179–204.

A searing attack on the *Dictionary of Untranslatables* and on the issue of untranslatability in recent works on world literature.

THEO HERMANS

Travel writing

Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) defines translation first as "removal; act of moving", and only secondarily as "the act of turning into another language". The long-standing etymological link between translation and travel, not only in English but in other Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages (*traduire*, *traducir*, *Übersetzung*, *nepeводum*), seems to suggest that the conceptual connection between the two activities is deeply ingrained in the human, or at least European and Anglophone, psyche. Indeed, the travel writer and translator have much in common as cultural intermediaries writing from a liminal

geographical and/or linguistic space: as Bassnett has noted, "both claim to bring versions of otherness to their readers, rewritten and presented in accessible (domesticated) language and form" (2004:66). Both deploy rhetorical strategies to demonstrate their adherence to the genre norms of faithfulness and authenticity (Keighren et al. 2015). The act of negotiating linguistic alterity, an inescapable fact of life beyond, and indeed frequently within, national borders, is central to both the traveller's and translator's experience (Cronin 2000).

Since the second decade of the twenty-first century, there has been a considerable rise in research exploring the Janus metaphor of travel-as-translation and translation-as-travel, beginning with a groundbreaking special issue on translation, travel and mobility published in *The Translator* (Polezzi 2006b), which focuses on how travel and translation interact in both written and oral texts, encompassing not only travel writing per se, but also fiction, poetry and music. The editor's introduction set the tone for much subsequent work in the field in calling for a renewed focus on "the practices, realities and social actors residing within the labels" of travel and translation (Polezzi 2006a:175). The very existence of a new entry on travel writing in this edition of the *Encyclopedia* reflects a new-found recognition of the specificity of the issues the topic raises in relation to the broader categories of mobility, migration and cultural hybridity into which it has sometimes been subsumed, especially in works that use translation as a broad-based cultural keyword implying little in the way of actual linguistic transfer (Clifford 1997). Two key factors have been the growing engagement with transnational issues in several areas of the humanities, from history to literature, and the rise of interdisciplinary studies within the academy. The coming of age of book history as an area of research in particular has brought about a widening of the parameters of the kinds of texts studied and the (international) circulation of the book as commodity (Freedman 2012). As translation studies has come of age, it has begun to reflect on its own interdisciplinary character (Rojo López and Campos Plaza 2016); in parallel, other new 'studies', including travel studies, have fruitfully drawn on translation studies. The *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, for instance, pays attention

“not only to translation between languages but also to translation between cultures” (Hulme and Youngs 2002:9). Travel writing has gained a higher research profile as a result of this expansion of the academic canon, particularly of the remit of translation studies, with a number of conferences, publications and events focusing on travel writing in translation since the turn of the century (Lafarga et al. 2007). Research in the field thus far has converged around a number of themes that include the expression of national identity, how ideology has shaped travel writing in translation, and translatorial agency, particularly in terms of translatorial vs authorial gender. Work has also been done on the place of translated works of travel in the book market and on the travel writing polysystem.

A history of travel writing in translation

Some travel narratives have always circulated beyond their languages of composition; Marco Polo's *Travels*, for instance, were available in some 140 manuscript versions in a dozen languages and dialects prior to the advent of print. However, it was not until the relatively widespread availability of print technology in the European context and increasing ease of travel in the Early Modern era that the translation of travel accounts became more than sporadic. Among the earliest trends was the translation of pilgrimage narratives, an undertaking seen as a work of piety: Bernhardt von Breydenbach's 1486 account of his travels in Palestine, Sinai and Egypt was translated from Latin into German, Dutch, French, Spanish and Italian by 1520 (Gomez-Géraud 2015:887).

As imagined communities (B. Anderson 1983) began to come into being across Europe with the rise of vernacular-language print culture, they formed literary, cultural, political and scientific polysystems for which both translation and travel writing represented valuable new sources of knowledge. Renaissance translators of travel writing often worked from an overtly humanist perspective: the preface to François Gruet's 1556 translation of Marco Polo praises the brave souls who set out on dangerous travels to further the sum of human knowledge. Unsurprisingly, translation trends tended to reflect

both national interest and recent geographical discoveries: a cluster of works on Suleiman the Magnificent's Turkey were translated into French following the Franco-Ottoman alliance of 1536, while some decades later, New World descriptions formed the bulk of Richard Hakluyt's output as a translator. Relay translations were common, with *La Navigation d'Hanno, Capitaine Carthaginois, aux parties d'Afrique, de-là les [sic] Colonnes d'Hercule* (1556) being translated from “langue Carthaginoise, puis en Grecque, après en Toscane, & de présent [sic] tournée en Français” (the language of Carthage, into Greek, then Tuscan, and now turned into French; Gomez-Géraud 2015:892): such endeavours formed an intellectual commons that extended across much of Europe. Similarly, the Latin reports sent back by Jesuit missionaries posted to the Far East were routinely translated into a number of European vernaculars as part of the order's religious mission, vastly adding to the European sum of knowledge of Asia. Where much translation of travel writing in the Renaissance had Italian and Spanish as its source languages, thanks to the popularity of works on the New World, the later sixteenth century saw a rise in Northern European powers and a concomitant rise in translations from the languages of that region. Accessing economically significant information in Dutch works of travel was to prove of vital national interest across Europe as attempts were made to find routes to the Pacific that would break the Dutch East India Company's shipping monopoly at the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. Willem Cornelisz Schouten van Hoorn's 1618 narrative recounting the discovery of Cape Horn was consequently translated into French, Latin, English and German within a year or two of its publication in Dutch (Gomez-Géraud 2015:730).

The popularity of travel writing soon led author-publishers to compile anthologies. While the best known of these, Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589–1600), included only travels written in English, Hakluyt did translate or edit several translated travel accounts by Jacques Cartier and Ferdinando de Soto, among others; Samuel Purchas's four-volume *Hakluytis Posthumus* (1625), based partly on material collected by Hakluyt, contained translated material. Such anthologies became

commonplace in the eighteenth century as the lack of international copyright made them a relatively easy, low-risk publishing venture: no fewer than ten travel writing anthologies were published in 1790 (Hentschel 1999:137–138). Antoine-François Prévost's 20-volume *Histoire générale des voyages, ou Nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre qui ont été publiées jusqu'à présent dans les différentes langues* (1746–1802), including much translated material, shows how such anthologies positioned themselves as offering global coverage. The lack of copyright similarly often led to competing translations as publishers jockeyed for position in a crowded market: one critic noted in 1800 that “almost every foreign voyage is the parent of two or three English works, which start as rival translations” (Anon 1800:xiv). Many works were translated by travellers and subject-area experts – Johann Reinhold Forster, who accompanied James Cook on his circumnavigation, translated Bougainville's *Voyage autour du monde* in 1771, for instance, drawing on his own expertise as a seasoned traveller (Kapor 2012). But the need for speed led publishers to entrust other works to hack translators and even translation ‘factories’ which employed women, among others, to provide rough drafts for polishing: one such was run by Georg Forster, Johann Reinhold's son, who is named as the translator into German of Cook's *Voyage Round the World*. In the publishing boom of the early nineteenth century, travel writing accounted for one-fifth of translations on the British book market (France and Haynes 2006:135–151). While many travel narratives were translated immediately after their original publication, some had to wait centuries to be made available in modern European vernaculars: Pausanias's second-century *Description of Greece*, known from three fifteenth-century manuscripts, was translated into French, German, English and Italian over the course of the eighteenth century.

The nineteenth century saw a rise in the number of European translations of non-European travel narratives. The Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta's mid-fourteenth-century *Travels* to central and Southeast Asia, China and Africa were translated into German in abridged form in 1818 and subsequently into French and English, while a cluster of early Chinese narratives were

translated into French and English at around the same time (St. André 2003a), reflecting the importance of national and intellectual rivalries as a driver of translation practice. Another trend during this period was the consecration of a new form of travel book, the guidebook for the nascent tourism industry. The format itself was ‘translated’ across Europe as Karl Baedeker translated the content and localized the packaging of John Murray's guidebooks. Travel guidebooks are regularly translated to this day: the global guidebook market is dominated by internationally recognized brands, to the extent that all major guides to Portugal available in Polish in 2007 were translations from English and German (Dybiec 2011:3). In this context, translators commonly act as localizers for internationalized content, adapting travel information to the target market. For instance, Polish translations of the Insight series of guides contain *polonica*, or information of specific interest to a Polish readership. The pressures of a highly competitive publishing market dominated by major brands mean, however, that the process of localization is restricted in scope: the literary references in the Polish guides are all to British authors (ibid.:4–6).

In the late twentieth century, postcolonial and feminist approaches to travel writing studies sought to problematize the genre's history as a preserve of ‘Western’, largely male authors by recovering alternative accounts. Women's travel writing proved an abundant historical resource, providing ample material for an alternative historical narrative that foregrounded the role of women as authors and translators of travel literature (Agorni 2002). However, the published historical record proved sparse in the case of writings by authors native to the colonies. The impact of postcolonial theory on translated travel literature has largely been to ensure the international circulation of authors such as V.S. Naipaul and Aimé Césaire, who entered the postcolonial canon by means of publication in their respective imperial centres. One rare example of a narrative by a ‘native’ produced outside the imperial centre but translated within it is *Uganda's Katikiro in England*, which recounts the official visit by the Ugandan prime minister to Edward VII's coronation, written by his secretary Ham Mukasa and translated from the Luganda original, now lost, by the missionary Ernest Millar

in 1904. The translator's preface adopts a somewhat patronizing tone: "some of the impressions are obviously false ones, and many of the numbers given are quite unreliable . . . but I have not attempted to rectify such things, as I think they add to the charm of the book" (Millar in Mukasa 1904:v-vi). Interestingly, the work was included in Heinemann's African Writers' Series, an avowedly postcolonial publishing venture, in 1976, with the title *Sir Apolo Kagwa Discovers Britain*. While the work was edited by the Sudanese-Ugandan author Taban Lo Liyong, a vocal advocate of African-language creative writing, the title (ironically?) attributes a certain naivety to Kagwa – a major intellectual and political figure in his native Uganda – and the cover illustration radically others him by placing him in flowing African robes in a typical London street scene, giving the work ambiguous status as a postcolonial literary artefact.

Translation strategies

Translating travel narratives has been a prime site for ideologically motivated textual manipulation, with translators commonly engaging in practices such as abridgement and paratextual commentary to adapt the text to the prevailing ideologies of the new publishing and reading context. As such, translation can usefully be added as a further step to Ian Maclaren's six-step model of the editorial process involved in publishing travel writing, from notes taken in the field to distributed book (Maclaren 2011). François Pouqueville's 1805 *Voyage en Morée*, for instance, was cut from over a thousand pages in French to under two hundred in the first English translation of 1806. One particular problem faced by translators of travel narratives is how to translate terms for exotic realia, for which by definition no term exists in the target language. Strategies have varied from foreignizing transcription, transliteration and "lexical exoticism" on the one hand (Cronin 2000:40), to overtly domesticating strategies on the other. An example of the former is *kimono*, which made its way into French in 1603 as *quimon* in Arnault de la Borie's *Histoire des Indes*, adapted from Maffei's Latin original. An example of the latter is Thomas Howel's use of a footnote to gloss *jungle*, a recent borrowing from Sanskrit via Hindi,

in his 1791 *Journal of the Passage from India*, a strategy repeated in the 1797 French translation. Others domesticated yet further by translating the unknown in terms of the known: Simone Sigoli's *Viaggio in Egitto, nel Sinai e nella Terra Santa* (1384–1385) described giraffes as similar to ostriches, with wool instead of feathers, and the head and tail of a horse, the legs of a bird and the horns of a ram.

The translator's role as mediator between traveller and foreign-language environment also offers considerable leeway to reshape and revise the information conveyed to readers in both text and paratext, sometimes radically so. Jacques de Miggronde's retitling of his translation of Bartolomé de Las Casas's (1552) *Brevisísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies) as *Tyrannies et Cruautéz des Espagnols perpétrées ès Indes occidentales* (Tyrannies and Cruelties of the Spanish Perpetrated in the West Indies) in 1579 is one particularly telling example. Close readings can also offer evidence of textual intervention at a microtextual level. Less flagrant, though equally adept at shaping the reader's reactions, is the anonymous Spanish translator of Alexandre de Laborde's *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne* (1808), chosen for translation as a useful approach to "geografía práctica española" (Practical Spanish Geography) for schools and other readers. The translator of *Itinerario descriptivo de las Provincias de España* (1816) writes freely in the paratext of his decision to omit much information about Spanish customs that he considers of little use for Spanish readers; he also corrects "las innumerables equivocaciones" (countless mistakes), and tempers Laborde's admiration for Moorish culture, considered inappropriate for a Spanish readership (Table 1).

Future directions

Travellers and translators have long been seen as liminal figures at home in the contact zone (Pratt 1992), transmitting native knowledge back to colonial centres of power. It is, however, important to acknowledge the bidirectionality of centre-periphery relations and indeed the existence of periphery-to-periphery transfers that bypass the centre altogether. While research

Table 1 Spanish translation of Alexandre de Laborde’s *Itinéraire descriptif de l’Espagne*

Laborde’s French original, 1808	English gloss	Anonymous Spanish reformulation, 1816	English gloss
Les Maures eurent pour elle la même prédilection, et ces derniers, auxquels on a prodigué avec injustice le nom de Barbares, connurent ce qu’elle valait, et accoururent en foule pour la peupler. Leur expulsion fut l’époque de l’abandon presque total de cette province; et depuis ce temps, elle est restée dans un état qui la rend presque nulle pour l’Espagne.	The Moors had the same predilection for it, and these people, to whom the name of Barbarians had been unjustly given, knew its worth and flocked to inhabit it. Their expulsion marks the period in which this province was almost entirely abandoned, since which time it has remained in a state that makes it near worthless to Spain.	Los moros . . . conociendo la feracidad de su suelo, fixaron en ella su domicilio, y llegó a ser la más poblada de España. Desde su expulsión se cuenta la época de su decadencia.	The Moors . . . aware of the fertility of its soil, made their home there, so that it became the most highly populated of all the Spanish provinces. Its decadence dates from the time of their expulsion.

Source: Tamarit Vallés (2012:84)

on travel writing explicitly affiliated with translation studies has focused largely on European translations of works by European and Anglophone authors travelling either within Europe or to exotic far-flung locations, research on translations of narratives by non-European travellers has tended to be published in venues not specific to translation studies. This makes it challenging to locate and identify work on the topic, giving the perhaps erroneous impression that research, like the travel narratives themselves, largely follows the direction of travel of the imperial gaze.

Much work remains to be done within translation studies in terms of the reverse gaze of translations of works about Europe by non-European travellers writing in their own languages, such as Charles Stewart’s 1810 translation of the Persian scholar Mirza Abu Taleb Khan’s account of his time in Britain and Europe. Further potential research strands developed from this perspective would include examining translations into non-European languages of travel

accounts composed in European languages, such as the multiple Farsi versions of the *Voyages de Chardin en Orient* (Sadrzadeh 2015), and translations of non-European travel accounts written in non-European languages, such as the accounts by the Malaysian author Abdullah bin Abdul-Kadir al-Munshi (c. 1796–1854) of two journeys to Kelantan and Jeddah, translated into French, Dutch and English in the late nineteenth century (Chambert-Loir 1975). Translation studies has become increasingly aware of the need to problematize its Eurocentric roots (van Doorslaer and Flynn 2013): as such, as a burgeoning subfield within the discipline, research on the translation of travel writing needs to learn to sidestep the Eurocentric imperial gaze altogether. Xuanzang’s 648 translation from the Sanskrit of the *Si-Yu-Ki*, or *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (St. André 2003a), is just one example of cultural transfer that deserves fuller attention from scholars.

See also:
CULTURAL TRANSLATION; POSTCOLONIALISM

Further reading

Lafarga, F., P.S. Méndez Robles and A. Saura Sánchez (eds) (2007) *Literatura de viajes y traducción*, Granada: Comares.

A collection of essays in Spanish and French whose main focus is on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel writing in major Western European languages.

Martin, A.E. and S. Pickford (eds) (2012) *Travel Writing in Translation, 1750–1830: Nationalism, ideology, gender*, London & New York: Routledge.

A collection of essays on translated travel writing, principally in the Western European context, focusing particularly on issues of national identity and translatorial agency.

Pickford, S. and A.E. Martin (eds) (2013) *Translating 18th and 19th Century European Travel Writing*, special issue of *Intralinea*, Volume 15. Available at www.intralinea.org/specials/travel-writetrans.

Articles in this collected volume focus on the place of translated travel writing in the international book market and the wider European polysystem, including modern translations of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century narratives.

Polezzi, L. (ed.) (2006) *Translation, Travel, Migration*, Special issue of *The Translator* 12(2).

The first collection of essays specifically devoted to the topic of translation and travel, touching on translating, interpreting, nomadic writing, music, poetry and fiction in both a European and non-European context from the eighteenth to twenty-first centuries.

SUSAN PICKFORD

Travelling theory

The term travelling theory first appeared in the titles of Edward Said's two essays in literary criticism, 'Traveling Theory' (1983b) and 'Traveling Theory Reconsidered' (1994/2000b), which use specific examples to consider how and what changes occur when theories move across space and time, that is, from one geographical and historical location to another. Influential in several disciplines, Said's theory of how theory travels has also been critiqued for

not taking into account issues of translation and for failing to recognize that theoretical texts and ideas also travel across and through languages. These concerns were foregrounded in the work of Susam-Sarajeva on the travelling of literary and feminist theory (2006a), and later taken up by research that traces the various interlingual translations of single books or authors, or that focuses on the role that such translation has played in the way concepts travel, as in the Genealogies of Knowledge project launched at the University of Manchester in 2016.

Edward Said's essays

Said's 'Traveling Theory' was first published in *The World, The Text, and The Critic* (Said 1983b), a collection of his essays written between 1969 and 1981, in which he focuses on "the connections between text and the existential actualities of human life, politics, societies, and events" (1983a:5). The idea of travelling theory, which is essentially a theory of how theories travel "from person to person, from situation to situation, from one period to another" (1983b:226), is set out briefly as a series of four stages. First, Said identifies a "point of origin", or "a set of initial circumstances in which the idea came to birth or entered discourse". Second, "there is a distance traversed". Third is "a set of conditions", be they conditions of acceptance or resistance, which allow for the "transplanted theory or idea" to be tolerated in the new environment. The fourth and final stage consists of the transformation of the idea "by its new uses, its new position in a new time and place" (ibid.:226–227).

After some discussion about the validity of "a local detailed analysis" (1983b:227) as a means of giving an account of these four, very generally sketched stages, particularly given the difficulties of delimiting fields of enquiry, the theoretical assumptions held by various academic fields and the debates around the role of criticism, Said arrives at his central questions: what happens when a theory is used in different circumstances and "[w]hat can this tell us about theory itself?" (1983b:230). His main example is Georg Lukács's phenomenon of reification as expounded in his *History and Class Consciousness* (1923) and taken up in later work. Through his summary and analysis, Said argues that Lukács's "theory

of sociohistorical change" was "powerfully responsive" to his geographical, political, economic and social milieu (1983b:234), although he only hints at what this was – Hungarian proletarian struggles in the early twentieth century – and seems to assume that his readers are already familiar with Lukács and his work. This is followed by a further summary and analysis of Lucien Goldmann's *Le Dieu caché* (1955). A "disciple and student" of Lukács (ibid.:234), Said describes Goldmann as "an expatriate historian at the Sorbonne" (ibid.:236) in post-World War II Paris and argues that in his study of seveneenth-century French literature "Goldmann's adaptation of Lukács removes from theory its insurrectionary role" (ibid.:235). This is not a moral statement, Said argues, but rather simply a recognition that "theory is a response to a specific social and historical situation of which an intellectual occasion is a part" (ibid.:237).

Through a further example, this time of the way Goldmann's ideas are then taken up by English literary scholar Raymond Williams, who was working in Cambridge in the 1970s, Said notes that Lukács's ideas have "been tamed somewhat" (ibid.:238), but goes on to credit Williams for his critical reflections on the susceptibility of theory to become "reduced, codified, and institutionalized" (ibid.:239) as it is taken up by other scholars. Thus, theory can be diluted, Said argues, but it can also become totalizing if it is too widely and uncritically accepted; he explains how this totalizing of theory is actually inherent in Lukács's ideas of reification and dominance. We must borrow ideas "if we are to elude the constraints of our immediate intellectual environment" Said concludes, but we must do so critically because there is no single, all-encompassing theory, "no theory capable of covering, closing off, predicting all the situations in which it might be useful" (ibid.:241). Foucault's theory of power is Said's final example of a theory that, to his mind, has become vastly simplified and uncritically adopted, to the point where it has become an example of what he calls "cultural dogma" (ibid.:247). At this point, a theory that was once insurgent is no longer so, even as it is embraced as such, and Said concludes by cautioning that we must pay attention to the empirical circumstances of the birth and movement of theoretical ideas, "to map the territory covered by all the techniques of dissemination,

communication, and interpretation" (ibid.:247). Such scholarship, he suggests, is a form of resistance to coercion, and is itself the basis for critical consciousness, or "an unstoppable predilection for alternatives" (ibid.:247).

Said returned to these ideas some years later in a second essay, "Traveling Theory Reconsidered", originally published in 1994 and then as part of the collection *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Said 1994/2000b), a volume also concerned with the historical experience, immediacy and situatedness of texts as he explains in the introduction. Said begins by acknowledging the bias in his first essay. Recalling the works and circumstances of Lukács, he starts by restating the conclusions drawn from his analysis of the travelling of his ideas: that "the ideas of this theory had shed their insurrectionary force [and] had been tamed and domesticated" (1994/2000b:437). Yet this account now seems to Said "incomplete and inadequate" (ibid.:438), not because of the analysis of the 'travelling', but because in his account of Lukács's theory itself, he wonders whether he did not overly stress "the reconciliatory and resolvable aspects of [Lukács's] diagnosis" (ibid.:438). What would happen, he wonders, if Lukács's optimistic hope for future healing of the ills of reification was *not* accepted by his readers, if it was the pessimism of his theory that was taken up by them? This might be "an alternative mode of traveling theory, one that actually developed *away* from its original formulation" and that, rather than "becoming domesticated . . . flames out, so to speak, restates and reaffirms its own inherent tensions by moving to another site" (ibid.:438; original emphasis).

This idea of the transgressive theory is then explored, as in the first essay, through the analysis of two examples, neither of them from literature. The first comes from music, where Said analyzes Theodor Adorno's *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (1948) – "a quite spectacular instance of a traveling theory gone tougher, harder, more recalcitrant" (1994/2000b:440) – particularly with reference to Adorno's discussion of Arnold Schoenberg's radical 12-tone or atonal music. This, Adorno argues, is music that rejects both tonality and the listener, an "aesthetic [that] chooses irrelevance" and "intransigence" over "amiability" (ibid.:442), to the point where Schoenberg himself is dominated by his atonal escape from the domination of tonality, where "art becomes untenable"

(ibid.:443). Said's second example comes from "*outside Europe*" (ibid.:445; original emphasis): he discusses the life and work of Frantz Fanon, particularly Fanon's analyses of "the antinomy of the settler versus the native" in "the Algerian setting" (ibid.:444). Speculating that he had read Lukács in French translation, Said describes Fanon's vivid, concrete depiction of the "separation between colonizer and colonized ([Lukács's] subject and object)" (ibid.:445) and the "unresolvable antimony" (ibid.:449) between them that has no possibility of reconciliation or resolution, even after decolonization and independence.

These examples, Said concludes, suggest "the geographical dispersion of which the theoretical motor is capable" (ibid.:451), and how "pulling" a theory "from one sphere or region into another" (ibid.:451–452) can avoid the watering down or "facile universalism or over-general totalizing" (ibid.:452) that he described in the first essay. Again, Said ends with a call for empirical work in order to avoid over-abstraction and reductionist orthodoxies, asserting that "the exercise involved in figuring out where the theory went and how in getting there its fiery core was reignited" is "central to intellectual life" (ibid.).

Research informed by travelling theory

Said's influence has been significant, although to say that "Said's essay is the (direct or indirect) inspiration behind a whole new school of cultural critics who practice 'travelling theory'" (Holland and Huggan 1998:226, n24) is arguably something of an overstatement. There are, nevertheless, several areas in which scholars have explored his ideas to varying degrees, including postcolonial studies (Clifford 1989; Forsdick 2001), area and cultural studies (Karp 1997; van der Poel et al. 1999), rhetoric and composition (Schilb 1992), literature (Corral 1996) and Gramscian political theory (Frassinelli 2010). Scholars have also used the concept of travelling theory to look further into Said's example of the development of Lukács's ideas (Esty 2009; Sorensen 2009) as well as to critique Said's own work (Brennan 2000; Armstrong 2005b).

The first thing to note is that although many of these studies deal with the travelling of theories

across languages and cultures, as in Said's case, scant, if any, attention is paid to the role of translation in the journeys. Those who do engage with translation (Liu 1995; Miller 1996; Shohat 2004) do not necessarily situate themselves within the field of translation studies, a situation indicative of the interdisciplinary nature of the field and the way in which relevant work is often scattered across other disciplines. At the same time, as Susam-Sarajeva points out, because of "the absence of systematic approaches to translation outside the discipline of translation studies, this emerges as a considerable setback to a better understanding of translation's role in the migration of theories" (2006a:10). Nevertheless, such studies are a valuable resource for translation studies scholars, who are in a strong position to respond to Said's call for empirical work by applying the methods developed within the discipline.

The second point to note with regard to Said's influence is that Said's two essays are typically drawn on as "a point of entry" into further theorizing and other case studies rather than as a "theoretical model" (Frassinelli 2010:36). Zhang Longxi (1992), for example, uses travelling theory as a discursive framework for his discussion of the 'grabbing' or appropriation of western literary theory in China. Writing in the aftermath of the bloody events of Tiananmen Square, he interrogates the travelling and transformation of theories of democracy, and the importance of the worldliness of texts in the reality of Chinese social and political contexts. It is also the case, as with many of the studies cited in this entry, that scholars tracing the movement of theories across time and space make no direct reference at all to Said. There is, for example, a growing body of work on the travel (and translation) of scientific ideas (Montgomery 1996, 2000, 2004; Knellwolf 2001; Lackner et al. 2001; Lackner and Vittinghoff 2004; Dodson 2005; Raj 2007; Sánchez 2007; Cook and Dupré 2013; Dietz 2016a). Comparable to Said's focus on the work of Lukács, Adorno and Fanon, several of these works present case studies of the travel of specific scientific texts, yet, while travelling theory would readily lend itself to such investigations, it has yet to be systematically applied and tested here. Wright's work on translating modern western science in China in the nineteenth century (1998, 2000), for example, with its fascinating

insights into translation and transliteration practices, historical contexts, translator agency and biographies, institutional translation programmes, translation strategies for scientific lexis, as well as an extensive list of relevant references and archival sources, provides much of the kind of empirical work for which Said calls and yet makes no reference at all to Said or travelling theory.

The nod towards travelling theory, whereby scholars reference Said briefly or not at all, is also found in other fields. An early example is film studies scholar Abe Nornes's investigation into the influence of Paul Rotha, the British documentary filmmaker and author, through the translation(s) of his book *Documentary Film* (1935) into Japanese (Nornes 1999/2010). Nornes considers translation explicitly, examining lexical changes, omission and paraphrase as well as the social and political contexts of the refracted text, researched through publication details, reprints, retranslations, reviews, translator biographies and archival research. This approach is familiar to those engaged in translation history and foregrounds many of the concerns found in more recent work in book studies. Both travelling theory and translation are key concepts in the extensive body of work by Min Dongchao on gender, feminism and women's studies in China (2005, 2007, 2014, 2017). Cerwonka similarly investigates the travel of feminism in Eastern Europe, using the anthropological concept of transculturation to further theorize the negotiations that take place when "people in specific contexts engage and reshape hegemonic ideas" (2008:824). Lianeri (2000, 2002, 2006) investigates the travel of political theories, particularly the concept of democracy, across different temporal and cultural spaces; her focus remains on translation but she makes no mention of Said.

Unlike most of the scholars who do draw explicitly on Said's notion of travelling theory, Susam-Sarajeva (2006a) takes issue with him because he does not take into account or even mention the role of translation, hence the relevance of her work for foregrounding this oversight and its implications. Others who do this, although to a lesser extent, include L.H. Liu (1995) and Min Dongchao (2014). Susam-Sarajeva's study investigates translations and retranslations of the work of Roland Barthes

into Turkish and of Hélène Cixous into English. The translation of Barthes in Turkey in the 1960s took place, she argues, in a climate of terminological and language reform, leading to unintelligibility and increasing intellectual opposition to Barthes and to theories of structuralism and semiotics. In the case of Cixous, unlike Barthes, retranslations were rare. Here, Susam-Sarajeva finds that the act of translation was not problematized, and the English translations were made in such a way as to make French feminism accessible to the American readership. By investigating the translation of theory, rather than literature – where texts tend to be treated as unified wholes, and which has long been the usual focus in translation studies – Susam-Sarajeva shows how "the achronological selection and partial representation" in the translation of theories is likely to be significant for the way in which theorists and theories are framed, understood, embraced and applied (or not) in the receiving intellectual system (ibid.:206). This is very much the empirical work for which Said called.

Other translation studies scholars have been doing similar empirical work, but their focus tends to remain on tracking and analyzing changing texts and refractions, drawing conclusions about translation strategies, translators and agency networks within and between various social, political and historical contexts. Few studies refer to Said, and there seems to be little interest in testing and consolidating his ideas. Zhou and Shen (2006), for example, look at western literary theories in China, describing translation flows (what was and was not translated and when) and how these have shaped the development of literary theory, particularly narratology. Although this development could be mapped on to Said's four stages in the travels of theory, the authors make no reference to Said; the focus remains on the circumstances of Chinese literary theory. Olohan has written on the translation of scientific discourses from a variety of perspectives (2007, 2012, 2014b, 2014a, 2016b, 2018) and coedited a special issue of *The Translator* on the topic (Olohan and Salama-Carr 2011); a second special issue was published by *Meta* (Vandaele and Boulanger 2016). Only Meade, however, in her contribution to *The Translator* special issue, refers explicitly to travelling theory, using it as an entry point and a model "where agency is viewed as pivotal to

understanding how ideas are borne across different environments” (2011:214).

The question of whether we use travelling theory to study a phenomenon such as Chinese literary theory or use Chinese literary theory to study travelling theory depends largely on how scholars position themselves within and across academic fields. Whether translation theory can offer useful insights for historians, for example, or whether history is used to study translation theory is a continuing debate among translation historians (Rundle 2011a, 2012, 2014a). However these aims and interests are negotiated, translation is frequently targeted as a site of investigation because Said’s thesis that theories and texts are “worldly” (Said 1983a:4), that is, are “a result of specific historical circumstances” (Said 1983b:230) and that they travel and change across and between worlds has become so widely accepted that it is taken as a starting assumption even without any recourse to Said’s essays. This is the premise of several book histories that trace the various travels and translations of a single book, such as *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (Hofmeyr 2003), *Little Red Riding Hood* (Beckett 2013), *Grimm’s Fairy Tales* (Joosen and Lathey 2014), Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* and *La Mare au diable* (Deane-Cox 2014b) and the works of Frantz Fanon (Batchelor and Harding 2017; Batchelor 2015), as well as Ella Shohat’s study of the translation of Said’s own work into Hebrew (Shohat 2004). The *Genealogies of Knowledge* research project based at the University of Manchester examines not books or discrete texts but concepts related to the “body politic” and “scientific, expert discourse” to explore “how our understanding of these concepts has evolved since they first emerged. . . [and] how translation has impacted this transformation, as these concepts have travelled across centuries, languages and

cultures” (*Genealogies of Knowledge* 2016). Ultimately, in whatever discipline or field scholars position themselves, those working on research “that situate[s] the translated text in its social and historical circumstances and consider[s] its cultural political role” (Venuti 1992a:11) are very likely to be answering Said’s call for empirical work on travelling theory, without necessarily articulating that this is what they are doing.

Further reading

Min, D. (2017) *Translation and Travelling Theory: Feminist theory and praxis in China*, London & New York: Routledge.

Provides an excellent case study of ways in which feminist theory has travelled globally, taking into account not only Said’s ideas but also issues of translation, cross-cultural encounters and the worldliness of theories and knowledge in circulation.

Said, E. (1983) ‘Traveling Theory’, in *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 226–247.

Said, E. (1994/2000) ‘Traveling Theory Reconsidered’, in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 436–452.

Both essays are obvious starting points for any scholar wanting to engage critically with Said’s ideas and to consider how they might respond to his call for empirical work.

Susam-Sarajeva, Ş. (2006) *Theories on the Move: Translation’s role in the travels of literary theories*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.

The first sustained attempt from a translation studies scholar to engage with Said’s model while explicitly focusing on the role translation plays in the travelling of theories.

SUE-ANN HARDING



War

Since war is, as Tarak Barkawi argues, a site of “cultural mixing and hybridity” (2006:x), it is potentially of considerable relevance to translation and interpreting studies. Traditionally, scholarship in the field tended to focus on the benign aspects of conflict, on the place of language intermediaries in the aftermath of war, their role in peace-making and diplomacy (Roland 1999), or in the postwar administration of justice (Gaiba 1998). At the turn of the century, however, and in the wake of the events of 9/11 in New York and subsequent Coalition invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, translation scholars began to engage with the more immediate implications of war and conflict. The impetus for this was at least partly the pronounced ‘cultural turn’ taken by the military forces themselves, where former reliance on technological supremacy and distance between enemy and army was now replaced by the problematics of face-to-face encounters during periods of long-term occupation. This brought an admission on the part of western military leaders that cultural awareness and language, as opposed to technological mastery, need to be an integral part of the logistics of war. Given this overt weaponization of language (Rafael 2012), the violence of translation metaphor espoused by many scholars (Apter 2006; Venuti 1995b/2008) acquired a stark embodiment in the translators and interpreters who were operating amidst the physical violence of conflict. The accepted positioning of language intermediaries as figures who could be neutral and in between (Inghilleri and Harding 2010; Salama-Carr 2007) was to be severely challenged by contemporary experiences of war.

Translation and interpreting scholarship – and the two are most usefully discussed together in relation to contemporary wars – focuses on

three main areas: first, an examination of the positioning of translators and interpreters in conflict situations, and the implications of this positioning for the agency and subjectivity of those involved, including professional organizations and lobby groups; second, a detailed engagement with the role that translators and interpreters have played in particular historical contexts of conflict; and finally, an examination of the place of translation and interpreting in some of the key institutions associated with war.

The positioning of translators and interpreters in war

In the wars of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century (Bosnia/Herzegovina, Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan), military needs for translation and interpreting were initially met by men and women recruited from the local communities, civilians who in general had received no training in the skills of translating and interpreting. The voices of these language intermediaries, who were drawn from the communities involved in the war, provided startling evidence of the complexities of their positioning. To begin with, such civilians are often multitasking. Since military deployments, like those of the journalists who cover war, are usually short term and organized on a rotating basis, locally based translators and interpreters found themselves fulfilling multiple roles as cultural advisers, fixers, guardians of the corporate memory, conveners of meetings and advisers on security arrangements (Palmer 2007). Traditional paradigms of the divided loyalties of a translator or interpreter were seen to be highly dependent on context, on the ethnic and political tensions of a specific conflict (Stahuljak 2010; Kelly and Baker 2013).

Encouraged by the increased visibility of language mediators in the Anglophone and

European media, scholarship in translation studies began to envisage war as a new and potentially destabilizing frame for translation, and one which could challenge long-held beliefs about professionalism and appropriate pedagogy. Ing-hilleri (2008) examined published biographical accounts of military interpreters working in Guantánamo Bay and Iraq. Using theorizations of human rights, politics and the law, she concluded that the ethical choices interpreters made in these situations were grounded in the social and political contexts in which they worked. Like Tipton (2011), she argued for a more radical and situated appreciation of the praxis and ethics of translators and interpreters. This shift in perspective inevitably influenced the perceptions of those professional organizations most closely involved with practitioners. Faced with the spiralling and largely unreported deaths of language intermediaries in war (Fitchett 2012), the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC) began to consider that its long-held distinctions between translators and interpreters, and between professionally trained and untrained interpreters, might have to be temporarily abandoned in the emergency of conflict. It accordingly produced a Conflict Field Guide designed to support interpreters and their military employers in these war situations (AIIC 2012a). The evident lack of legal protection for translators and interpreters in war, compared with that afforded to journalists for example, encouraged the formation of an energetic lobby group, Red T (Red T 2017), which continues to advocate for a specific UN resolution on translators and interpreters. The resolution seeks to redefine the role of language intermediaries in war as being akin to that of Red Cross staff, with protected person status which could be indicated by a Red T logo on their jackets.

Beyond the positioning of the language intermediary, the experiences of war encouraged a radical reappraisal of the broader role of translation in situations of conflict. Drawing on narrative theory, M. Baker (2006a, 2010b) argued that translation was an integral part of the institution of war, framing the mobilization of military power, legitimating war to domestic and international audiences, and circulating or resisting the narratives which create the circumstances in which war becomes possible. Baker (2010c) further investigated the complicity of translation in creating the type of knowledge the west holds about regions con-

sidered as security threats; this knowledge is constructed by the lobby groups she examined through the selection, appropriation and presentation of textual material taken from Arabic and Muslim sources. Translation is thus shown to contribute actively to creating the political realities in which we all live. In later work, Baker (2016b) pursued this argument by exploring spaces of translation within the context of the Egyptian revolution, extending the concept of translation to include a wide range of modalities and interactions, and demonstrating that various acts of translation are integral to protest and revolution.

Historical studies

Twenty-first century Coalition invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan and their immediate aftermaths also stimulated an academic interest in the place of languages and language mediators in earlier historical contexts. These included military coalitions during the First World War (Heimbürger 2012); wartime interrogation and torture in contexts ranging from the Great War to The Troubles in Northern Ireland (Andrew and Tobia 2014); and in relief operations after the Second World War in Europe (Humbert 2016). Historians also began to reexamine the traditionally unquestioned monolingualism of armies which had fought in past conflicts. Butterfield (2009), for example, challenged the monolithic Anglophoneness of British identity which appeared to have been taken for granted by most historians of the Hundred Years War, and Tozzi (2012) addressed the linguistic diversity of Napoleon's armies in the eighteenth century.

However, it is through case studies relating to twentieth- and twenty-first-century conflicts that the role of translation and interpreting in war has been most extensively studied. Such research has sought to mark out a space for a specific military culture of translation, building on Prunč's (1997) concept of translation cultures and arguing that a culture conditioned by the contextual differences of each conflict, and by a necessary merging of the roles of translator and interpreter, can now be discerned. In these historical case studies, scholars have used an eclectic range of data – archival documents, interviews, artefacts – to make visible, often for

the first time, the presence of translators and interpreters in war. They have further speculated on the ways in which our understanding of military deployment, intelligence gathering and operations on the ground can be impacted by a realization of the presence of languages, and how studying war zones can question widely accepted views of the praxis and positioning of translators and interpreters.

Two volumes on languages in the First World War (Declercq and Walker 2016; Walker and Declercq 2016) adopted a deliberately wide approach to translation and interpreting in outlining a wartime history of languages which explores the experiences of exiles and refugees, negotiations within a multilingual army, language exchanges between soldiers across the trenches and the translation and censorship of letters written by Indian soldiers. Studies on the British military in the Second World War (Footitt and Tobia 2013) demonstrated how including translation and interpreting within our narratives of war inevitably develops our understanding of some of the key institutions involved. Translation is shown to have been integral to intelligence (the Government's Code and Cypher School at Bletchley Park was in effect a vast translation operation), to wartime propaganda broadcasting, and to preparations for Allied liberation and occupation. Focusing on Finland in World War II, Kujamäki (2012) engaged with those invisible translators based in the Finnish and German Liaison Offices, with children and women who were interpreting and translating for the German Military, and the Red Cross Prisoners of War (POW) interpreting in Finnish POW camps. Guo's (2016) work on the Sino-Japanese War (1931–1945) situated translators and interpreters within complex competing power networks of stakeholders in that conflict, demonstrating how their activity and positionality were influenced by shifts in foreign policy, and exploring their strategies for self-protection and advancement. Takeda (2010, 2008) examined the structure of interpreting in the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, with its hierarchy of three different ethnicities – bilingual Japanese, second generation Japanese-American and bilingual US officers. Wolf's edited collection (2016a) on interpreting in Nazi concentration camps, where prisoners of 30 to 40 different nationalities were

held, investigated the ambivalent role of interpreting in shaping everyday life in the camps.

In comparison with these pre-1945 cases, the place of translation and interpreting in the Cold War has received considerably less attention, perhaps because of the relative secrecy still surrounding some of its operations. One area of interest has been the training of national servicemen in the UK as translators and interpreters, mostly in Russian (Footitt and Tobia 2013), who were sent to listening stations in Germany. The possibilities for future research in this area are beginning to open up following the collection and release of material produced by these ex-servicemen themselves (Cash and Gerrard 2012). From the US perspective, Fernández Sánchez (2012) has examined the role of translators and interpreters in the Korean War, investigating the communicative challenges faced by the largely untrained military personnel operating in the Korean truce negotiations.

The long-running conflicts in the former Yugoslavia provided an impetus for scholars to consider the relationship between translation, memory and witness-bearing, as in the work of Stahuljak (2001, 2010) on Croatia in 1991–1992. F. Jones (2004), in a participant-interpreter contribution, studied the socio-ethical dilemmas and decisions involved in translating Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian literature into English in the 1990s. Kelly and Baker (2013) examined the role of translation and interpreting in peace operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1995–2000. Drawing on over 50 interviews with participants, they explored a range of themes, including the linguistic resources of peacekeepers, the multiple roles of military interpreters, translation within the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the processes by which language support on the ground was improved, and the role and positionality of locally recruited language intermediaries. Their case study provided insight into the language politics of peacebuilding (C. Baker 2014), especially the lives and experiences of locally recruited civilians and their relationship with the military authorities involved.

The difficulties associated with accessing material to examine military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan have so far restricted research on translation and interpreting to very specific aspects of these struggles. Inghilleri (2010a:175) has written about what she terms the “undeni-

ability of interpreter agency” in Iraq, suggesting that whilst interpreters’ decisions to work with the US military were probably related to the social history of Iraq, or the economic/social conditions in which the actors found themselves, their personal ethical responsibilities could not be accounted for in either professional or military ethical codes. One of the most promising contributions to future work on Afghanistan has come from outside the academic world. In 2014, Mike Smith, a Pashto speaker who spent two years in Helmand as a British army officer, produced an oral history of the conflict in which he claimed that a lack of understanding of the local and personal dynamics on the ground was a major contributor to the failure of the British army (Smith 2014). British relationships with Helmandis, he suggested, were managed by interpreters who were drawn either from the diasporic Afghan community, or were young Kabuli men (often Tajiks or Hazaras) who spoke English. Neither of these necessarily had the appropriate skills to understand Helmandi society or, crucially, the personal or economic incentives to challenge an already well-established British master narrative about the region.

The experience of recent conflicts has also led to a questioning of the postwar link between the interpreting/translating professions and the largely university-based interpreting and translating courses. Thus Moser-Mercer’s InZone project (Moser-Mercer et al. 2014) on interpreting in war zones began from the situation itself, with an informed understanding of multilingual communication needs in crisis areas, and then translated these needs into a training programme via the internet for those working in the field.

In these case studies of war, military cultures of translation are seen to be framed by long-standing perceptions and representations of the language of the other. Mendel’s (2014) work on the political and security considerations which have conditioned and created Arabic language studies in Israel, for example, showed how securitizing the language over time has crucially shaped contemporary Jewish-Israeli society and Israeli views of history.

Institutions of war

Researching the role of translation and interpreting within the official institutions of war – such as national armies, defence coalitions like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and international tribunals dealing with the aftermath of conflict – presents considerable difficulties of access and sources. The drive to research these institutions has tended to come initially from within the institutions themselves, led by practitioners and ex-practitioners who have a particular interest in languages. Thus, for example, the officer responsible for the UK Defence Operational Languages Support Unit, Justin Lewis, provided details on the recruitment and training of military linguists in the army (Lewis 2012), and Pekka Snellman from the Finnish Defence Forces used his insider status to investigate the agency of military interpreters in Finnish crisis management operations, questioning whether military cultures of translation could exist above and beyond the nation state (Snellman 2014). The considerable media attention given to the plight of local translators and interpreters left behind when the foreign army exits a conflict zone focused greater institutional attention on the responsibility and duty of care that national armies owe to the foreign intermediaries they employ to supplement their own military interpreters. The UK Ministry of Defence’s first Joint Doctrine Note on Linguistic Support for Operations (JDN 2013), for example, included specific references to local linguists and their relationships with the military.

In the case of NATO, it was again an insider, Ian Jones, former Head of the Linguistic Service at the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), who, together with Louise Askew, examined the processes through which language services within the organization were gradually professionalized (Jones and Askew 2014). Starting from a language policy conceived within a largely insular context to facilitate communication between member states, perceptions of language needs developed into a policy which looked beyond the organization in order to provide for the many languages required in NATO peacekeeping operations. Ultimately, internal communication was based on one language, whilst external communication

was multilingual. NATO's language capacity was professionalized through the informed input of linguists working within the organization.

Research on the International Criminal Tribunal established to deal with the crimes and outrages of war has similarly been led by professional linguists employed by the institution. Thus Elias-Bursac's (2015) work on the Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was informed by her personal experience as an employee and facilitated by privileged access to relevant data. Bursac's focus was on giving voice to the cadre of translators working for the Tribunal and their emotional experiences, the types of documents and testimonies they were called upon to translate and the ways in which translation affected everyone involved in the work of the institution, including witnesses, prosecutors, the defence and the judiciary. This embedding of translation in an international organization so closely associated with conflict allowed Bursac to raise key issues about the range of institutional voices a practitioner may be required to adopt, and the contribution of translation to the institutional memory of war and justice.

Future directions

Future directions in researching the military culture of translation will inevitably mirror to some extent the latest developments in institutional military thinking. Western armies have traditionally invested in language-based technologies, particularly in speech translation and recognition. Thus, a phraselator which translated one way from English into 60 other languages was piloted by the US military in the early 2000s (Sarich 2003; Rafael 2012). The BBC supported the UK military in Sierra Leone when it was deployed to fight Ebola in 2014 by producing a dual language, English-French WhatsApp Information Service (BBC 2014). Work on automating translation and interpreting for military purposes will no doubt continue, connecting with developments in artificial intelligence, social media, big data and other technologies.

More fundamentally perhaps, the rapidly changing nature of warfare itself will influence the role of languages within it. Renewed military interest in remote warfare is likely to

expand the range and types of actors and interests involved in conflict, bringing more forcibly into the landscapes of war private military and security companies; special operations forces; unmanned vehicles; cyber conflict; social media; and intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (Abbott et al. 2016). While the role of translation and interpreting in security companies and special operations may not be qualitatively different from that within regular forces, the use of drones could give rise to new translation problems connected to the transferability and processability of data. Cyberspace itself is a high-profile terrain of war in which the borders between the national and the international are increasingly unclear (Valeriano and Maness 2015). The interfaces between human and technological language capacity in all of these areas are key to the future survival of our populations. The weaponizing of culture and language which we have observed since the turn of the century is likely to move increasingly into these different forms of war-making.

Translation and interpreting scholarship on war over the past decade has established a military culture of translation. The multiple disciplinary locations of the researchers involved – from translation studies, history and cultural studies, as well as the military institutions of war – and the dialogue which has been established between them, for example on the Languages at War Facebook site, offers a robust base from which critical engagement in the so-called new terrains of war can be continued.

See also:

CONQUEST; HISTORIOGRAPHY; HISTORY, INTERPRETING; HISTORY, TRANSLATION; INSTITUTIONAL TRANSLATION; NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETING; POSITIONING; ROLE

Further reading

Baker, M. (2006) *Translation and Conflict: A narrative account*, London: Routledge.

Using narrative theory, examines the complex role of translators and interpreters in shaping and challenging narratives surrounding conflict, framing the mobilization of military power, legitimating war and circulating/resisting narratives which make war possible.

Footitt, H. and M. Kelly (2012) *Languages at War. Policies and practices of language contacts in conflict*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Traces the role of languages in the different stages of war and peacebuilding – gathering intelligence, preparing to intervene, soldier/civilian meetings and communicating through intermediaries – with examples from the Second World War in Europe and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s.

Inghilleri, M. and S. Harding (eds) (2010) *Translating Violent Conflict*, Special issue of *The Translator* 16 (2).

Features articles on interpreters and translators in Iraq, Yugoslavia, the British War Crimes Tribunal, Mozambique and Rwanda, and raises key issues on ethics, identities and mediation in war.

Rafael, V. (2012) 'Translation and the US Empire. Counterinsurgency and the resistance of language', *The Translator* 18(1): 1–22.

Focuses on the US military's attempts to employ language as a weapon of war through the strategic deployment of translation practices, the training of soldiers in foreign languages, the development of automatic translation systems and protocols for expropriating the mediating power of local interpreters.

HILARY FOOTITT

World literature

For Goethe, who introduced the term *Weltliteratur* to Europe, world literature was a flexible and evolving system that comprised the literary production of all the world's civilizations, ranging from the Chinese novel to the Serbian epic. Not a fixed canon, world literature was a principle through which literatures were brought into dialogue over the course of centuries. In the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Marx and Engels gave a distinctively political valence to the Goethean conception of world literature when they declared that "National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness [has] become more and more impossible, and from the many national and local literatures, a world literature arises" (Marx

and Engels 1998:49). In subsequent decades, the ferment of activity around world literature shifted to comparative literature, which was conceived on a mostly European basis. Meanwhile, literatures that did not fit neatly within European literary history became the domain of Orientalist scholarship. Rarely were Arabic, Persian, Chinese and Sanskrit brought into conversation or comparison with their European counterparts (Zhang 2015). Since the turn of the century, and partly by way of addressing the Eurocentrism that has accompanied the historical development of comparative literature, the study of literature from non-European traditions has been revived in the North American academy. This has taken place under the banner of world literature and has been heavily shaped by the thinking of David Damrosch and Franco Moretti, along with the new forms of pedagogy that have been made possible by a proliferation of world literature anthologies (Gould 2011).

Damrosch defines world literature as a field that encompasses "all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their original languages" (2003:4). For Moretti, world literature is "a problem that asks for a new critical method" (2000:55). Moretti (2003) develops this method through a formalist sociology that he calls distant reading. As a method, distant reading focuses on "units that are much smaller or much larger than the text: devices, themes, tropes – or genres and systems" (Moretti 2000:57). Moretti deploys "graphs, maps, and trees" to pursue a specific form of knowledge, and a specific way of knowing literature, that involves "fewer elements, hence a sharper sense of their connection" (2005:1). Distant reading involves abstraction from the text and rejects close reading in favour of a more global, comparative and systematic approach to the diversity of literary forms. While Moretti acknowledges the limits of this panoramic approach, world literature's methodological embrace of world-systems frameworks, historicizing methods and sociological approaches broadly characterizes the shift towards global orientations within the comparative study of literature (Palumbo-Liu et al. 2011; Warwick Research Collective 2015; D'haen 2012:96–116), and Moretti is among its most influential representatives. A related trend

in which the turn to world literature is embedded is the shift from comparative literature to cultural studies (D'haen 2000).

An influential contribution to the debates around world literature and the formation of global literary canons has been made by the French critic Pascale Casanova, who develops Bourdieu's concept of the field to study the role of the market in determining the conditions under which literary texts circulate internationally. Casanova treats this literary circulation as involving first and foremost "an opposition between dominant and dominated", while every literature, text and author vies for power, hegemony and visibility in the global literary marketplace (2005:80, 1999). Describing world literature as "a body of literature expanded to a world scale, whose documentation and, indeed, existence remains problematic" (2005:72), Casanova outlines the process through which world literature is constituted as one of "specific series of struggles, rivalries and contests over literature itself" (ibid.:74). For Beecroft, who adopts a less conflictual approach to what he calls "world literature without a hyphen" that attends to the "shifting configuration of the relationship between literatures and environments" (2008:92), or later "an ecology of world literature" (Beecroft 2015), research on world literature is best pursued by studying "the interaction of literature with its environment" (ibid.:3). These definitions and approaches to world literature by scholars and critics from the past three centuries all share in common a conviction that world literature ought to be worldly, in the sense of identifying specific ways in which literature relates to the world, and that it ought to seek to provide some semblance of representing that world in its global diversity.

World literature and its limits

As Moretti summarizes, "you become a comparatist for a very simple reason: because you are convinced that that viewpoint is better . . . there is no other justification for the study of world literature" (2000:70). Hence, world literature's claim to methodological superiority over the study of national tradition is an epistemological one that relies on the relative advantage afforded by multiple points of view. The approaches cited

thus far share in common a methodological disregard for close reading as a method of enquiry. They have a great deal to say about the systems through which literature is to be historically and contextually situated, and relatively little to say about how such revised frameworks might alter the way in which we read texts. Awed by the enormity of their task, proponents of world literature focus on macroscale concepts such as reception, circulation, literary history and the literary system. The distinctiveness of the literary artefact tends to fall by the wayside amid such analysis. Saussy (2011a, 2011b) has offered an important corrective to this tendency in a series of articles that approaches the concept of world literature with a concentrated and nuanced focus on literariness as an object of enquiry.

Existing theories of world literature tend to characterize world literature with reference to a set of predefined canons that circulate across spaces defined and constituted by the Euro-American academy, even when they are not already internal to it. Thus, South Asian literature becomes Anglophone, African literature Francophone, and the major works of non-European traditions are viewed from the point of view of their impact on European culture. This tendency is most evident in the work of Casanova, who defines her literary space as "the product of an historical process . . . that appeared in Europe in the 16th century" and which was "consolidated and enlarged into central and eastern Europe during the 18th and especially the 19th centuries" (2005:73). European in its outlines, Casanova's framework nonetheless purports to offer a transferable model for understanding the global literary marketplace. Perhaps unsurprisingly given world literature's historical origins in Eurocentric models of comparative literature, the cosmopolitan ambitions of world literature appear far from realization. These limitations create an opening for translation, and translation studies, to make a major impact.

World literature and the *Task of the Translator*

To assert with Jusdanis that world literature "promotes translation" for "entirely practical reasons" (2003:125) is to oversimplify the complexity of a generative relationship. As Walter

Benjamin (1923/1991) long ago theorized, texts create their audiences, along with their own posterities. Translation develops the capacity for creation that is inherent in every readerly act. From the perspective of world literature, translation is best understood, not as a limit or flaw, but rather as the means through which literature can be enabled to speak in as many voices as possible and thereby to achieve its heterogeneous mandate. The task for translation studies is to determine what kinds of translation enable world literature to support cultural and linguistic diversity rather than to suppress it.

Most existing models of world literature operate at a level beyond the text and do not specifically account for the nuances of any specific literature or language. Each model assumes translation as a material precondition for its existence, yet neglects to clarify any specific relation between world literature and translation studies, whether theoretically or empirically. However, as the limits of world literature have come into increasing focus, this has stimulated a renewed interest in translation methodologies and practices (D'haen 2012:117–132; Gikandi 2011). Although world literature scholarship today frequently acknowledges translation as a topic of legitimate analysis, existing models still tend to neglect the role of translation within the literary system.

In light of the increasing pressure on literary studies to live up to its expectations of worldliness, an increasing chorus of scholars has called for new ways of studying literature, albeit without offering concrete new methodologies. Spivak's (2013) declaration of the 'death' of comparative literature as a discipline prompted many turns to world literature as a possible antidote to the discipline's malaise (Jusdanis 2003). Apter's (2013) widely cited polemic against world literature belongs within this same tradition. Yet Spivak, Apter and other critics of world literature have yet to outline a clear trajectory that can release us from comparative literature's Eurocentric tendencies (Venuti 2016b).

Deepening the relationship between world literature and translation studies can enable world literature to develop more critical and self-reflexive ways of representing the heterogeneity of global literary form. Given that most existing accounts of world literature focus on the reception of literary texts, and that any study

of literature presumes a theory of how literary discourse is differentiated from other discursive forms, the remainder of this entry considers these intersections in turn. First, world literature is considered from the perspective of its reception, with translation as a *medium* through which this reception is enacted. Second, world literature is considered as a heterogeneous poetics of literary discourse, with translation as a *method* through which the literariness of a text is transmitted, or reinvented, in a new cultural, linguistic and historical medium. While the understanding of translation as a *medium* identifies its global ambitions, the understanding of translation as a *method* identifies its specific modalities of circulation. If sometimes unevenly, world literature has always assisted in the revision of, and resistance to, existing literary canons. The revision of literature's canons relies empirically on translation as a medium and conceptually on translation as a method.

The circulation of world literature: translation as medium

In the absence of translation, literature could not circulate beyond its point of origin. Hence, translation is implicated in world literature from its inception. This implication carries with it tremendous possibilities as well as liabilities. Making texts available to an audience that otherwise could not access them, translation fundamentally alters the conditions of reception, while also transforming the object being received. While the contribution of translation to expanding the canon is obvious, some scholars have argued that world literature's reliance on translation limits rather than expands available modes of reading and literary engagement. Jusdanis (2003) and Apter (2013) appear to prefer a world literature that is less reliant on translation, and which benefits instead from readers' access to the original text. Yet such critiques fail to take account of the demographics of actual reading practices, whereby increasing numbers of readers are only able to access the text in translation. They also discount the ways in which translations often bring the reader closer to the original.

Should translation adopt or resist the values of the target culture? What is the value of

preserving untranslatability in translation? The answer to these questions varies according to every translational act, and every literary text and context. In creating a framework within which these issues can be rigorously and systematically explored, translation studies amplifies and provides a critical methodology for the heterogeneity and multilingualism that conditions the possibility of world literature.

When studied from the lens of reception and circulation, world literature comes to appear as a sequence of literary histories driven by different translation movements. Among the most notable are the translation of Greek text into Syriac and Arabic in Abbasid Baghdad (Gutas 1998), the translation of Indic (mostly Sanskrit) texts into Persian at the Mughal court in Delhi and elsewhere throughout South Asia (Trusckhe 2016), and the translation of the indigenous literatures of the former Soviet Union into Russian and other Soviet languages (Gould 2012; Witte 2013; Baer 2016a). Each of these broad translation movements broadens the optics of world literature and increases the cosmopolitan range of both the target and source languages, while contributing to the advancement of knowledge. Each movement was stimulated to some degree by government initiative. These large historical movements are the junctures at which translation as a medium becomes the object of world literature's focus, and offers new ways of understanding the intersecting literary histories of Greek and Arabic learning on the one hand and Indic and Persian learning on the other. Used in this way, translation offers a means of rewriting literary histories from the vantage point of textual reception and circulation.

Translation figures in the major movements of world literary history as the condition of possibility for these literary confluences and as the medium in which they developed. The conditions of translation determined the languages from and into which texts were translated, which texts were chosen, and which strategies were adopted. Orienting the field to key moments of transnational ferment, such as the Graeco-Arabic and Indic-Persian translation movements, can help to sustain world literature's comparatist ambitions while providing scholars and practitioners of literature with templates for the future. Such comparisons position us to better understand the relationship between

translational strategies and the contexts and circumstances of reception and literary history.

Finally, historicizing and sociological approaches to translation encourage scholars working within a wide range of world literature paradigms to ask large questions about the relation between readerships, authorship and political power. Placing translation studies into dialogue with existing models of world literature generates new ways of understanding the agency of the translator and of appreciating the creative role of translation in generating new forms of literature and new literary cultures. Translation theory specifically helps scholars of world literature move beyond outdated understandings of originality and imitation, while rejecting modern binaries between original and derivative texts.

As Moretti notes, world literature has the potential to reverse "the received historical explanation" of the relation between source and translation in the context of unequal literary relations (2000:60). Whereas Jameson, in the absence of a world literature framework, states that "the raw material of Japanese social experience and the abstract formal patterns of Western novel construction cannot always be welded together seamlessly" (1993:xiii), Moretti (2013) draws on his model of world literature as distant reading to argue that "when a culture starts moving towards the modern novel, it's always as a compromise between foreign form and local materials" (2000:60). Moretti complicates the binary model originally derived from Jameson by introducing a triangular relationship between foreign form, local material and local form (*ibid.*:65).

World literary discourse: translation as method

The most basic issue to address when studying translation as a method (rather than as a medium) is that of translatability. This question has stimulated many of the most significant contributions to translation theory, and motivated several of its most polemical exchanges during the first two decades of the twenty-first century. The work of Venuti has figured centrally in these conversations, both through the domestication vs foreignization continuum (Venuti 1995b/2008) he proposed, which fleshes out the political

implications of those different methods or strategies, and through his insistence on the visibility of the translator and the necessity of translation itself, developed most recently as a critique of Apter's polemic against world literature (Venuti 2016b). Venuti's own work has been subjected to extended criticism for his overdetermined account of the politics of specific translational strategies (Pym 1996; Tymoczko 2000a). The abiding relevance of his work on translation for world literature, however, consists in its ability to stimulate a conversation around the political impact of different translation strategies. Thus far, most models of world literature in the Anglophone academy have tended to focus on easily domesticated texts. Untranslatable texts, texts resistant to translation or texts that could only be rendered through foreignizing methods have meanwhile been relatively neglected (Gould 2018).

While domestication is not universal within world literature, it broadly describes the tendencies endemic to the literatures published in English translation, and to the field of world literature as it has developed in the twenty-first century North American academy, as well as in the publishing world more broadly. Arguably, this tendency to prefer texts that are easily rendered in translation is historically at variance with world literature as it was conceived by Goethe and even Marx (Strich 1945; Prawer 1976). Perhaps more to the point, the domesticating model of literary translation that has dominated world literature since the early twentieth century has proven inadequate for fully registering the depth, complexity and heterogeneity of literature on a global scale. Moretti's methodology of distant reading is one step in a broad disciplinary shift away from exclusively inward-looking canons. However, distant reading can only serve as a preliminary methodological invitation to rethinking the texts we read and the circumstances under which we read them.

At the point where the limitations of Moretti's model are most apparent – in the domain of textual analysis and close reading – the relevance of translation as a method becomes particularly evident. Contemporary literary theory has the most to offer in terms of creating a conceptual framework for literary comparison (Felski and Friedman 2013); it has proven less useful in terms of clarifying how such comparison ought

to proceed. For that, translation as both medium and method is needed. Inasmuch as the comparison of literary texts necessarily entails engagement with the rhetorical features of literary discourse, including metaphor, simile, metonymy, speech registers, multilingualism, tone and voice, existing models of world literature have yet to provide clear guidelines for how such distinctive literary features can be systematically compared across the range of world literatures. For this next step, which has not yet been taken within existing models of world literature, literary studies must develop new disciplinary norms and take better advantage of translation. As a method and a medium that is preeminently concerned with language, translation is ideally poised to make manifest the poetics and aesthetics of literary texts in a way that world literature to date has failed to fully address.

See also:

COSMOPOLITANISM; FICTION; GLOBALIZATION; LITERARY TRANSLATION; PUBLISHING LANDSCAPES

Further reading

Deckard, S., N. Lawrence, N. Lazarus, G. MacDonald, U.P. Mukherjee, S. Shapiro and B. Parry (2015) *Combined and Uneven Development: Towards a new theory of world-literature by WReC (Warwick Research Collective)*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

A multiauthored volume that challenges conventional academic knowledge of knowledge production and authorship while pushing forward the boundaries of world literature.

Moretti, F. (ed.) (2007) *The Novel, Volume 1: History, Geography, and Culture; The Novel, Volume 2: Forms and Themes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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Pollock, S., B.A. Elman and K.K. Chang (eds) (2015) *World Philology*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

A collection of essays bringing together the most innovative approaches to global philology, and reconceptualizing the discipline in line with recent developments in critical theory.

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A forum bringing together scholars of different backgrounds and expertise to comment on the

landmark volume on *Sanskrit Poetry* (kavya): Bronner, Shulman, and Tubb 2014. Methodologically useful as a case study of what world literature can look like when those involved in researching it are committed to multilingual approaches and text-based critique.

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